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G. WOODFALL.

G. WOODFALL, Printer, Paternoster-row, London.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

VOYAGES, &c. OF THIS FOURTH VOLUME.

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THE

THE FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE PRINCIPALL

NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

WITH THE

LETTERS, PRIUILEGES, DISCOURSES, OBSERUATIONS, AND OTHER NECESSARY THINGS CONCERNING THE SAME.

The first voyage attempted and set foorth by the expert and valiant captaine M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the Dragon, and another ship and a Pinnesse, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572. Written and recorded by one Lopez Vaz a Portugall borne in the citie of Eluas, in maner follow, which Portugale, with the discourse about him, was taken at the riuer of Plate by the ships set foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

THERE was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueua Espanna, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150 men & leauing 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and there discharged his caliuers, & sounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their caliuers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vprore was which happened so suddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them ioyning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discouer the Englishmen, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged their caliuers at those Englishmen: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Fort sounded their Trumpet, and seeing that they in the towne did not answere them, and hearing the caliuers, thought that all they in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses: the English captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great feare, that leauing their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swamme, and waded all to their Pinnesses, and so went with their ships againe out of the Port.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, & slew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter slaine.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

But he being discontented with the repulse which he had receiued there, came to the sound of Dariene, and hauing conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and siluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of these Negros went thereupon on land, and stayed in the way where the treasure should come with an hundred shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers mistrusting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the siluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where he killed sixe or seuen marchants, but found no golde nor siluer but much marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt aboue 200000 Duckets in marchandize, and so went to his ship againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ship-boord, there came downe to the sandes three hundred shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

M. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

The voyage of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the West India, and ouer the straight of Dariene into the South sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresaid Lopez Vaz in the said discourse.

THere was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coast of Nueua Espanna, and of his good aduenture and safe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vndertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foresaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and siluer which came vpon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with souldiers, he determined to do that which neuer any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leauing any man in his ship, he tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negros about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a riuer that goeth to the South sea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was fiue and fortie foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinnesse, he went into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him to be his guides, and so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is fiue & twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last, there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her sixtie thousand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prize, hee stayed long without sending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue gone, & entred the riuer, but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnesse againe, & so sailing to the riuer from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd riuer, hee sent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinnesse he went vp the riuer. The Negros that dwelt in the Island of pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouernour within two dayes sent foure barkes with 100 men, 25 men in euery one, and Negros to rowe with the captaine Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Island of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whom he learned, that the English men were gone vp the riuer, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the riuer, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the riuer, to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greatest of the three riuers, he saw comming downe a lesser riuer many feathers of hennes, which the Englishmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went vp that riuer where hee saw the feathers, and after that he had

The Iland of pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

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bene in that riuer foure daies, he descried the Englishmens pinnesse vpon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe Englishmen, whereof they killed one, and the other fiue escaped away, and in the pinnesse he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing twenty men in his pinnesses, hee with 80 shot went vp the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmens goods, and the gold and siluer also, and carying it backe to their pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

But at the end of three dayes, the English captaine came to the riuer with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros, and set vpon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily preuaile, and killed eleuen English-men, and fiue Negros, and tooke other seuen Englishmen aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and fiue sore hurt. A skirmish between the English men, and the Spaniards.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes liberty which they had. They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and siluer which they had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carie it, although they made three or foure iourneys of it, for hee promised to giue them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would haue it by and by, and so their captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would haue killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not haue them to carie the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negros to carie it, and so he went and sought for Negros, and bringing those Negros to carie it, hee met with the fiue English men that hee had left in his pinnesse which ranne from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, hee promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and there upon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it best to returne to his ship, and to passe backe for England. The Spanish captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, and hauing gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the English men and their pinnesse with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they sent aduise also to Nombre de Dios, and they of Nombre de Dios sent also from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de Dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a seruant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fiftie shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North sea, and there to take some barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Iustice of Panama asked the English captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and so were all executed, sauing the Captaine, the Master, the Pilot, and fiue boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing. The English betrayed to the Spaniards. The death of Iohn Oxnam.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros which had assisted those English men, which before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and as before is sayd, fled from their masters vnto those mountaines, and so ioyned themselues to the English men, to the ende they might the better reuenge themselues on the Spaniards.

At the first comming of these 300 souldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed

great iustice vpon them: But after a season, the Negros grew wise and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that countrey maruelled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there haue bene many Frenchmen, that haue come to those Countreys, but neuer saw English men there but onely those two of whom I haue spoken. And although there haue many Frenchmen bene on the coast, yet neuer durst they put foote vpon land, only those two Englishmen aduentured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

The Englishmens comming to the Indies, causeth the king of Spaine to build gallies to keepe the Seas.

All these things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies well appointed to keepe those coastes: and the first yeere they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of warre that durst aduenture to approch the coast, vntill this present yeere 1586, that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong fleete of 24 ships arriued there, and made spoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide sufficient remedy to keepe his countreys and subiects from the inuasion of other nations.

The voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol, with two ships, the one called the Ragged staffe, the other the Beare, to the coast of Terra firma, and the Bay of Honduras in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reasons are premised which mooued him to set forth this voyage against the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by M. Richard Hakluyt.

FIrst of all Andrew Barker hauing abode in one of the Canary Islands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Chester (the sonne of Dominic Chester merchant of Bristol) to learn the language. Now the sayd Andrew Barker forthwith vpon his arriual in England, in Nouember, 1574, fraighted a small ship (named the Speedwell of Bristol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandise of great valne. He sent also one Iohn Drue of Bastable as his Factor to make sale and dispose of the said goods, who when he arriued at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and sent home the barke with some small quantity of wine, making account to sell the sayd wares to greater aduantage in prouiding wines and sugar for the lading of another ship, which Andrew Barker had appointed to send thither. Also according to this his purpose ỹ said Andrew in March following sent a ship called the Christopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Bristol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, & was in good hope to find the lading of his ship in a readines, cõtrary to his expectation, was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleadging that Andrew Barker was accused to the inquisitiõ by Charles Chester, whereupon his goods were confiscat, his factor Iohn Drue, was attached, and he also (the said captaine Roberts) being as they supposed Barkers partner, was in like sort to be imprisoned. In fine all the foresaid commodities appertaining to the said Andrew and his brother M. Iohn Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and vpwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were vtterly lost, being confiscat to the said inquisition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was deliuered out of prison (which cost him all the marchandize he brought with him in his ship) and so returned with dead fraight to the summe of 200 pound that afterwards Andrew Barker discharged. In recompense of which iniurie (for that no suite preuaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) & also to recouer his losse of the Spaniards themselues, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furnished two barkes for the West Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged staffe, himselfe being captaine, & Philip Roche Master thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxe of Limehouse for her Master and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmoth on Whitsonday in the beginning of Iune, we set forward, & in our course we met with a ship of London, & afterwards with another ship, but tooke nothing frõ either of them. Our first arriual was at one of the Island of Cape Verde, named

named Del sal, vz. the Isle of salt, where we tooke certain fishes called Tortoises, and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. Isla del sal.

And from thence wee came to the Isle of Maio, being distant from Isla del sal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in fresh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had some victuals for knives and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was treacherously slaine by those Portugals, in reuenge of which murther we set on fire two of their small villages. From this Island wee shaped our course ouer the maine Ocean toward the West Indies, and arriued happily at the Island of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gaue vs very friendly and courteous entertainement: and here we set vp a pinnesse which we caried forth in the Ragged staffe, and traffiqued with the foresayd Indians for victuals. And after we had spent sixe dayes in this place we departed, and arriued next at the Isle of Margarita, where we tooke a small Spanish ship hauing in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reserued 4 or 5 tunnes to our selues, dismissing them without any further damage. Thence (hauing remained there a day) wee set saile to the Island of Curaçao, where we remained a day & a night, & tooke in fresh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Island (being few of them Spaniards, & the most part Indias) 14 of our men were treacherously hurt, but none slaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieued. From thence we arriued at Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Master Philip Roche, vpon comparisons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Nauigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occasion of further mischiefe. Hence we sailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southwestward from Carthagena) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treasure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of siluer, and some quantity of corriento or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene stones called Emerauds, whereof one very great, being set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh of a frier. Here hauing stayed three dayes, and now being pursued by Spanish men of warre, wee departed with the sayd treasure, and left the Frigat behind vs, all which treasure at that instant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we passed to Nombre de Dios, and so foorth to the mouth of the riuer of Chagre 18 leagues distant from Nombre de Dios towards the Northwest. There wee landed 10 of our men, who trauelled vp into the woods three or foure daies to seeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel masters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to ioyne with the English and French against them) but in their search they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemie, yet the most part of the sayd ten persons presently fell sicke, and diuers other of our company: so that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a disease called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement feuer. And passing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and some quantity of golde wee found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards whom wee set on shore, and two Flemings, them wee brought into England with vs: wee had therein also foure cast pieces of Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spanish caliuers, and a booke of Nauigation: and in this Frigat some of our company came homeward into England. Thus passing forward in our course, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, & Philip Roche his Master, fought vpon the foresayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the cheeke. Here we sanke our Admirall the Ragged staffe, because of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spanish Frigat, which immediately before we had surprised. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we sayled into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we tooke a barke wherin were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other small things. In this barke also were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scriuano or secretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of some note) was put to his ransome, which was payd in gold: the rest were dismissed freely. And after passing by diuers Islands, we arriued at an Island called S. Francisco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two

The Isle of Maio.

Two villages burnt.

The Isle of Trinidad.

The Isle of Margarita.

The Isle of Curazo.

Cape de la Vela.

Tulu.

Nombre de Dios.

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

Veragua.

The bay of Honduras.

The Isle of S. Francisco.

A conspiracie against the Captaine.

two dayes next after our arriuall there, William Coxe and diuers others (which for certaine causes shalbe namelesse) came aboord the ship wherein the captaine then was, and dispossessed him as well of the sayd ship, as of the treasure in the same, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on shore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine desirous to come on boord, was resisted by the persons aforesayd, who answered him that he should not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten persons of their company for the keeping of this Island of S. Francisco: but about breake of the day, on a certaine morning, sixtie Spaniards arriuing secretly in the Island, surprised our people on the sudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on shore: in which surprise, they slew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Bristol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Bristol, Thomas Sampoole, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Iackson, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the rest (which were aboord the barke) perceiued that the captaine, & some others were slain, he receiued them that were liuing into the ship, hauing before that time refused some of them. After this misfortune they went to an Island distant from thence a league, where Coxe deuided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines chest after his death) amongst the company. After this Coxe went in a pinesse (which wee tooke at the Isle of Sant Francisco) with certaine others of our men in a skyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they surprised, and had therein wine and oyle as much as they would, and diuers other good things, but no gold nor siluer, nor any other treasure which they would confesse. But before they could returne to their company, these that were in the barkes were had in chase by men of warre, whereby they were inforced euery man to shift for himselfe: so for haste they left those that were in the skiffe (being 8 persons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to saile for England, and being in the maine sea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Isle of S. Francisco, the Frigat wherein was the treasure for the aduenturers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being ouerset with sayle, with a flaw of wind was ouerthrowen, and all the goods therein perished: therein also were 14 persons drowned, and nine saued, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Master of the Admirall called the Ragged staffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arriued in the Isle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new vpon the shore of the Honduras, hauing in her at our landing ten botisios of oyle, and the foure cast Peeces that were in Iohn Oxnams Frigat (which the yeere before was taken in the streit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crocke, certaine caliuers, and certaine treasure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne deuided the treasure amongst their company, deliuering to some fiue pound, to some sixe pound, to some seuen pound, to some more, as euery man was thought to haue deserued. The barke and the rest of the Ordinance was left in the Island, to the vse of Andrew Browne. Diuers of our company, vpon our arriuall at Plimmouth were committed to prison at the suite of M. Iohn Barker of Bristol, brother vnto our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, as accessaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him vnto the enemie. And after straight examination of many of vs, by letters of direction from her Maiesties priuie Counsell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chastised with long imprisonment, where indeede before God they had deserued to die: whereof some, although they escaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselues faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and gouernours.

M. Andrew Barker and 8 other slaine by the Spaniards.

The towne of Truxillo sacked by the English.

The death of Philip Roche master of the Ragged staffe. Their arriual in the Isle of Sillie.

Certaine Ordinance of Iohn Oxnam recouered from the Spaniards.

Parescer de Don Aluaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Francisco Draque, estando en las yslas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre, estilo de Espanna de 1585.

LO que paresce, que podra hazer el Armada Inglese, en caso que quiere passar a las Indias,

dias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Francisco Draque) con las treynta y dos naues y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona parescio que venian en el armada, es lo siguiente.

Leuera su derotta al Rio de Ienero, que es en la costa del Brasil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos nauios y muy seguro, adonde se tiene aguà, lenna, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en vn lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que se dize San Vincente. Y por ser camino per las yslas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra sa quear estas yslas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

San Vincente. Islas de Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde.

Desde Vaiona a la ysla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (passados los vientos de Vallee, que aora reynan, por estar la costa de Espanna llouida) yra la Armada en seis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que son per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que se tuuiere en saquear las yslas.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Ienero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ser todos dos meses: por manera, que estando el Armada todo este mes en Galicia, podra ser en el rio de Ienero en fin de Deziembre.

Rio de Ienero.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Ienero ay vna baxa, adonde con facilidad se hara vn fuerte, en que pueden estar mas que quinientos hombres: y pon endole su artilleria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara assalado, que por la vna parte del sudueste y nordeste tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los nauios en el puerto: En el qual podra Francisco Draque concertar su Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le paresciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en seguimiento de su viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de aquel puerto, y esta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el Estrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que esta en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ser gente de guerra, ni puesta en milicia, y lugar abierto sin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y saquear, y yr se apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los nauios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra entrar socorro de Espanna.

Lugar por hazer vn fuerte.

Estrecho de Magallanes.

Mar del Sur.

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Y es de creer que se preuerra a tomar a Panama.

Panama.

No queriendo hazer este viaje repartira su armada en dos vandas, y saqueare la ysla de San Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la costa de Tierra firma, hasta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y desde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y descarga en a quel rio, que son mas de cinquenta, y llegar hasta la Venta de Cruzes, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ser lugar abierto, sera facil a saquear.

La segunda viaje. San Domingo. Cartagena. Rio de Chagre. Panama lugar abierto y facil a saquear.

Y tambien corre peligro la Hauana; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y sacando artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con facilidad.

La Hauana.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a este discorso, no sera el menor, cortar el hilo a la nauigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, si alli fueren.

Tomar las flotas.

Lo que Conuernia hazer para reparar estos dannos.

DEspachar caruelas con grandissima diligencia a los virreys y gouernadores de las Indias, auertiendo les de la Nueua de la Armada Inglese, para que esten preuenidos, y se pöganen orden. Aunque, segun el numero de las Naues que han salido de Inglatierra, tengo por sin duda, hauran passado de aquellas partes alguna banda dellas, hasta Tierra nueua. Porque la Reyna a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Pesqueria del Baccalao: Y assi es de creer sin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo se consideracion a que, por lo que se intiende de Inglatierra, han solido mas de ochenta nauios con los de Armada: Conuernia que su Magestad mandasse iuntar otra para buscar la Inglese, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deste Reino, y los que tiene su Magestad en el Rio de Seuilla se aderescan de yr opposito, dandoles carena, para che estubiessen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fuesse: y que assi mismo se embaraçe vn galeon del Duque de Florencia, que esta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante ara Cadiz, y complimiento hasta quarenta naos gruesas, que se hallaran en

Quarenta naos gruesas.

en Viscaia y Guiposcoa: y que adereçadas, artilladas y puestas en orden, como conuiene, se auituallen por ocho meses, y que desde luego se leuanten hasta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naues, y se trayen, como se hizo para la armada de la Terçera: y que assi mismo se leuanten seys mil soldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que esta, para que aya este numero de seruicio.

Tambien conuernia, que de Viscaia venga para esta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Castro. Que las patazes sean de 50 hasta 60 toneladas: y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la tornada de la Terçera.

Que se ponuca el artilleria, poluere, y cuerda, y plomo necessario, arcabuzes, mosquetas, y picas de respito para la guardia de la costa.

Conuerne hazer otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil soldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Auiendo visto y considerado, que en dos meses han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleses con los nauios de mercantes que nauegan por estos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo mismo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, conuernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleua la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que lleuassen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota: y no por esto se ha de dexar de asegurar las con Armada.

Todas estas preuenciones, me paresce, se deuen hazer, para solo lo que toca la Armada Inglese, y otros nauios que han salido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caso que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quisiese intentar lo d'este Reyno, seran menester las preuenciones siguientes.

QVe se apercibiesen el conde de Benauente, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Caualleros, a quien se dio orden que estubiesen a punto, quando se vino a este Reyno.

Que se exercibiese tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para socorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Estremadura y Seuilla para socorrer esta Ciudad de Lisbona, y su Comarca.

Que se auituallen los castillos desta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y prouean de polucre, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a su Magestad en 7 de março deste anno 1585. Que se prouean las galeras por quatro meses: y vengan otras sys de Espanna, a este Rio con 120 soldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que estan aca. Y en caso que esto se ay, que la armada Inglesa no passe a las Indias, y se ocupen en lo deste Reyno, porque haure nauios de Ingleses, que acuden a lo vno y a lo otro, sera forçoso hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinjentos soldados.

Todo esto, me paresce, conuiene al seruicio de su Maiestad, se prenega y apercibiese con mucha diligencia y cuidado, proueiendo del dinero necessario para ello, sin que se aguarde lo vno a lo otro, sino que todo se haga sin deserirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor parescer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Aluaro Baçan, Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admirall of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585.

THat which it seemeth vnto me, that the English army may doe, if they seeke to passe vnto the West Indies, and enter into the South sea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ships and galeons, and many pinnesses and shalops with oares, which they haue with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayono thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

The damage which may be done by passing by the riuer of Ienero into the South sea.

They may take their course to the riuer of Ienero, which is on the coast of Brasil in 23 degrees to the South of the Equinoctial line. It is an hauen capable of many ships and very safe, where there is water, wood and flesh: and likewise Drake may haue corne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the sayd hauen, which is called S. Vincente.

And

And because the course is by the Isles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may sacke those Islands, the time serueing him for that purpose.

From Bayona to the Isle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Westerne winds be past, which presently doe blowe because that it beginneth to raine on the coast of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Isles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may stay as much time more as shall serue him to sacke the Islands in. Madera. Canaries. The Isles of Cape Verde.

We may saile from Cape Verde to the riuer of Ienero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount vnto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coast of Galicia, it may come to the riuer of Ienero in the end of December. The riuer of Ienero.

At the entry of the bay of the riuer of Ienero there is a flat low Island where a fort may very easily be made, wherein aboue 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the hauen, & the fort wil be able to hold out all assault, because that on the Southwest and Northeast sides are two chanels whereby the ships come into the hauen: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leaue there some people, and depart with so much of the rest as shal seeme good vnto him to enter into the South sea, & go on vpon his voyage to the streight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foresaid hauen, and standeth in 52 degrees & a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the streight into the South sea all the moneth of February, & so may to goe to the citie of Lima, otherwise called the citie de los Reys, which standeth on the sea coast hauing two thousand inhabitants in it. But in respect that they be no warlike people nor exercised in armes, and because the place is open and without fortresse & artillery, he may take and sacke it, and make himself master on the land, & afterward taking those ships which are in that sea, our people can haue no succour of ships out of Spaine, but by the streight of Magelan, which is a long way about. A fort may be builded on an Island in the mouth of the riuer of Ienero. The streight of Magelan. The citie of Lima eaſie to be taken, though it haue 2000 inhabitants. The ships in the South sea may be burnt.

It is also very credible that he will be able to take Panama. Panama may be taken.

If he seeke not to take this course he may diuide his army into two parts, & sacke the Isle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra firma vnto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios. The second course which indeede Drake tooke.

And from the riuer of Chagre, which is fifteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may send his footemen in shalops with oares and in the vessels which carrie goods vp and downe the riuer, whereof there are aboue fiftie there, and passe vp to the lodging of the Crosses, called in Spanish Venta de Cruzes, which is fiue leagues from Panama, which because it is an vnwalled towne may easily be taken. Panama being an open place to easie to be taken.

And Hauana also will bee in great danger, which albeit it haue a fortresse, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on shore hee may take the same with great facilitie. Hauana easie to be taken.

And besides these domages which he may do, according to this discourse, it will not be the least to cut off the nauigation of the Indies, to take the West Indian fleet, if they chance to be there. The Indian fleete may be taken.

What course is to be taken to preuent these mischiefes.

TO dispatch Caruels with all possible diligence to the viceroyes and gouenours of the Indias, aduertising them of the newes of the English army, that they may be prouided, and make themselues ready for them. Albeit, considering the number of ships which haue bene set fourth out of England, I assure my selfe, that some part of them are gone out of those parts vnto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to send to intercept the ships of the fishermen that goe to Baccalaos. And it is likewise to be thought that shee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies. Sir Bernard Drake tooke 17. sailes of the Spanish and Portugall fishers returning from Newfoundland, 1585.

And considering that according to our intelligence out of England, aboue fourescore shippes, and the army of Drake haue bene set foorth from thence, it is meete that his maiestie should prepare another army to seeke the English fleete, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and those of his maiestie which lye in the riuer of Siuill bee prepared to send against them, and to giue them the His intelligence was too true, as since I found in the office of the Admiralty.

Carena, that they may bee in a readinesse for any voyage howe long soeuer it bee: And likewise to arrest a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furnished with great ordinance, and passed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make vp the

Fortie great ships to be prouided.

number of fortie great shippes, which are to bee had in Biscay and Guipuscoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and set in good order, they bee victualled for eight moneths, and that foorthwith there bee leuied a thousand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee diuided among the Fleete,

1583. Terçera was won by the Marques of Santa Cruz.

and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that sixe thousande souldiers bee leuied, giuing commaundement to presse a greater number, to the ende that these may bee able men for seruice.

Moreouer it is needfull for this armie that 20. pataches be brought from Biscay, and 20. Azabras from Castro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like those which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That sufficient prouision be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and chosen pikes for the keeping of the coast.

Another army of ten sailes.

It is also meete to prouide another army of two ships of 400. tunnes a piece, and other foure of 200. tunnes, and foure pataches and a thousand souldiers, besides mariners.

The Indian fleete to be strengthened with 4. ships of warre.

Hauing seene and considered that the Englishmen with their marchants ships onely that trauerse these seas haue made such hauocke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like against the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it should haue two more at the least in eche Fleete: and neuerthelesse they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

In mine opinion all these prouisions ought to bee made onely in regard of the English army, and the rest of the ships which haue bene set out of that kingdome.

But in case that Don Antonio should come with an armie, and should seeke to inuade this kingdome, these prouisions following would be needefull.

What prouision is to be made if Don Antonio should come with an army.

THat warning be giuen to the Conde de Beneuenta, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marquesse of Zerraluo, and to the rest of the Lordes and Knights, which are to haue order to bee in a readinesse, against hee come vnto this kingdome.

That the people also be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to succour the countrey betweene the riuers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Estremadura and Siuilla are likewise to bee trained to be ready to succour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the same.

Also that the castles of this citie, riuer and territorie be victualled and prouided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things else belonging to the artillerie, as I haue requested in the relations which I sent vnto his maiestie the 7. of March of this present yeere 1585.

An armie of 24. gallies to be prouided.

That the gallies be furnished for foure moneths: and that sixe more bee brought from Spaine to this riuer of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie souldiers for ech gallie, that they may be deuided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

And in case it fall out that the armie of the English goe not for the Indies, but occupie themselues vpon this kingdome, (for there may be English ships, which may attend the one and the other) we shal be enforced to make another armie, besides that for the Indies, of twelue ships, foure pataches, and a thousand fiue hundred souldiers.

Another army of 12. great ships, 4 pataches, and 1500 souldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his maiesties seruice to be foreseene to be made ready with great diligence and care, and to prouide money needfull for the same, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all these things be done without delay: Referring my selfe in all things to those of wiser iudgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A summarie and true discourse of sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of Saint Iago, Santo Domingo,

mingo, Cartagena, and the towne of Saint Augustine in Florida; Published by M. Thomas Cates.

THis worthy knight for the seruice of his Prince and countrey hauing prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonshire, to the number of fiue and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and hauing assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being accompanied with these men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement ouer the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.	Captaine Iohn Merchant.
Captaine Edward Winter.	Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine Iohn Goring.	Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Robert Pew.	Captaine Iohn Hannam.
Captaine George Barton.	Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobisher Vice admirall, a man of great experience in sea-fearing actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the Primrose.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reere admirall in the Galeon Leicester.

Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonaduenture vnder the Generall.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.	Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.	Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.	Iohn Vaugham Captaine of the Drake.
Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.	Iohn Varney Captaine of the George.
Robert Crosse Captaine of the Bark Bond.	Iohn Martin Captaine of the Beniamin.
George Fortescue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.	Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
	Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.
Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.	
Iames Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.	Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the fourteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie diuers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnesses well manned to see what they were, who vpon sight of the said pinnesses approching neere vnto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burthen) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought vnto § general, he thought good to make stay of her for the seruice, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The rest of these ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwardes put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being vpon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland: whom the Generall after

some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we discried another tall ship of twelue score tunnes or thereaboutes, vpon whom Master Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, vndertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar hauing caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboord vntill the Admirall was come vp: who forthwith sending for the Master, and diuers others of their principall men, and causing them to be seuerally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. Iohn de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead vs in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke of fauourable wind: where wee had no sooner ankered some part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinnesses with the shipboats to be manned, and euery man to be furnished with such armes as were needful for that present seruice; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the fauour of the Almighty to surprise it, before we had aduanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Gouernour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him; and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Gouernour of the citie, to resolue him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captain Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the gouernor & people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Isles of Bayona.

The Generall with the aduise and counsell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the citie, where they might bee ready vpon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Gouernour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subiect as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endomage any man. And that the kings countercommandement was (which had bene receiued in that place some seuennight before) that English merchants with their goods should be discharged: for the more verifying wherof, he sent such merchats as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting vp of the day, & hauing quartered our selues to our most aduatage, with sufficient gard vpon euery strait, we thought to rest our selues for that night there. The Gouernour sent vs some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to ouercast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recouer the Fleete, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our shippes to driue from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill; as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewel was onely driuen into England, the others recouered vs againe: the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to asswage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippe and three others: as also with the gallie and with diuers pinnesses, to see what he might doe aboue Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and some carauels, diuersly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with houshold stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst

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the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of siluer, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing cost them a great masse of money. They complained to haue lost in all kind of goods aboue thirty thousand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from vp the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour aboue Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, aswell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Gouernour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our fleete, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats vpon the water: and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges deliuered on both sides: which done, the Gouernor of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same hauing bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe; where it was by them agreed, we should furnish our selues with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would affourd.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely with Palma, with intention to haue taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such seuerall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many of their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiefe was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should haue attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesayd, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle Hierro, to see if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley vnder a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all ready to starue, which was not vntrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night wee put off to sea Southsoutheast along towards the coast of Barbary.

Vpon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discried the Island of S. Iago, and in the euening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, vnder the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the seruice most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did affourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would neuer leaue, vntill wee had gotte vp to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together vpon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attẽpt til daylight: because there was not one that could serue for guid or giuing knowledge at al of ỹ place. And therfore after hauing wel rested, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be diuided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, wheras

wheras before we had marched by seueral cõpanies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which stood in the valley vnder vs, and might very plainely bee viewed all ouer from that place where the whole Army was now arrined: and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint Georges cross florish in the enemies fortresse. Order was giuen that all the ordinance throughout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which were aboue fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Maiesties coronation day, being the seuenteenth of Nouember, after the yeerely custome of England, which was so answered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the fleete which now was come nere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noise last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole armie: which being done euery captaine tooke his own quarter, and in the euening was placed such a sufficient gard vpon euery part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any present enemie.

The citie of Iago taken and possessed for 14 dayes.

Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, oliues, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The situation of S. Iago is somewhat strange, in forme like a triangle, hauing on the East and West sides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preserue the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainely shewed. From thence, on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the north side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, wherein the towne standeth: the said valley & towne both do grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is estimated not to be aboue 10. or 12. score ouer.

In the middest of the valley commeth downe a riueret, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat aboue the towne on the North side betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly conuerted into gardens and orchards well replenished with diuers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, orenges, sugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlicke, and some other things not now remembered, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger than any mans two fistes: of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in siluer as I haue often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in shewe very much euen as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereabouts, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh tast, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I haue heard some hold opinion, that it is very restoratiue.

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapened to come a Portugall to the Western fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the

the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolue him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Gouernor. Then they told him, if his Gouernor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe vnto our noble and mercifull Gouernour sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find fauour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwise within three dayes wee should march ouer the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such liuing soules as wee shoulde chance vpon: so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, hee promised to returne the next day, but we neuer heard more of him.

Vpon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelue miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Gouernour and the Bishoppe with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: so we made stand a while to ease our selues, and partly to see if any would come to speake to vs.

After we had well rested our selues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie shewed themselues, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter vs: and so in passing sometime at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recouer home to S. Iago.

On Munday the sixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates, to vse all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commanded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last companie aboord the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinnesses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, hauing bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and hauing placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that hee had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the afternoone the Generall ankered with the rest of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himselfe ashore, willing vs to burne the towne and make all haste aboord, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selues imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea Southwest.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better gouernment of the Army, euery man mustered to his captaine, and othes were ministered to acknowledge her Maiestie supreme Gouernour, as also euery man to doe his vttermost endeuour to aduance the seruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieuing of our happy enterprise. A wise course to be imitated in all great actions.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouernour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island euer came at us (which we expected they should haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them some part of their needfull prouisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their vnreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth,

The treason of the Portugals against M. Willyp Hawkins.

mouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderstood, & therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at vs, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment & scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as also at the rude maner of killing, & sauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the countrey which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead aboue two or three hundred men. And vntil some seuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stroken, vntill we were departed thence, and then seazed our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainely shewed the small spots, which are often found vpon those that be infected with the plague: wee were not aboue eighteene dayes in passage betweene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with sauage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit litle conuersation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might vnderstand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they vsed vs very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the riuer to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassaui, very white and sauourie, made of the rootes of Cassaui. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowfull countenance when they perceiued that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint Christophers Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was aduised and resolued, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admiral, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Islande of Hispaniola, as well for that we knewe ourselues then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the waye we mette a small Frigat, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and hauing duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were aduertised, the Hauen to be a barred Hauen, and the shore or land thereof to bee well fortified, hauing a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no conuenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke vpon him to conduct vs.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the Euening to embarke themselues in Pinnesses, boats, and other small barkes appoynted for this seruice. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile vntill our arriuall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that braue Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor

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yet is knowen to vs any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to ouerset a Pinnesse or boate. Our Generall hauing seene vs all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie braue horses or rather more, began to present themselues; but our small shot played vpon them, which were so susteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you must vnderstand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado vpon the hie way side. We diuided our whole force, being some thousand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powell (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not rest vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged vpon our neere approch, and made some execution amongst vs, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching; the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere vnto himselfe: and thereupon hasted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gaue them more care euery man to saue himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place: but to be more truely vnderstood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope: which place with some part next vnto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most conuenient place assured ourselues, the Citie being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to vndertake to guarde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing vs busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Hauen, and so into the countrey. The citie of S. Domingo taken.

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents, more then are well remembred for the present, but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his message to the Spaniards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, signifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to speake to vs: which boy vnhappily was first mette withall by some of those, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, & contrary to that good vsage wherewith wee had intertained their messengers, furiously strooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of their horsemens staues: with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his presence, wherewith the Generall being greatly passioned, commaunded the Prouost Martiall, to cause a couple of Friers then prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our souldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, & with this message further, that vntil the party who had thus murdered the Generals messenger were deliuered into our hands, to receiue condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, vntil they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes ende, offering to deliuer him into our hands; but it was thought

to be a more honourable reuenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselues: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. Iago there had passed iustice vpon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, so heere likewise was there an Irishman hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and vs, for ransome of their Citie; but vpon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in fiering the outmost houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gaue vs no small trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, vntil the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought else but labour to fire and burne the said houses without our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of fiue and twentie thousand Ducats of fiue shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Most vnsatiable Spanish ambition.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the vnsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the kings house, wherein the chiefe gouernour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend vp by a faire large paire of staires; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like vnto a gallery: wherein vpon one of the wals, right ouer against you as you enter, the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, conteining in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth, whereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, Non sufficit orbis: which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of some of those of the better sort, that came in commission to treate vpon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine, hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and vnreasonable reaching vaine of his: for hee should finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceiue well inough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who maruell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very braue in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be vnderstood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spanyards, which was ȳ cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and siluer Mines of this Island are wholy giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Island to vse Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers, the soyle being very fertile: and the sayd beasts are fedde vp to a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other such like prouisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed vp in winepipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes: all which prouisions are brought out of Spaine, and serued vs for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessell

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of Siluer, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they vse much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India: & for their drinking, they vse glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their houshold garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although vnto vs they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at the last in sight of Cartagena, standing vpō the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approched within the reach of their Culuerin shot, which they had planted vpon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the same. In the Euening wee put our selues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested vs to march forwarde about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresly commanded vs to keepe close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best & surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must haue bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met vs, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe vpon the first volley of our shot that was giuen them; for the place where wee encountred being wooddy and bushy euen to the water side was vnmeete for their seruice. Cartagena.

At this instant we might heare some pieces of Artillerie discharged, with diuers small shot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderstand, according to the order set downe in the Euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with diuers Pinnesses and boates should giue some attempt vnto the litle Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Hauen, neere adioyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained ouer: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giuing of them an alarme on that other side of the Hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme receiued elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not aboue fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainely shewed. This streight was fortified cleane ouer with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be set downe. There was only so much of this streight vnwalled, as might serue for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good Barricado of wine-buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing euen within the maine sea.

This place of strength was furnished with sixe great peeces, Demi-culuerins, and Sakers, which shotte directly in front vpon vs as wee approched. Now without this wall vpon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Galleis with their prowes to the shore, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordinance, which did beate all crosse the streight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receiue vs, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not

broken out) approched by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly giuen, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbeare shooting vntill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by vs: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first giuen their volley, euen at the enemies nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which aduantage our swordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slewe with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leasure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seazed and assured of that, they were content to suffer vs to lodge within their towne, and themselues to goe to their wiues, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euery streetes end they had raised very fine Barricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as euer we saw any worke done: at the entring whereof was some litle resistance, but soone ouercome it was, with few slaine or hurt. They had ioyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes most villanously empoysoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died without great maruell: some they slew of our people with their arrowes: some they likewise mischieued to death with certaine pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoysoned, sticking fast vp, right against our comming in the way, as we should approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinary way: but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I ouerpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at sword blowes in the first entring, vnto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne, as also of the taking of Alonso Braue the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said captaine had first hurt him with his sword: vnto which Captaine was committed the charge of the shot of the sayd Vantguard.

Alonso Braue the gouernour of Cartagena taken.

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serue by land, hauing now exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Rereward.

Euery man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the seruice, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of such hot assault.

We stayed here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken of still continued among vs, though not with the same furie as at the first: and such as were touched with the sayde sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recouer their strength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, insomuch that it was growen an ordinarie iudgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentura, which is the Spanish name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the Euening or first night ayre, which they tearme La serena, wherein they say and hold very

very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus subiected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconuenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to giue ouer our intended enterprise, to goe with Nombre de Dios, and so ouerland to Panama, where we should haue strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious trauailes. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our first resolution to returne homewardes: the forme of which resolution I thought good here to put downe vnder the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken. Giuen at Cartagena the xxvij. of Februarie 1585.

WHereas it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course they thinke most expedient to be now vndertaken, the Land-captaines being assembled by themselues together, and hauing aduised hereupon, doe in three points deliuer the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemie, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spaine, is answered thus.

WE holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we haue presently with vs in land-seruice, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men able to answere present seruice, we haue not aboue 700. The residue being some 150. men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether vnable to stand vs in any stead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to giue their resolution, how they will vndertake the safetie and seruice of the Shippes vpon the arriuall of any Spanish Fleete.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in vndertaking such like enterprises as we haue done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our trauailes, which was generally expected at our comming forth of England: wherein we answere.

THat it is well knowen how both we and the souldiers are entered into this action as voluntarie men, without any imprest or gage from her Maiestie or any body els: and forasmuch as we haue hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and fauour of our good God there haue bin taken three such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would haue bene found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and trafiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head gouernment not only of that Iland, but also of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next vnto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandise: and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India: we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods & prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceiued: And being further aduised of the slendernesse of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a litle in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme conuenient to be vndertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow vpon vs, the same may promise to yeeld vs any sufficient contentment:

We

We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it shall please her Maiestie to set vs foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vttermost of our strength and indeuour shall be able to reach vnto: but therewithal wee doe aduise and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ransome of this citie of Cartagena, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxvij. or xxviij. thousand pounds sterling.

THus much we vtter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to breake off by standing still vpon our demaunds of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to giue it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we haue taken our full pleasure both in the vttermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and marchandize, as also in that we haue consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by vs, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who haue willingly aduentured their liues and trauailes, and diuers amongst them hauing spent their apparell and such other little prouisions as their small meanes might haue giuen them leaue to prepare, which being done vpon such good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes caried with it, meaning, against the Spanyard our greatest and most dangerous enemie: so surely wee cannot but haue an inward regarde so farre as may lye in vs, to helpe eyther in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some little benefite to incourage them and to nourish this readie and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that heerein wee forgette not the priuate benefite of our selues, and are thereby the rather mooued to incline our selues to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our selues of all such suspition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion soeuer it bee of this ransome or composition for Cartagena, which should come vnto vs, wee doe freely giue and bestowe the same wholy vpon the poore men, who haue remayned with vs in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painefull indeuour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we haue thought meete to subsigne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd.

Captaine Christopher Carliell Lieutenant Generall.
Captaine Goring. Captaine Sampson. Captaine Powell &c.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, vpon the Church-steeple, had discouered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Sea-men, embarked themselues in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spanyards from the Lande, they might bee warned by signes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could vse: for the Spanish Boates, vpon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towardes them, ranne themselues ashore, and so their men presently hidde themselues in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due regarde had to the qualitie of the place, and seeing no man

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of the Spanyards to shew themselues, aboorded the Spanish Barkes or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captaine Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or fiue others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not hauing any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to haue taken the Barkes well enough at sea, which they might full easily haue done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so neere the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at S. Domingo, there passed diuers courtesies betweene vs and the Spaniards, as feasting, and vsing them with all kindnesse and fauour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Gouernour of Cartagena, with the Bishop of the same, and diuers other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, & consumed much with fire, as we had done S. Domingo vpon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with vs in their first treaties touching their ransome, which at the last was concluded between vs, should be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet standing, the Ducat valued at fiue shillings sixe pence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so bigge as S. Domingo, giues as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in very deede of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the situation thereof, to serue the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in law of all the Ilands about it, and of the maine land coast next vnto it. And it is of no such accompt as Cartagena, for these and some other like reasons, which I could giue you, ouer long to be now written.

The warning which this towne receiued of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arriuall here, was cause that they had both fortified and euery way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conueyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred & ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, vpon the payment of the said ransome, we left the said towne, and drewe some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water-side, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but specially for the sayde house, as also the Blocke house or Castle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to giue a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleasure vpon the Blocke house, which they sayd they were not able to ransome, hauing stretched themselues to the vttermost of their powers: and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by vs vndermined, and so with gunne powder blowen vp in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of fresh water aboord the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth: which Island is a very pleasant place as hath bene seene, hauing in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruites, as the Orenge trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards. The Island of Cures.

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoyles,

spoyles, and in the night she lost the company of our Fleete; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to bee happened vnto her, as in very deede it so fell out: for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the last hauing found her & the Barke Talbot in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the sauing of them. And so the General being fully aduertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where hauing staied eight or ten dayes more, about the vnlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where wee arriued the seuen and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recouer the Matanças, a place to the Eastward of Hauana.

After wee had sailed some fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of fauourable wind: but then our scarcity was growen such, as neede made vs looke a litle better for water, which we found in sufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I iudge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered vp by making pits in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the sea side.

A most commendable example of diligence in a Generall.

I doe wrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboord the ships, tooke no lesse paine himselfe then the meanest; as also at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, hauing alwayes so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is sayde, with such wonderfull trauell of body, as doubtlesse had he bene the meanest person, as hee was the chiefest, he had yet deserued the first place of honour: and no lesse happy doe we account him, for being associated with Master Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whose experience, prudent counsell, and gallant performance he atchieued so many and happy enterprises of the warre, by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and course of iustice, and the due administration of the same vpon all occasions.

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the second time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where; but coasting alongst Florida, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a scaffold vpon foure long mastes raised on ende, for men to discouer to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinnesses manned, and comming to the shore, wee marched vp alongst the riuer side, to see what place the enemie held there: for none amongst vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe in person, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantguard; and going a mile vp or somewhat more by the riuer side, we might discerne on the other side of the riuer ouer against vs, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and some mile or thereabout aboue the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of woodden houses, as the Plot doeth plainely shew. Wee forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie; and one peece was a litle before the Euening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as wee afterwards vnderstood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all massiue timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to passe the riuer this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot vpon any that should appeare, and so afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

In

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, with some others besides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemie kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as courtly as might be, yet the enemie taking § Alarme, grew feareful that the whole force was approching to the assault, and therefore with all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song; and being called vnto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himselfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe. Nicholas Borgignon.

Vpon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with some others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnesses furnished of souldiers with them, put presently ouer towards the Fort, giuing order for the rest of the Pinnesses to follow. And in our approch, some of the enemie bolder then the rest, hauing stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on shore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Mastes or bodies of trees set vp right and close together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholy intended with some more time; for they had not as yet finished al their worke, hauing begunne the same some three or foure moneths before: so as, to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subiect both to fire, and easie assault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a crosse one on another, and some litle earth amongst. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Brasse ordinance, and a chest vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling by estimation of the kings treasure, to pay the souldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Iohns Fort, and the day opened, wee assayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reason of some riuers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnesses, wee went thither vpon the great maine riuer, which is called as also the Towne, by the name of S. Augustin.

At our approching to land, there were some that began to shew themselues, and to bestow some few shot vpon vs, but presently withdrew themselues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horses ready sadled and brideled, tooke the same to follow the chase; and so ouergoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a bush) shotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come neere to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honest wise Gentleman, and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Augustin, we vnderstood the king did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fiftie souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fiftie more, seruing there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the gouernement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquesse, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrowen Master Iohn Hawkins in the bay of Mexico some seuenteen or eighteene yeeres agoe. This Gouernour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Heere it was resolued in full assembly of Captaines, to vndertake the enterprise of S. Helena, and from thence to seeke out the inhabitation of our English countreymen in Virginia, distant from thence some sixe degrees Northward.

Santa Helena. When wee came thwart of S. Helena, the sholds appearing dangerous, and we hauing no Pilot to vndertake the entrie, it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admirall had bene the same night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the shore: and yet wee vnderstood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

We passed thus alongst the coast hard aboord the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is lowe and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of Iune vpon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, euen from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countreymen (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Ralegh) and brought them aboord: by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being of great draught vnable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the General wrote letters to master Ralfe Lane, being gouernour of those English in Virginia, and then at his Fort about sixe leagues from the Rode in an Island which Roanoac. they call Roanoac, wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he vnderstood of, by those he had first talked withall.

The morow after, Master Lane himselfe and some of his company comming vnto him, with the consent of his captaines he gaue them the choice of two offers, that is to say: Either he would leaue a ship, a pinnesse, and certaine boates with sufficient Masters and Mariners, together furnished with a moneths victuall, to stay and make farther discouery of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or els if they thought they had made sufficient discouerie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would giue them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankefully and with great gladnesse, that which was offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and receiued into charge by some of their owne company sent into her by Master Lane, before they had receiued from the rest of the Fleete the prouision appoynted them, there arose a great storme (which they sayd was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driuen from their anchoring vpon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Anchors: and some of our Fleete which had lost all (of which number was the ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driuen to put to sea in great danger, in auoyding the coast, and could neuer see vs againe vntill we mette in England. Many also of our small Pinnesses and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with consent of his Captaines) an other ship with some prouision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might haue bene spared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to giue them passage into England, although he knew we should performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Master Lane with those of the chiefest of his company which hee had then with him, considering what should be best for them to doe, made request vnto the General vnder their hands, that they might haue passage for England: the which being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of Iune.

And so, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good safetie arriued at Portesmouth the 28. of Iuly 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thousand pounds, the aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can iudge) will redound some sixe pounds to the single share.

We

We lost some seuen hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: aboue three parts of them onely by sicknesse.

The men of name that dyed and were slaine in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these.

Captaine Powel.	Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Varney.	Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Moone.	Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Fortescue.	Captaine Greenefield.
Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.	Master Nicholas Winter.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.	Master Alexander Carliell.
Master Escot a Lieutenant.	Master Robert Alexander.
Master Waterhouse a Lieutenant.	Master Scroope.
	Master Iames Dier.
Master George Candish.	Master Peter Duke.

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourescore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Demi-canon, Culuerins, and such like.

In Cartagena some sixtie and three peeces, and good store likewise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

The rest was Iron ordinance, of which the most part was gotten at S. Domingo, the rest at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the West Indies which haue bene surueied, edified, finished, made and mended, with those which haue bene builded, in a certaine surucy by the king of Spaine his direction and commandement: Written by Baptista Antonio, surueyour in those parts for the said King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

Santa Marta situate in 10. degrees and a halfe.

FIrst Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Bishopricke or Dioces of the coast of Tierra firma, or the firme land, lieth in 10. degrees and ½, the city being situated vpon a sandy bay adioyning vnto the sea side, conteineth in it about 30. housholds; all the houses being made of canes, and couered ouer with Palmito trees, and some of them be couered with tyle.

They haue traffike with none, but with the Indians of the said country, which doe bring vnto the citie for to sell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Couerlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Iarres. Also they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but small store of cattel, because it is all mountainous, and hath small store of people. There is a very good harbour before the said towne, inuironed with mighty hils & great rocks, which reach euen vnto the sea side, the which hie land doth greatly succour the harbour, as also two Ilands which lie about ½ of a league on the North side: so that although they be subiect to Easterly winds, and that with great stormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times past they were woont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cause to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reason there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I haue certified your Maiestie thereof. And als o because here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and loosing euery day so many as it doeth: by reason that it is euery day robbed and spoyled by the enemie. But if your Maiestie would command that the fleete of Noua Hispania might direct their course to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refresh themselues, all the Pilotes doe say that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, still going before the winde, and so goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence

A new course to Noua Hispania, by the way of Santa Marta leue subiect to danger then the ordinary course.

goe their direct course to Noua Hispania; and by this meanes the Fleete should haue no occasion to passe so many dangers as they doe, by reason of the Huricanos or stormy windes which many times do come vpon them, when they are vpon the coast of Hispaniola: and this is the cause that there are so many ships cast away, as your Maiestie doeth well know.

And as concerning this course according as I haue certified your Maiestie, they shall come into no danger at all, nor shall make any further way about; so by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Noua Hispania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe vnto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Maiestie may send to fortifie the said Harbour, and the fortification must be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the said harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and so to plant some small quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South side, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant some more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in securitie, but also it will bee a defence for those which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpose, there is hard by the Towne great store of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occasion should serue.

Cartagena.

Cartagena situate in 11 degrees scant.

CArtagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Bishopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it standeth in scant 11. degrees. The sayd Citie is situated vpon a sandy banke or bay like vnto an Iland: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein: as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three Monasteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Augustin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which standeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe vnto the said Frierie, you must goe vpon a Causey made of stone, and water on both sides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of the new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adioyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound countrey.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receiue great store of Ships: this said harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the sayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the sayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or litle mouth, lyeth a league beyond this place to the westwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channel in the midst of it, which is 200. yards broad, and 20. or 15. fadome water, some places more, some lesse. And to enter into the Harbour you must go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the sayde Harbour, after you haue past this Channell, you must beare vp to the shoareward neere vnto the Iland of Cares, and looke how much is ouerplus more than the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the rest are certaine ledges of Rockes, couered with two or three foote water vpon the toppe of them, some places more, and some lesse. So the ships which must enter in at the mouth, must bring very good Pilots with them, which must be very skilfull: yet all this will not serue, but they must carry their Boate before, and sound with their Lead to know where the best place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, so it will be small hinderance to any shippe that shall enter, neither yet danger at all of sinking.

Francis Drake.

There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the enemie may giue an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a sandy Bay, and on the one side of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other side a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The sandy bay or banke, on the one side is 500. yardes broad, all sandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giueth the assault in this place must bee constrayned to march all alongst this sandie Bay, the enemie lying open these 500. yardes,

yardes, which reach vntill you doe come to the trench: And on the backside other 500. yardes, till you doe come vnto the Citie.

The sayde sandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twise. Wherefore heere wee haue driuen in a great many of woodden stakes, which goe downe into the sea 50. yardes deepe: and this wee haue done, because this is a very dangerous and filthy coast. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we haue builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewise wee haue made a deepe ditch, which doeth answere to both parts of the sea; so on this side the Citie is very strong and sufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were most afrayde.

The other entring is lower downe by the sayde sandy Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the sayd sandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the sea. And on the other side there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is ouerflowen with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which shall come this way to winne the Citie, must come marching ouer land a good way vpon a sandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one side, and a groue or boske of wood on the other side, and through a plat of ground which is ouerflowen with water, but not all couered. So in this place wee haue made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging therunto. And I haue caused a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, so that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is ouerflowen. And in this order we haue stopt this passage so that the Citie standeth in maner like vnto an Iland. There is 2600. yardes distance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land last.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Causey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the sayd Causey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth; and the water is on both the sides of the saide Causey: so this is the strongest place of all the rest of the three places. Also in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and vpon the top of the said bridge to build a platforme, and plant ordinance vpon it: and on both sides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be close kept.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we haue made a Fort of timber foursesquare of 300. foote euery way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in garison, and behinde the bourdes on the backside of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thicknesse, and behinde the mud-wall sand: so this Fort will bee of great importance for safegard of this Harbour, because all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come close to this place where it is strongest, so that sometimes one may cast a stone into the ships when they are comming in: and when any ship of warre or Pirate will giue any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order giuen that the two galleys shall go forth, and put themselues behinde the Fort with their prows to the sea, and so shooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ship, and then the Fort answering likewise with their ordinance at the side of the shippe, and at their tackling, so the enemie being in the Harbour all vnrigged, they must of necessitie be constrained to lye houering within the Harbour, or els they must driue vpon the rockes called the Ismo, or els vpon those rockes which are couered with the sea at the Iland of Cares. The gallies of Cartagena.

And put case that in this place, we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates & Pinnesses through this narrow mouth; then we are to haue in a readinesse 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the gallies, & to row with cares, and so to go to the narrow mouth, and there to stay in the channell. And forasmuch as the entring in is so dangerous, according as I haue certified your Maiestie, there can no ship come into this harbour, but we must needes sinke them; so that these defences shall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but also animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie: for they haue beene and are in such feare of the enemie, and Pirates, that if wee had not made these

these fortifications, strengthened the citie in this order, and put some souldiers in garison, the citizens would haue fledde, and forsaken this citie: for all the perswasions made to them by the gouernour coulde not perswade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee haue much to doe to make them to stay here: so nowe by reason of these souldiers which shall come hither, the people of the citie haue taken heart of grasse: so I haue tolde them that your maiestie will command that this citie and the Harbour shall be better fortified and made stronger, and all this which I haue caused to be builded, is with that money which I haue borowed of the citizens.

The poynt of Ycacos.

As touching the safegard and defence of this harbour, if your maiestie so please, here may we builde a very faire and strong castle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the side where the citie is builded, because all the shippes which doe come to this harbour, must come close abord this shore, so neere, that wee may cast a stone into them, and so ouertake any ship. So likewise if the shippes will goe on the other shore, then they doe goe in greater danger, because of those shoalds and ledges of rockes, and so are often cast away. And forasmuch as those ships which here doe arriue are brought hither by Easterly winds, and sometimes with those winds which come out from the sea, and therefore perforce must giue a good birth off, otherwise they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of necessity they must come so close to the shore: And on the other side where the Island of Cares standeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-square, and plant some foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and this will serue for the night, if occasion be offered that any small shippe or barke should come in here, or any pinnesse in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fleete which shoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour: so the fort beeing on the one side, and the tower on the other side, keeping good watch, there can no shippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee espied.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towardes the Island of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the shore, as I haue already certified your maiestie, there may another castle be made, and there foure or fiue pieces of ordinance planted, and some sixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward: this being done, your maiestie shall haue this citie very well fortified, by reason it is of such importance for the seruice of your maiestie, and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies: for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Ouer against this point of the Ycacos, in the Isle of Cares, hard by the water side, there are great store of stones, free stones, and other stones to make lyme, and wood to burne the stones withall for the lyme, and great part of the stones doe lie about the water: so the wood will cost but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will bee brought to good perfection, for wee haue already made triall thereof, for there was neuer building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor perished by the sea: so the charge hereof will be but litle or nothing.

And for to put this in practise to build a fort, it is needefull that your maiestie should send hither and to many other places, where any fort shall bee made, some store of Negros, and to this place would be sent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Hauana are not to bee imployed there, nor those which are in Sant Iuan de Vllua, it may please your maiestie to cause them to bee sent for to this place, for most of them be artificers, some masons, bricklayers, smithes and sawyers, and to send some masons from Spaine to teach our men these occupations. And after these fortifications are ended and all furnished, then the Negros may be solde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is sold here for 600. and 700. pezos.

Nombre de Dios

NOmbre de Dios is builded vpon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie housholdes or inhabitants: their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which

which are there be foreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and some places of the land are ouerflowen with water continually by reason of much raine which doth fall vpon the hils. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is subiect to Northerly winds and Easterly windes, which continually doe blow vpon this coast: many of the great ships which doe come to this place doe vnlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour: and after that a ship hath vnladen halfe of her goods, then shee goeth to the second rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the small ships come neere vnto another rocke on the West side. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northwest, and that it ouerblowe, then such great ships as then be in the roade must of force more themselues with sixe cables a head, especially in a storme, and yet neuerthelesse sometimes they are driuen ashore and so cast away, and all because they dare not vier cable ynough, because of so many shelues and rockes which are in both those places: also the shippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reason in foule weather the Sea will bee mightily growen, which is the cause that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are vnhanged, the cause thereof is by reason the shippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great sea.

The citie is builded and situated very well if it were a good harbour, it standeth vpon the Eastside vpon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the safegard of this harbour: but seeing it is but a bad hauen and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your maiestie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, so that these townesmen may defend themselues from danger of 3. or 4. ships.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the waves are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the siluer is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your maiesties treasure as other marchandize: so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the marchandize are carried to the riuer of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought vp by this riuer within fiue leagues of Panama vnto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama vpon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remooue this way and to stop it quite vp, and so to make it againe vpon the side of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your maiestie will giue order that this citie should be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountaines of Capira, by reason it may not be frequented and because the high waues are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and so shut vp, and the chanell of this harbour may bee stopt with the timber of those old ships which are laid vp here euery yeere, and then afterwards may be cast a great number of stones into the same, and so by this meanes to damme vp the harbour: and here is great want of stones to ballast the shippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Island three leagues from Cartagena called Isla de los Bastimentos, and this is a thing very needefull for this Countrey, as by experience I haue seene.

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce.

Puerto Bello.

PVerto Bello lieth fiue leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward: It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receiue great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water: for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the middest of the same harbour you shall find twelue fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelue small riuers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and so doe meete all together: so that the fleete may at all times prouide themselues of fresh water so much as shall serue their turnes. And likewise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes, and stones to ballast shippes. Also the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Westerly, which is seldome seene vpon this coast. The windes which doe most blowe vpon this coast are Northerly windes, and

and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Easterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about fiue hundred yards long, and so many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is some 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring farther in, sixe fathome, all ooze and muddie ground: so that if a ship should chance to strike or come aground, shee could take no harme being soft ooze; also it doth ebbe and flow according as I haue certified your maiestie already.

And likewise the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good: and with all kinde of weather a shippe may set saile from this place except with a Westerly wind: and all this coast is very cleane where a shippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is inuironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is ouerflowen with water: it may bee easily dryed vp and walled round about, so this land will serue very well to feede cattell. For that is the chiefest thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this pasture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no pasture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of flesh which is spent in this place is brought from Panama: so towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may bee newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little riuers of fresh water very sweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to sow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Also in this circuite there are great stones to make lyme, and these stones must needes prooue very good as I doe thinke, but we neuer had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things necessary to builde a citie, where your maiestie may haue your armies and fleetes of shippes to ride at an anker in safetie without danger of loosing: and it is a very healthfull countrey, and where the citie shall be builded it is all stony ground: and forasmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt vnto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receiue in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and so from thence to goe into the sea, as more at large your maiestie may see by my platforme.

If it would please your maiestie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable vnto the citizens by reason that all their houses are made of timber, and they may benefite themselues with the same againe, and likewise with the tyles of their houses: the greatest charge will bee to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it please your maiestie that the sayd citie of Nombre de Dios should bee builded in this harbour the first thing which must be finished is to make vp this high way, and so to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre Dios, and the Contractation house, and so newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of shippes from time to time to come and vnlade their goods in this said Puerto Bello: And that those marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios, shall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouses for receiuing of their goods. So by these meanes in short time it will be greatly inhabited with people: also the fleete shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe vse to vnlade those marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water vp to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning feuer. There are but 60. dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne desolate, euery man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more securitie thereof and defence of the towne it is needefull to build vpon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort

fouresquare

fouresquare that will hold foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt sixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee shall haue no occasion to make any more defence, by reason the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And so likewise on the other side to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and fiue and twentie souldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance because it must be builded on the towne side. And a little beyond this place on the Northside there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: so this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coast along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the East to the West, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put case that the fort which is builded on the other side doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy should chance to come into the harbour, and bee succoured and holpen by the citizens, and twenty musketters being planted vpon a mount which lieth ouer the fort, will bee sufficient to defende vs from a good many of our enemies, that shoulde come to assault vs, because all the countrey is full of rockes and stones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to ioyne with that way which shall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with small charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occasion shoulde serue wee may stop vp the way which doth goe to Capira, and the rest of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me that this way would not bee very troublesome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good store of water in this place, which in the Sommer is all dryed vp, and where these waters are, there we may builde a causey, to which purpose there are great quantities of stones and timber very seruiceable: so this way may bee made with that treasure which your maiestie doeth receiue of the auerages and customes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount vnto twelue or foureteene thousand pezos yeerely: and an order might be taken for the same, that the sayd money may serue for the building and reparing of these wayes.

Panama.

PAnama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said city of fryers, the one is of Dominicks, the other is of Augustines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers: also there is a College of Iesuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is situated hard by the sea side on a sandy bay: the one side of this citie is enuironed with the sea, and on the other side it is enclosed with an arme of the sea which runneth vp into the land 1000. yards.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are sixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townesmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are freemen: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and most of them are imployed in your maiesties seruice, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie vpon a great riuers side, which is a league from the sea right ouer against the harbour of Pericos. But there is no trust nor confidence in any of these Negros, and therefore we must take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies. Panama hath 250 houses. Negros Simerons mortall enemies to the Spaniyards.

There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault vs. The one is at the bridge which is builded vpon the riuer: and on the one side of this, there lieth a creeke: so on this side the citie is very strong, because it is all soft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe vpon it. And right ouer against it there lieth a riuer which is in maner like vnto a ditch or moate; and on the other side of the Riuer there lieth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, so that

on this side the city is very strong, for with very small store of souldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The best way to take Panama.

The greatest danger for the surprising of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios: for all this way is playne ground and no woods: and 2000 yardes from this citie there lieth a riuer called Lauanderas, where the women doe vse to wash their linnen: and this riuer doth goe into the creeke, according as I haue certified your maiestie: and being once past this riuer, there is a causey which goeth directly vnto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the sea at a stone bridge lying vpon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor resisted, because it is all plaine ground and medowes.

Perico.

Vpon the East side of this citie there are your maiesties royall houses builded vpon a rocke ioining hard to the Sea side, and they doe as well leane towards the sea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in these houses, and likewise the prison. And in this place all your maiesties treasure is kept. There dwelleth in these houses your maiesties Treasurer, the Lord President, and 3. Iudges, and master Atturney. All these doe dwell in these houses, and the rest of your maiesties officers: which are sixe houses besides those of the Lord President, the which are all dwelling houses, and all adioining together one by another along vpon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houses are. So where the prison standeth and the great hall, these two places may bee very well fortified, because they serue so fitly for the purpose, by reason they are builded towardes the sea, and that there lye certaine small rocks, which at a lowe water are all discouered and drie, and some of them are seene at a high water. Right ouer these houses to the Eastwardes there lyeth an Island about fiue hundred yardes from these houses, and the Island is in forme of a halfe moone; and in this order it runneth all alongst very neere the maine land: so ouer against these houses there lyeth the harbour where all the shippes doe vse to ride at an anker, after that they haue discharged and vnladen their marchandize. For when they haue their lading aboord, there can come in none but small Barkes, and at a lowe water the shippes are all aground and drie, and so is all the space some thirtie yardes from those houses. Right ouer against them standeth the citie.

An Island in the harbour of Panama.

When newes were brought to this citie of those Pirates which were come vpon this coast, the Lord President and Iudges commanded that there should a sconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie against the enemie, and to keepe your maiesties treasure. So your officers caused Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewise Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garrison of Ballano: for all these are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes spoyle all this countrey.

Places good to land in.

There are three sundry places where this citie may without difficulty be taken, and spoyled by the Pirates. The first is on the North seas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Aele to the Eastwards, where once before certaine men of warre haue entred into those seas. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe trauel vpon those waters, and an other very badde way, which is the going vp of certaine rockes and mountaines which they must climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, so in this place with very small store of souldiers wee can defend our selues from the fury of the enemie, so these dwellers doe say that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water.

1. Place. This was Oxenham.

2. Place.

3. Place.

The other entrance is vp the riuer of Chagre, which riuers mouth lyeth eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Westwards falling into the North sea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe most feare, for they may come vp this riuer to Venta de Cruzes, and so from thence march to this citie, which is but fiue leagues off. So vp this riuer there goe boates and barkes which doe carry 320. Quintals waight. These are they which carry the most part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be transported to Peru,

The place of most aduantage for the English.

Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into these seas, they may very easily come vp this riuer as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march vnto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinnesses, ready made in foure quarters, and so taken in sunder, may afterwards set them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath vsed it once before when he came that voyage; and so he may attempt vs both by sea and land. And forasmuch as the most part of these people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne persons in safetie, and saue their goods; as it hath bene sene heretofore in other places of these Indies.

So if it will please your maiesty to cause these houses to bee strongly fortified, considering it standeth in a very good place, and if any sudden alarms shoulde happen, then the citizens with their goods may get themselues to this place, and so escape the terrour of the enemy: and so this will be a good securitie for all the treasure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which haue robbed in these parts, haue gone about what they can to stoppe this passage, and so by this meanes to stoppe the trade of Spaine, and to set souldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your maiesties treasure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behoooueth your maiestie to fortifie these places very strongly.

These places being fortified in this maner, your maiesty shal haue al your gold and siluer brought home in safetie which commeth from Peru. And all those commodities which are laden in Spaine may come safe to this place. And if perchance any rebels should rise in these parts, which would rebel against your maiestie, which God forbid, & if they should chãce to ioyn with any of these pirats, hauing this place so wel fortified, & Puerto Bello in ỹ North parts, & so to send some garrison your maiestie needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of these places shalbe intercepted, thẽ your maiestie hath no other place fitter then this to land your maiesties souldiers, for then they haue but 18. leagues to march by land, & presently they may be shipped to supply these places which shal stand in most need of them. In al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are some ships and barks. The harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I haue certified your maiestie, thorow the streits of Magellane, & arriue at that instant, when those barks, do come from Peru with your maiesties gold & siluer, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks; so the enemy may come and take al their treasure, & not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your maiesties houses which are builded of timber: the President and Iudges did cause it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, & pirats cõming for these parts. So this trench is thus maintained vntil such time as your maiesties pleasure is to the contrary, & in such wise that your souldiers may fight lying behind the trench: so there is order giuen to build a platforme vpon the plaine ground, and so to plant such ordinance in those places, as shall be thought most conuenient.

Rebellion feared in the West Indies.

5. or 6. millions of gold & siluer.

If it wil please your maiestie, here we may make a sconce or fort toward the land side, & so trench it round about and build it with stone, because here is a place and al things readie for the same purpose; and by this meanes the citie would be securely kept: as for the sea there is no danger at al, by reason that the water doth ebbe & flow twise a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be al ozy & muddy ground and rocks, so that in no wise at a low water the enemy can wade ouer the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Island til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Westward: this is a very sure harbor by reason of 3. Islands which do ioyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Islands do enclose the harbor round about, the harbor is a very high land, & the Ilands are but reasonable high, there is good store of fresh water: also there hath neuer any ship bene cast away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful sea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very

The harbour of Perico.

good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ships they may hale them ashore. All those ships and barks which come from Peru with gold, siluer or any other kind of commodities, do first come to an anker in this harbour, and if they haue a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for so much as the harbour hath no defence for the safegard of the ships, if a man of warre should chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treasure may be very easily taken. And likewise these barks & ships which do nauigate in the South seas carrie not so much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not passing 5 leagues; so that if any pinnesse should happen to arriue there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treasure which is in those barks, by reason that from the shore they cannot be rescued nor holpen, because it is an Island and refuge for all ships and barks. If it would please your maiestie here might some fort or defence bee made in the middlemost Island, and some ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, because in the said Island there are all kinde of necessaries fit for that purpose, so by this meanes your maiestie may haue both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

Nota.

A new way into the southsea.

And likewise there is another entring into the South sea which is called the riuer of Francisca, which lieth on this side of the Cabeça de Catiua, and this riuer doth come into another riuer which is called Caracol, and is fiue leagues from this citie; and once before these Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The riuer of Chagre.

These fiue leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

THe riuer of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this riuer is in the North seas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed vp this riuer certaine quantitie of those merchandize which are vnladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this riuer to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes vnlade their commodities, they are carried vpon mules to Panama, which is but fiue leagues off from this place.

This riuer hath great store of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this riuer are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but small store of water: so then the barkes haue much to doe to get vp this riuer: and in many places these barkes are constrained to vnlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens strength and force a good way vp the riuer, and therefore if it would please your maiestie to command that all those goods may bee first vnladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle castle in the mouth of the said riuer, and at the foote of the castle to build a storehouse to vnlade and keepe all the sayd goods, and there to build other barks of lesse burthen: then these would serue for Sommer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would please your maiestie, there might a very good high way be made on the one side of the riuer, and so they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much cost because it is all plaine ground, and there is growing vpon the sayd riuer great store of timber and trees which doe lie ouerthwart the said Riuer; so that they are very cumbersome and great annoiance vnto the said boates, aswell those that go vp the said Riuer, as also that doe come downe the said Riuer.

And therefore if it might please your maiestie to command, that Puerto bello might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Riuers side, euery thing would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were caried vp the Riuer: for it is a great danger to cary them vp by land, for it is daily seene that the mules do many times fall and breake their neckes with their lading vpon their backs, as well the treasure as other kinde of commodities, because it is such a bad way. And your maiestie might be at this charges and spend your reuenewes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which do yerely yield 12 or 14 thousand pezos, & this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to those, which doe trade and traffick, and to those merchantes which doe send their goods ouer-land, and ease them much of paine and purse, because the other is a most filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the Dogge, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India.

THe aforesaide ship called the Dogge, of the burthen of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the West India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fel into her lapse and were forced to yeeld vnto the mercie of the English: the last that they met within the Bay was a Spanish man of warre, whom the English chased, and after three seuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, pressed him so farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboord the English. Where after conference about those matters that had passed in the fight betwixt them, they receiued reasonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, inuited our men to their shippe, who perswading themselues of good meaning of the Spanish, went aboord: but honest and friendly dealing was not their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Roger Kingsnod the English Pilote to the heart and slewe him, and others were serued with the like sauce, onely William Mace the Master & others, notwithstanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouerboord into the sea, and so came safe to their own ship: and directing his course for England, arriued at Plimouth the tenth day of September, 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriuall of the rest of his consorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long since obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the aforesaid William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkinson of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtill enemie, and neuer to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shall be able to master them: for otherwise whosoeuer shall through simplicitie trust their curtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie. Spanish treason.

CERTAINE SPANISH LETTERS

INTERCEPTED BY SHIPPES OF THE WORSHIPFULL MASTER IOHN WATTES WRITTEN FROM DIUERSE PLACES OF THE ISLANDES AND OF THE MAINE LAND AS WELL OF NUEUA ESPANNA, AS OF TIERRA FIRMA AND PERU, CONTAINING MANY SECRETS TOUCHING THE AFORESAID COUNTREYS, AND THE STATE OF THE SOUTH SEA, AND THE TRADE TO THE PHILIPPINAS.

A leter sent from Hauana in Cuba from the general of the fleete Iohn de Orimo to the king of Spaine the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

IT may please your maiestie that at the date hereof one of the Frigates was lanched: and three more will be ready against the fleete depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners. And hauing good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend vs. For wee shall both leaue and take at all times when we list. But it behooueth your maiestie to send both souldiers

souldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we haue great want of souldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, shot, caliuers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For these things are not here to bee had for money: and likewise to send some great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ships are so weake and so vnprouided, that they haue almost none to defend themselues. Also we shall be constrained to giue the carena againe vnto al the ships; for they are very weake by reason of the long voyage: and the mariners and souldiers are wearie with their long trauelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would please your maiestie to command with all expedition that these souldiers and mariners with all kinde of other furniture might be sent vs, then the fleete may set forward and so proceede on their voyage. God preserue your Catholike royal maiestie. Frō Hauana the 20 of October 1590.

Your maiesties seruant, whose royall feet I kisse.
Iohn de Orimo General of your Fleete.

A Letter sent from the Gouernor of Hauana Iohn de Trexeda, to the king of Spaine, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

BY three shippes which departed from this Harbour since the Fleetes arriuall here, I haue giuen your maiestie at large to vnderstand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your maiestie must prouide. And now once againe I will returne to put your maiestie in minde thereof. I beseech your maiestie to command to be prouided and to be sent hither two hundred Negros, if you will haue this fortification to goe forwardes: because your maiestie is here at great charges with the master workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaseth farther and farther, so we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewise to keep it. We dare not meddle with those of the Galies. And likewise it may please your maiestie to send new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I haue sent to your maiestie of late, which doeth signifie our wants more at large.

The newe fortification in Hauana.

Likewise it is needeful that your maiestie should send powder and match to furnish these forts. And likewise to send money to pay those souldiers which are newly come hither, & for that companie of souldiers which were sent from Mexico to this place. For it behooueth your maiestie not to haue them as yet left, till such time as the defences about the forts bee finished, and that which is in building vpon the hill, which will be ended very shortly if you send the Negros and yron tooles.

Souldiers sent to Hauana.

A fort vpon an hill.

Likewise I haue certified your maiestie, that with all speed I am making ready of the fiue Frigates, that they may cary all the treasure. Also Iohn de Orimo seeing that it is of so great importance to haue them dispatched, doeth furnish mee with some money, although somewhat scantly, vntill such time as your maiestie doth send him some order therefore. I beseech you to command it to bee done; considering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Maiestie shall more at large perceiue, what hath bene spent. These Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arriued: but I doe stay the comming thereof euery day, according as the Duke of Medina and Iohn de Ibarra haue written vnto me, that those ships which should bring the same were ready to depart from thence. All these things it behoueth your Maiestie to send in time: for I can assure your Maiestie that you shall not haue vpon the sea such good shippes as these are. For as touching the other ships of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not conuenient to venture the siluer in them. This counsell your Maiestie shall not take of mee, for I am a souldier, and haue but small skill in nauigation. But euery day it is told me openly and in secret by many of the pilots, captaines, masters and mariners.

Fiue Frigats made at Hauana. Iohn de Orimo General of the fleete.

The excellency of the great Frygates built in Cuba.

As touching the copper, I haue put it in practise twise more, and haue made proofe thereof: wherein there hath bene more spent, then I was willing there should haue bene, because I haue gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cause, but that it is not done effectually by those

Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

those that haue the working thereof. Therefore I beseech your Maiestie to send me that same founder which I wrote to your Maiestie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Maiestie many yeeres. From Hauana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Maiesties seruant, whose royall feete I kisse.
IOHN DE TREXEDA gouernour of Hauana.

A letter sent to Don Petro de Xibar one of his Maiesties priuie Counsel of the West Indies, from Don Diego Mendez de Valdes Gouernour of S. Iuan de Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590, touching the state of that Citie and Island.

I Receiued your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I receiued great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the imprisonment of our cousin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieue me to the very soule. I beseech God to send him his libertie: and likewise the imprisonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieueth me very much: I pray God to send good iustice. The M. of the fielde Iuan de Texela, and the M. workeman Iuan Baptista Antonio arriued here in safetie, and haue viewed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the situation as I haue informed his maiestie thereof. They haue marked a place to build a strong fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it standeth in a good situation, and in a conuenient place on a high mount which doeth lye vpon the entering in of the Harbour, & so cutteth ouer to a point of land, leauing in the Fort as much space as will containe 3000 persons, without ioyning thereunto any part of the coast. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Cita della. He left me great store of yron worke, tooles, eight workemen, and 200 Nggros, which are the kings. And the Island doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His maiestie hath sent me a warrant to spend the prouision of the Island, & to take those rents which his maiesty hath here, & to certifie his maiestie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen & that they may haue all things necessary. So I haue sent to Nueua Espanna, for such things as are here wanting. I haue writte to the M. of the field, which is gone to Hauana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition should go forward, seeing that it is begun for the defence of the Island. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemie, in respect of the great danger which otherwise might happen, if the enemie should come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewise that his maiestie would send me that which I do request. And the most principal thing of al is, to send more Negros. And sending me all these things which be needful, I trust in God I shal in short time build vp the fort, to defend vs from the enemie. The fort must be builded triangle wise: for it will reach into the bay: and we shal be able to plant in the same 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-cannon, and Colueríne. The M. of the field, hath promised to send me some from Hauana. For that he is determined to cast some there, by reason of the great store of copper, which now of late is found in Hauana: for here we haue as yet but small store of ordinance to defend vs. I looke for 5 Canons which his maiestie should send from Spaine, with shot and powder, and al kinde of weapons, because that here is great want in the Island. His maiestie hath sent the whole number of 200 sculdiers, and in the companie there came two capitaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twise in a moneth I muster all the men in the Iland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horsemen. The forte when it is ended will be the strongest that his maiestie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey sleepe in security. For commonly before, the Englishmen would come and beard vs to the hauens mouth. God keep your honour, and send you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590.

Pedro de Valdes, prisoner in England.

John Baptista Antonio the graueall Ingenous of the West Indies.

A strong fort newly builded in S. Iuan de puerto Rico.

This fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598.

Copper mines found neere Hauana.

300 soulders sent to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Iuan de puerto Rico Island.

The boldnes of the English.

The Gouernor DIEGO MENDEZ DE VALDES.

A letter to Iohn Lopez Canauate, Alderman in the towne of Canauate in Spaine written from his seruant Iuan de Porua Canauates, from Hauana the seuenteenth of October 1590, touching the state of the said place.

THIS is to giue you to vnderstand, that since my departure from S. Lucar I haue written vnto you twise of my arriual here, and what successe I haue had. And nowe you shall vnderstand

derstand that I am determined to goe for Nueua Espanna. For I stay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the souldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neuerthelesse I hope in God, to finde some friend to conuey mee away from hence. This country is so close and narrow, that if a man steale not away hidden in some shippe, it is not possible for him to escape, nor to goe a league out of the towne, no way but by sea. And because the harbour is so close, it is the best harbour and the surest in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow streight chanel, which continueth as long as a caliuer shot, and from that place the riuer openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two strong forts, which are fortified with very great store of ordinance: besides another strong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, so that it is impossible to take it. There are in these three Fortes, a thousand souldiers in Garison. And likewise here are two galies to keepe the coast. Yet for all this, the audacious Englishmen being without all shame are not afraid to come and dare vs at our owne doores. Our iourney to goe for England is most certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ships, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very strong shippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongst the shoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher because here is great store of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reason that at that time the Englishmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I rest, from this Island of S. Christopher in Hauana this present day on S. Lukes euen; the 17 of October 1590.

The souldiers run away from Hauana.

The boldnes of the English.

18 ships builded in Cuba against England.

Your Worships seruant, Iohn de Porva Canavates.

A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaino to his Father Antonio Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish. Written the 20 of Iune 1590.

HAuing written to your worship by a friend of mine at large, nowe I will bee somewhat short. And this is onely to giue you to vnderstand, that foure moneths past, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ships that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spanish commodities downe to this harbour, to ship them for that countrey. It is one of the best harbours in all Nueua Espanna; and where the ships may ride most safely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth vnder a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ships of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which onely serue to cary our commodities to China, and so to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is aboue two thousand leagues, farther than from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two first ships depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when those two ships are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very strong with souldiers. I can certifie you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wares which I caried with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with those silkes, and other commodities which I brought with mo from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine silkes had not bene spoiled with salt water. So as I sayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in safetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, coming in a ship from China to Nueua Espanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which robbed vs and afterward burned our ship, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities.

Acapulco the harbour where the ships lie that goe for China.

Fro Acapulco, to China aboue 2000 leagues.

Flemish wares good in China. A wonderful thing.

M. Thomas Candish.

If I should write to you of the state of this countrey of China, and of the strange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to doe it, in an whole quire of paper. Onely I may certifie you, that it is the goodliest countrey, and the richest, and most plentifull in all the world. For here are great store of golde mynes, siluer mynes, and pearle,

pearle, great store of cotten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing else but fine cotten cloth, which is more accepted then silkes. For here is great store of silkes, & they are good cheape. All kinde of victuals, as bread, flesh, wines and hennes and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great store of fresh riuers. The people are very louing. Here are very faire cities and townes with costly buildings, better then those in Spaine. And the countrey people go very richly apparelled both in silkes and gold. But here we haue order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China aboue 3 yeres, and afterwards they must returne againe into Nueua Espanna, and other souldiers must come in their places. The countrey is very vnwholesome for vs Spaniards. For within these 20 yeres of 14000, which haue gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead and not past 1000 of them left aliue. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath giuen to the Spaniards freely: which shall be the place where the ships shall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great riuer which goeth vp into the maine land, vnto diuers townes and cities, which are neere to this riuer. And thus troubling you no farther I rest. From Mexico the 20 of Iune 1590.

Gold mynes, siluer mynes and Pearles, in China.

Fine linnen cloth greatly esteemed in China.

Not aboue one thousand Spaniards in the Philippinas

Your obedient sonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

A Letter of Bartholomew Cano to Peter de Tapia in Siuill, from Mexico the 30 of May 1590, touching the state of Nueua Espanna, and the fleet of that yeere.

BEcause I haue answered your letters which I haue receiued in the last Fleet, as touching that matter I haue no more to say. The occasion of my writing vnto you at this time, is to giue you to vnderstand, that those commodities which came in the last Fleet, were sold at the first good cheape, and those that bought them, got much by them. For now at this instant white Roan cloth is solde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cause of this was, by reason there came a caruel of Aduise from Hauana; which brought vs newes, how the armie that his maiestie did send for England, was all spoiled and cast away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cause that all linnen cloth is very deere in these parts. Wines also are very deere: for they are sold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in August last 1589. Cochinilla was sold at that instant for 50 pesos the quintall; and now it is sold for 55 pesoes. And since that newes came from Spaine in a caruel of S. Lucar, that it was solde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arouas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arouas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treasure, more then hath bene sent to Spaine these many yeeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all these prouinces doe send great quantitie to supply the Kings wants: for that his maiestie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of these countreyes to ayde him with much money towardes the maintenance of his warres against France and other places, & therefore they haue sent good store: God send it well to Spaine. There are likewise laden aboord the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great store of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke siluer is here very deere, for here is almost none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke siluer wee cannot refine our gold. And no man vpon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all must come for the Kings account: and so the King doeth sell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I rest: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

BARTHOLOMEW CANO.

A letter of Frier Alonso new elected Bishop of Mechuacan, to the king of Spaine, written in Peru in the citie de los Reyes the first of March 1590, touching the state of Arica a chiefe Hauen in Peru.

VPon Christmas euen the yere 1589, I receiued your maiesties commission in Potossi. For which I am and shall be continually bound to pray for your maiesties long health, for the

great benefits which your maiestie hath bestowed vpon me, in sending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great trauell and paines may be recompenced, which I haue taken with that vngrateful and desperate people of the riuer of Plate, which they haue bene the occasion of, in dealing so badly with me their Pastour, which haue counselled them, that they should haue a great care to serue God, and be dutifull to your maiestie, according as euery good and true subiect ought to do. Now for this gift which your maiestie hath bestowed on me, I most humbly kisse your maiesties handes a thousand times. Thus presently I departed from Potossi somewhat sickely, to accomplish that which your maiestie hath commanded me. So I arriued at Lima in safetie the first of February by the way of Arica, which is an hauen towne, where they imbarke all the barres of siluer. And there I haue seene what is done, & what they haue prouided against the Englishmen in that hauen: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters side, with certaine small pieces of ordinance in the said fort to offend the enemie, if occasion should serue that they should offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to haue souldiers, foote men, and horsemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which should keepe the coast, if they should offer to land and march vp into the countrey. And likewise the people of this countrey haue told me, that if vpon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the hauens mouth, on the Southside of the harbour where the sea doth beat, ther were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemie great hurt, a league into the sea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Vrtado de Mendoça, worthy of that dignitie, is in great fauour with al those of these realmes: for that he is a great solliciter both by sea and land in all kinde of diligence, not loosing one houre in your seruice, and that which he hath in charge. With as much speed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to serue that church and your maiesty: and there I will remaine according to your maiesties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your maiesty many yeres in his holy seruice. From the city de los Reyes the first of March 1590.

The people of the Riuer of Plate.

100 men wanting.

Good watch continually kept.

Frier Alonso bishop of Mechuacan.

A letter of Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola to Don Iohn Garcias de Penalosa from Arica on the coast of Peru the tenth of March 1590.

AFter my long trauell and badde successe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a souldier: a thing in this countrey which is most hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beasts: and is an occupation which is chosen of idle persons. The occasion of this is, that there haue bene in these seas, and yet are certeine English rouers: and in seeking of them I haue trauelled these three yeres: the one of the yeres a souldier, and the other two yeeres I haue gone for captaine and ensigne-bearer. And at this time here is arriued Don Garcias Vrtado de Mendoça viceroy of these realmes: who hath chosen me to be chiefe ensigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to scoure the coast. For here we haue newes of the enemy, which is comming vpon the coast: for wee haue stayed for their comming these foure moneths the same way which they must come, in a hauen called Arica, which is the first entry of Peru. So I haue 90 pezos a moneth, besides other profits, at nine reals the pezo; & foure shares at nine reals the pezo. So that I haue 1800 pezos euery yere of pay: for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I haue alwayes 400 ducats in my chest to goe like a man. I beseech God send vs quietnesse. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to serue the king his master in these actions. And thus I rest. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

English men in the South-sea sought 3 yeres.

This was M. Chidleys fleet, wherof the Delight was in the streights of Magelan in Ianuary and Feb. 1589.

I kisse your worships hands, and am at your commandement
Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are in Arica men of warre, with

with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great store of souldiers which keepe this hauen: for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certeine Englishmen of war comming thither. This hauen of Arica is the best harbour in all the South sea: for all the siluer which commeth from the mines of Potossi, is shipt in this harbour, and so brought to Lima. And likewise all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quicksiluer, is vnladen in this harbour, and so caried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of siluer are. This was M. Iohn Chidleys fleet.

A letter of the Licentiate Christopher Vslano to Gonsaluo de Solana in the city of Encisa in Spaine, written from the city of Potossi in Peru the 20 of Iuly 1590, touching a great plague in Peru, and the shortnesse of the passage from the riuer of Plate into Potossi in Peru.

THe last yeere 1588 I receiued letters from your worship and from my sister: and since that time I haue receiued none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potossi: for that there hath beene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen vse to sowe their corne: and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in Aprill there be no raine, the corne which is sowen will consume away: and so for want of raine we haue had two badde yeres of corne. And likewise here hath bene in these countreys of Potossi, and in the city De la paz, great sicknesse among the Indians, Mullatos, and Mestiços, called the small pocks, and a certeine plague, which hath destroyed all this countrey. And there haue no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age: so for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This sicknesse runneth al along the coast of Peru, and hath passed into the streights of Magallanes, whence we haue newes that those souldiers which were sent from Spain thither to build those forts are most of them dead, & especially the workemen which came to make the forts. The Generall Don Diego de Abolos hath written to his maiesty to send more souldiers and more workemen, whereby these three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement. This sicknesse came first from Cartagena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues distant: and, as I sayd, it hath gone all Peru ouer, to the vtter vndoing of this countrey: I pray God to cease it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, send them in those shippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great store of ships which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes sailing ouer a gulfe to Brasill. And from Brasill their shippes bring their Negros to a hauen called The hauen of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie riuer of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spanish and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potossi in carts and on horses: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes iourney, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to trauaile. And from Potossi to this harbour is great store of treasure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and so they are shipped for Portugall: and the ships go and come againe in short time. If his maiestie will consent that we may haue traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be very profitable: and in fiue or sixe moneths I shall heare from you, & you shall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is sometime 2. yeres before we can receiue your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and so by this meane the letters may speedily come to my hand. And thus I rest. From this citie of Potossi the 20. of Iuly 1590. Famine. Plague. Peru vtterly vndone with the plague. A short passage from Buenos Aeres in the riuer of Plate to Peru. The tediousnesse of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER VSLANO.

A letter of Steuen de Tresio to Alonso Martines Vaca in Siuil from Panama the 21. of August 1590. touching the kings desire to borrow money vpon priuie seales, and the want of the countrey.

IT may please your worship to vnderstand, that I haue receiued a packet of letters from you, wherein you write vnto me of the great miseries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promise

promise you that these countreys are in no lesse. For here is great want of corne and other kind of prouision: for here is almost none to be had for any money, by reason that from Lima there is no shipping come with maiz. Here wee haue had newes from Spaine of the great prouisiõ which is making ready for those great wars which his maiestie is in preparing, & of the great sums of money that his maiestie standeth in neede of: So that it doth put vs all that are dwellers here in such a perplexitie and confusion, that we know not what we shall doe. I pray God his maiestie take not away our money which wee haue sent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that haue sent some 200000. pezos, some 100000. pezos, some 60000. some more some lesse, to haue it imployed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath sent hither his scedule or bill of assignement signed and sealed by his maiestie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man soeuer marchant or other will send their money into Spaine in that fleete, his maiestie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in so doing will bee a great comfort vnto vs all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from vs all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we haue none: But I can certifie your worshippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we stand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewise we haue great want of money. Also here is order come from the king with certaine priuie seales for to lend his maiestie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this instant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reason that this lande is left so vnprouided of money: But wee are looking for great store of money, which is to come from Lima and from the Valles.

Priuie seales to borrow money sent into Peru.

Abundance of money to come from Lima and from The Valles.

From Panama the 12. of August 1590.

STEVEN DE TRESIO.

A letter of the Licentiate Iohn de Labera to the Licentiate Alonso Sapata de Henao in Castile in Calamea de la Sorengo, written from S. Fee de Bogota in the new kingdom of Granada, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich siluer mines of Marequita newly found out, and the long way thither by the riuer of Magdalena.

WIth other letters which I dispatched frõ hẽce in August 1589. I wrote vnto your worship by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you haue receiued them or no. Presently after I departed to the gouernment of Popayan, which ioineth with the citie of Quito in the coast of Peru, in companie of the gouernors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forsake his companie, by reason I fell sicke in the citie of Marequita, where they haue discouered the great siluer mines: which citie is aboue 200. leagues from Cartagena: where I remained a certaine time very sicke. And because this countrey is extreme hotte, and I euery day grew worse and worse, I was faine to trauaile 30. leagues further vp into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coast of Peru: which is a cold countrey: where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Royal audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my selfe very healthy of bodie, by reason this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheese, bacon, beefe, great store of hennes, and great store of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde: so that this countrey will be vtterly vndone, if the mines of Marequita help not to restore the same again: whereof there is good hope: for here is great store of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the said metal: so that we are in good hope that great store of siluer will be found in these mines of great value and profite to his maiestie. This riuer is called the great riuer of Magdalena. There is a fish in the riuer called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas: and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and deuoure him. All night they lie in the sand on shore. In this riuer as we are going vp, there is at certaine seasons great store of lightning and thunder, with such abundance of raine, as though the skies would fall downe: and so it doth continue from midnight vntil morning: so that we are faine to go aboord the canoas, & with certaine broad leaues which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a couering to cast ouer the wares which are laden in the

The citie of Santa Fee in the new kingdom of Granada.

Great store of metal found in the newe mines of Marequita.

The great riuer of Magdalena.

the canoas: and it doth keepe both the raine & sunne from vs which are passengers. The canoas are drawen vp this riuer of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide these canoas, besides the Master which keepeth the helme, and the passengers. We are commonly two moneths in going vp this riuer. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants vnlade their marchandise, which serue for all the cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great store of siluer and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is shipped for Spaine. And likewise here is great quantitie of treasure laden in the sayd canoas which is for the kings custome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the riuer to Cartagena. These are the richest mines in all Peru. And thus I rest. The richest mines in all Peru.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10 of May 1590.

The Licentiate Iohn de Labera.

A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to the licenciat Iohn Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama to Siuil the 24. day of August 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the Philippinas, and the extreme feare they haue of the Englishmen.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worship from Panama by the way of Hauana: giuing you to vnderstand of my being here, & of the state of these countreys. After I departed from Spaine, in 37. dayes wee arriued at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke shipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I haue remained these 20. dayes, till the shippes goe for the Philippinas. My meaning is to carie my commodities thither: for it is constantly reported, that for euery hundred ducats a man shall get 600. ducats cleerely. Wee must stay here in Panama from August till it be Christmasse. For in August, September, October and Nouember it is winter here, and extreme foule weather vpon this coast of Peru, and not nauigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place else in the South sea. So that at Christmasse the ships begin to set on their voyage for those places: and then in these parts the summer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we shall haue the windes with vs. For in Iuly vntil October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, so that it is not possible to go any way in this countrey. Here are in Panama 10. great ships of 500, 400, 300, & 200. tuns apiece, & some 15. barkes which vse commonly to saile in the South sea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey in the summer is so extreme hotte, that it is not possible to trauel in the day time: it standeth in 8. deg. & ½. and all this coast is in 9. and 10. deg. Here is great store of adders, snakes and toades, which are in the houses, but they doe but small hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reason the countrey doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is solde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few sheep, and those extreme deere. The only food here for flesh, are oxen, kine, buls & heifkers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their smallest money of siluer is a rial of plate, & very few of them, but all pieces of 4. & 8. For the siluer mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee spoken of. If a man did not see the siluer made, hee would neuer beleeue it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, & is afterward washed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great store of siluer afterward againe. But as here we get much, so our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth cost very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muske melons, and they are sold for 6. or 8. rials apeece. I can certifie your worship of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in such extreme feare of the Englishmen our enemies, that the like was neuer seene nor heard of: for in seeing a saile, presently The great profite of the trade to the Philippinas. Twenty li. of beefe may bee bought for one pence in Peru. The Englishmen extremely feared in Peru.

sently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write vnto me as touching the wars that his Maiestie hath with our enemies, and howe his Maiestie doth preuaile. And thus I rest. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590.

HIERONYMO de NABARES.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of Iune 1591. against certaine Spanish ships & gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight, then marshall of her Maiesties houshold, and captaine of the Ile of Wight, now lord Hunsdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Maiesties Pensioners.

THe 13. of Iune 1591. being Sunday, at 5. of the clock in the morning we descried 6. saile of the king of Spaine his ships. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were smal ships, each of them about 100. tuns. We met w̄ them off the Cape de Corrientes, which standeth on the Iland of Cuba. The sight of the foresaid ships made vs ioyfull, hoping that they should make our voyage. But assoone as they descryed vs, they made false fires one to another & gathered their fleet together, lying all close by a wind to the Southwards. We therefore at 6. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at East) hauing made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our selues for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare vp with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better directiō thereof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, & the Hopewel gaue their admiral the prow, bringing themselues to leeward of him. We in the Content bare vp with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broadside aweather of him) gaue him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming vp with another small ship ahead of the former, wee hailed her in such sort, that shee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ship, we saw a great smoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel & Swallow forsaking him with all the sailes they could make: whereupon bearing vp with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the small ships to windward of vs, purposing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to haue layd vs aboord. Thus (the fight continuing between vs and them 3. houres) we were forced to stand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd vs, as they might easily haue done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ship of theirs, stood off to sea with his topgallant saile, and all the sailes he could make: then might the Hopewel & the Swallow haue payd roome to second him, but they failed him as they did vs, standing off close by a wind to the Eastward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ships and one of their small. They hauing a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) w̄ both their great ships came vp faire by vs, shot at vs, and on the sudden furled their spritsailes & mainsailes, thinking that wee could not escape them. Then falling to prayer, we shipped our oars that we might rowe to shore, & anker in shallow water where their great ships could not come nie vs, for other refuge we had none. Then 1. of their smal ships being manned from 1. of their great, & hauing a boat to rowe thēselues in, shipped her oars likewise & rowed after vs, thinking w̄ their small shot to haue put vs frō our oars, vntil ỹ great ships might come vp with vs: but by ỹ time she was within musket shot, the Lord of his mercie did send vs a faire gale of wind at the Northwest off the shore. What time (they being all to leeward of vs) wee stood to the East. The small ship was vnder our lee within Falcon shot, and another great shippe lay to the Westward, so that wee could no way possibly escape them vpon that boord: then (we thinking to auoyd them by casting about to the Westwards) the other great shippe gate vnder our lee, and the small ship on our weather quarter, purposing to make vs pay roome with the great ship, by force of her small & great shot. Then (we being lerboord tacked, and they sterboord) we made her spring her looffe, and by a fortunate shot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon shee was forced to lay herselfe vpon the carena, and to stand with one of the

the other ships for ayde. Afterward (commending our selues to almightie God in prayer, and giuing him thankes for the winde which he had sent vs for our deliuerance) we looked forth and descryed two saile more to the ossen: these we thought to haue bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had stoode in to ayde vs: but it prooued farre otherwise, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe hauing a loome gale of winde, wee shipped our oars, and rowed off the shore: and our watch was no sooner set, but wee espied one gallie vnder our lee hard by vs, boging vp with vs. Then (because it was euening) one of the great ships discharged sixe great shot at vs, to the ende the gallies should knowe that wee were the shippe they looked for. Then the gallie came vp, and (hayling vs of whence our shippe was) a Portugall which wee had with vs, made them answere, that we were of the fleete of Tierra firma, and of Siuil: with that they bid vs amaine English dogs, and came vpon our quarter star-boord: and giuing vs fiue cast pieces out of her prowe, they sought to lay vs aboord: but wee so galled them with our muskets, that wee put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came vp into our sterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did so violently thrust in the boordes of our Captaines cabbin, that her nose came into it, minding to giue vs all their prowe, and so to sinke vs. But wee being resolute, so plyed them with our small shot, that they could haue no time to discharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approch, wee heaued into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell asterne of vs, and gaue vs a prowe. Then hauing the second time put them off, wee went to prayer, and sang the first part of the 25. Psalme, praysing God for our safe deliuerance. This being done, we might see 2. gallies and a frigat all three of them bending themselues together to encounter vs: hereupon we (eftsoones commending our estate into the hands of God) armed our selues, and resolued (for the honour of God, her Maiestie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the last man. Then shaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemie, and weauing them amaine, we bad them come aboord: and an Englishman in the gallie made answer, that they would come aboord presently. So managing ourselues to our furniture, and euery moment expecting the assault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe vs companie till the morning, and then to make an end with vs: then giuing vs another shot from one of the gallies, they fell asterne. Thus our fight continued with the shippes and with the gallies, from seuen of the clock in the morning till eleuen at night. Howbeit God (which neuer faileth them that put their trust in him) sent vs a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at Eastnortheast, which was for the preuenting of their crueltie, and the sauing of our liues. Also (the Lord be praised for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man slaine, and but 2. hurt: but our sayles and ropes were so rent with their shot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine mast also was shot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our consortes forsooke vs, and left vs in these extremities. The next day being the 14. of Iune in the morning, wee sawe all our aduersaries to lee-ward of vs, and they espying vs, chased vs till 10. of the clocke, and then seeing they could not preuaile, gaue vs ouer. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare vp to the Southwest, in hope to finde our consortes, but we had no sight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then stoode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to see our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of Iune early in the morning, we descryed the Spanish fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (hauing no sight of our consortes) wee stoode for the place according to the direction of our owner sir George Carey, where we did plie for the space of 23. dayes, and neuer could see any saile but two frigats, which wee gaue chase vnto the 24. of Iune, and could not fet them vp. Thus wee giue God most humble thankes for our safe deliuerance from the cruell enemie, which hath beene more mightie by the prouidence of God, then any tongue can expresse: to whom bee all prayse, honour, and glory, both now and euer, Amen.

A fight from 7. in the morning till 11. at night.

Appendix.

THe barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, & 2. port-bases.

bases. She continued fight (from seuen in the morning til sunset, with 3. armadas of 600. and 700. tunnes apiece, and one small shippe of 100. tunnes, not being aboue musket shot from any of them. And before the sunne was set, there came vp to her two of the kings gallies. Besides, the Armadas shot their great ordinance continually at her, not so few as 500. times. And the sides, hull, and mastes of the Content were sowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreouer, all their sheats, tops and shrowdes were almost cut insunder with their great & small shot. There passed from the galies (each whereof came thrise vp to her, & discharged fiue great pieces at a time, out of euery their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine saile 19. great shot, through her maine top-saile foure: through her fore-saile seuen: through her fore-top-saile fiue: and through her maine maste one. The vpper part of the Content was hurt in fiue places. Onely 13. men continued this fight, the rest being in holde.

A frigat of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confessed, that there were in the gallies aboue 40. Spaniards slaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of those 13. persons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Lisle, Captaine.	Charles Creame.
M. Major, Lieutenant.	Thomas Godfrey.
William King, Master.	Giles Thornton.
Iohn Barwick, Mrs. mate.	Iohn Pells.
William Clement, gunner.	Iohn Bourel.
Thomas Houldships,	Ralph Grey.
Bote-swaine.	William Heore.

The names of the rest be these following.

Iohn Pie.	Iohn Twopenie.
Iohn Smith.	Edmund Giggs.
Iohn White.	William Bateman.
Iohn Butcher.	William White.
Iohn Brooke.	Laurence Shellie.

A true report of a voyage vndertaken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport Generall of a fleete of three shippes and a pinnesse, viz. The golden Dragon Admirall, whereof was Captaine M. Newport himselfe; The Prudence Vice-admirall, vnder the conduct of Captaine Hugh Merrick; The Margaret vnder Captaine Robert Fred; and The Virgin our pinnesse vnder Captaine Henry Kidgil: Begun from London the 25. of Ianuarie 1591. Written by M. Iohn Twitt of Harewich, Corporall in the Dragon. In which voyage they tooke and burnt vpon the coast of Hispaniola, within the bay of Honduras, and other places, 3. towne, and 19. saile of shippes and frigats.

THe 12. day of Februarie An. 1591. we set saile from Douer roade, and hauing a prosperous winde, the 27. day of the same moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arriued at Santa Cruz roade, where hauing refreshed our selues some 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to sea againe, and about the 5. of March wee passed by the Ilands of the Canaries: and hauing a fauourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the West Indies: where making stay a day or two, wee bartred with the Saluages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes, &c.

Passing from thence to a watering place on the other side of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing some 20. or 30. musketiers, some 20. horsemen made towards vs; but wee retired to our boates without any seruice done.

The

The 9. we lay houering all day before the towne, the castle making a shot or two at vs.

The reason why wee set the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe vs to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with vs, so that passing along to the Westermost ende of the sayde Iland, about some 9. or 10. leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and sunke their ship.

The 11. of Aprill we passed from thence to Mona some 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. soules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affourded vs such fruits as their Iland yeelded, viz. swines flesh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee passed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, replenished with store of wilde beastes and swine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Passing from hence Westward along the South coast of Hispaniola, wee descryed a frigat, which wee chased and tooke; wherein were 22. iarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. small frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee sacked a towne in the sayde Iland of Hispaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found sugar & poultrie great store, but the people had discouered our ships ouer night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town standeth a league from the seaside, consisting of some fortie or fiftie houses. They brought vs much cattell, and two wayne loades of sugar, to ransome the towne. While this action was performed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other side of the bay, which came to lade sugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreshed our selues, wee stode along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no stay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our shippes in a faire road-sted vnder an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee shipped all our strength which possibly wee could affourd, leauing onely so fewe aboord our shippes as could hardly if neede had bene, haue wrought them; we passed along by the sayd Iland to the Northwest part of Hispaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were discouered by meanes of a frigat that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigat recouering on lande before vs, gaue an alarme to the towne, who were presently vp in armes to the number of a hundred & fiftie horses. Wee marched notwithstanding along to the towne, hauing a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where vpon a faire greene making a stand, we were encountred by the horsemen hauing no strength of foote, but certaine few loose shot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The horsemen charged vs very fiercely, but seeing they could not preuaile, brought in a droue before them of two hundred beastes or more: and so forcibly thinking to haue broken our array, it pleased God to cause their cattell to returne backe vpon themselues: and thus their owne deuice sorted out to their owne detriment. In this skirmish wee slewe their gouernour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

This towne standeth from the waters side a league.

In the end, by reason of the Spaniards brags which they gaue out, (as by the life of their wiues and children, &c. that not one of vs should goe aboord againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of vs and of our boates was stroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and so for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and so passed with our boates to our ships againe; where the same night our captaine determined to goe vp with our shippes, but it fell so calme, that all the next day vntill night we could not get vp, and they hauing discouered vs, baricadoed vp their way, and conueyed all that they had into the mountaines, leauing their houses onely bare and naked, notwithstanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee passed their baricados with the losse of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leauing not an house vnburnt, being a towne of three streetes hauing about 150. housholds.

The same night wee passed with our boates to a small village called Aguana, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reason of their cowardly brags wee also set on fire.

Being thus frustrated of our pretended voyage, we stoode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we discouered in the afternoone a saile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we stoode, and hauing a Spanish flagge out, they mistrusted vs not, vntill we had almost fet them vp: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within shot of the castle, and with our boates wee went and fet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the castle playing vpon vs with their ordinance.

They thought some feete had bene come from Spaine, for so they expected.

Our captaine hauing vnderstanding by the Spaniards, that there were three shippes more at Puerto de Cauallos, stood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee so calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or euer wee came there, the shippes hauing peraduenture discouered vs, stole alongst the shoare towards Truxillo, so that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forsaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick siluer, 16. tuns of old sacke, sheepe, young kids, great store of poultrie, some store of money, & good linnen, silkes, cotton-cloth, and such like; we also tooke three belles out of their church, and destroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houses, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ships laden from thence: but we spared it, because wee found other contentment. And hauing taken our pleasure of the towne, as aforesayd, wee returned aboord our ships, standing backe againe for Truxillo, we discouered one of the shippes which was laden at Puerto de Cauallos: but they had espied vs before, as it should seeme; for they had conueyed away as much as possibly they could ashore, and set their ship on fire; which so soone as we had discried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded vp with hides the shippe which we tooke at our first comming; for she had but a thousand hides in her, and certeine iarres of balsamum: which being accomplished, wee sunke the shippe with the rest of the goods, and so stood alongst againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be so calme, that we were two and twenty dayes sailing backe that we had sailed in sixe dayes, which was about forty leagues: so that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the sixth of Iune, we found another of the ships there, but close vnder the castle, her ruther vnhanged, her sailes taken from the yards, &c. notwithstanding we entered her, but they had placed such a company of musketiers vnder a rampire, which they had made with hides and such like, that it was too hote for vs to abide, and so betaking vs to our shippes againe, and standing out of the bay into the sea, wee discouered great store of shot intrenched in those places where they suspected we would haue landed. That night there fell such a storme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempestuous weather, that our ships were dispersed either from other. And hauing determined all of vs to meet at a certeine Island, where wee purposed to water and refresh our selues; by meanes of the storme and other contagious weather which followed, we were frustrated of that hope.

We had lost our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our shippes went to seeke our prize and our men: and other two of vs came homeward. And so we parted, not hearing either of other vntill we came into England.

Our place of meeting should haue beene at the Tortugas neere vnto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neuerthelesse wee fell with certeine islands within the point of Florida, were the captaine of the Dragon M. Christopher Newport sent his pinnesse on shore with certeine shot to seeke for fresh water, where wee found none; but found the Sauages very courteous vnto vs, who came brest high into the sea, and brought vs a line to hall in our boat on shore, and shewed vs that vp into the land Northward was fresh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipswich boatswaines mate of the Dragon, had giuen him by one of the Sauages for an olde rusty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bignesse and value of an English angell, which the Sauage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine siluer plate, whereof one the sayd Sauage gaue Iohn Locke, masters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife; the other piece he gaue to one William Wright a sailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of siluer were in forme like vnto the bosse of a bridle. These Sauages were farre more ciuill than those of Dominica: for besides their courtesie,

they

they couered their priuities with a platted mat of greene straw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waste, with the bush hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigat of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Hauana, wherein were fifty hogges: to which we gaue chase all that day, passing the gulfe of Bahama, and about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, after a shot or two made at her, shee yeelded vnto vs: wee hoisted out our boat, and went aboord, where we found some fiue Spanyards, fiue and fifty hogs, and about some two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled vp in seynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and sent the men away with their frigat.

In this voyage we tooke and sacked foure townes, seuenteene frigats, and two ships, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the rest we sunke, burnt, and one of them we sent away with their men. And to make vp the full number of twenty, the Spanyards themselues set one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, lest we should be masters of it.

We shaped our course from Florida homeward by the isle of Flores one of the Açores, where we watered, finding sir Iohn Burgh there, who tooke vs to be Spanyards, and made vp vnto vs; with whom wee ioyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christopher Newport with diuers of vs was placed in her as captaine by the Generall sir Iohn Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arriued in Dartmouth the seuenth of September 1592.

The voyage made to the bay of Mexico by M. William King Captaine, M. Moore, M. How, and M. Boreman Owners, with the Salomon of 200 tunnes, and the Iane Bonauenture of 40 tunnes of Sir Henry Palmer, from Ratcliffe the 26 of Ianuary 1592.

THe Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Iane with sixe and twenty, all likewise mariners. Wee came first to the Downes in Kent, and neuer strooke saile in passing thence, vntill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coast of Portugall. From thence we shaped our course to Lancerota one of the Canarie islands, where we landed threescore men, and fetched a carauell out of an harborow on the South side, and from a small Island we tooke a demy-canon of brasse in despight of the inhabitants, which played vpon vs with their small shot at our first landing: of whom we slew three; and gaue them the repulse. Thence we went to the Grand Canaria, where wee boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driuen by great store of shot from the Island. From thence wee directed our course for the West Indies, and fell with the isle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a shippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and seuenty Negros, which we caried with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El passaje, we gaue chase to a frigat which went in to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we sent in our shallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow we tooke away an English shippe of seuenty tunnes, laden with threescore tunnes of Canary-wines, in despight of the castle and two new bulwarks, being within caliuer shot. These two prizes we caried away to the Westermost part of the island, and put the Negros, except fifteene, all on land in a Spanish carauell which the Iane Bonauenture tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and set fire on the other. We passed thence by the isle of Mona, where we watered, and refreshed our selues with potatos and plantans, and so came to the isle of Saona: and from thence arriued at the mouth of the riuer of Santo Domingo. And as we sailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Westward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fifteene tunnes, which had certeine iarres of malosses or vnrefined sugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with vs to Cape Tiburon, which, in respect of seruice done vnto vs in furnishing vs with fresh water, we dismissed. Thus contrary to other Englishmens courses we shaped ours to the Southward of Iamaica, and our shallop with 12 men ranged the coast but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three islands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Westermost, Iamaica

A good riuer of fresh water in Grand Canarie.

most, where we found no people, but a good riuer of fresh water; and there we turned vp threescore great tortoises; and of them we tooke our choise, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, whereof two serued an hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle doues, wilde geese, & other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence

Preserving of hogs-flesh.

cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather ierkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then passing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & salsa perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set vs to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine pieces of Spanish broad cloth & other small pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, sauing some of the tortoises, & setting the men on shore. Then at length we recouered vp to Hauana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they ouer-reached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a side, and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reason of the increasing of the winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the

The excellent hauen of Cuanas.

Westward we found out an excellent harbour, hauing three fadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thousand saile, where we found hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caliuer shot: but wee made such spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward sixe leagues off this harbour of Cauannas, we met with master captaine Lane, Generall of master Wats his fleet, and captaine Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Beniamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with Captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with their boats; but my shallope first boorded her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in iarres, and good store of oile in iarres. The ship we vnladed and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 sailes, before Hauana; but passing by we gaue chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northwest of Hauana, which with boats was boorded, and found to be of Puerto de Cauallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a seuennight in lying off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arriued at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the Merchant royall, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, Vice admirall, the Edward Bonauenture, whereof was Captaine, M. James Lancaster, Rere admirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the West Indies suffered shipwracke vpon the isle of Bermuda, wherof here is annexed a large description.

THe tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plimmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end

A Portugall ship taken.

of this moneth we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which serued greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of July following

following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Speranca, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a sheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope & the Edward Bonauenture weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Speranca. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or hurricano. This euening we saw a great sea breake ouer our admirall the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we neuer saw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Westermost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Moçambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Moçambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one matsaile of Coco nut leaues. The barge is sowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with woodden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and Wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

They double the cape of Buona Esperanza.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The isle of Comoro.

They Winter at the isle of Zanzibar.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes, wee were vntill the moneth of Iune before wee could recouer the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of Iune we came to an anker at the isles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we stayed vntill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

The isles of Pulo pinaom.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboord vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China, & were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolued to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan. Wherfore we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the world.

The isle of Nicubar.

They returne homeward.

world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by certeine intelligence which wee had receiued; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and euery day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke and like for to die) would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8 of December 1592 we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certeine flies in our ship, which deuoured most part of our bread before we were aware; so that when we came to sharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary vs into England, with a small quantity of rice a day.

They double the cape of Bona Speranza. The isle of S. Helena.

The last of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Sperança.

In April next ensuing we came to anker at the island of S. Helena, whereas we found an English man a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell; who by reason of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man seeing so many come in vpon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a feare, not hauing seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his acquaintance, in such ioy, that what betweene excessiue sudden feare & ioy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorowes. Here we found of his drying some 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two sutes of goats skinnes with the hairy side outwards, like vnto the Sauages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

The strange force of sudden feare and sudden ioy.

The isle of Trinidad in the West Indies.

In the moneth of Iune 1593 we arriued at the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing; but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the island and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would haue forsaken the ship: whereupon the captaine was inforced to sweare euery man not to forsake the ship vntill we should see further occasion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliuer vs; from whence we directed our course for the isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, but fell with the small isle of Mona, where we abode some fifteene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arriued a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed vs with bread and other prouision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

The isle of Mona.

Cape Tiburon.

In July hauing foule weather at *Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a gust from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selues withall: which canuas the aforesayd Frenchman did helpe vs withall. Also hauing doubled the foresayd cape in the distresse aforenamed, the forsayd capitan de la Barbotiere with his pinnesse gaue chase vnto vs againe; who being come nere vnto vs, I went aboord him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe vs withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreouer, he sayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnauy, which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with fresh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboord our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen vnto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we staied with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neuerthelesse hee certified them to the contrary. And in staying so long with him, and hauing little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine & I went aboord the Frenchman but to make

Or Gonnaua.

good

good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might haue bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchmans pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in complotting, one of their consorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Wherevpon the captaine of the French ship sent for our captaine and me to come aboord to dinner: and we stayed with him all the afternoone, being inuited vnto supper: and being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length hee came. At his comming wee asked of him what newes. Who answered vs, that either we must depart from him, or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaster; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed & set saile: which we perceiued, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine & me, that he kept vs for his security, and that our men had purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being asterne of them, hauing in her two Moores & two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, & did threaten vs very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meane time the Edward seeing vs past, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaines victuals & mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe vs as prisoners. So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchmans pinnesse: which being at Laguna we shot off a piece, & so she came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one Iohn West, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; & he could not deny, but that there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat: and in the meane time they would go to see if they could ouertake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: so the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spanyards and Negros aboord of vs, requested to haue them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboord our shippe, and he should haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboord the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our ioyes.

The 12 of August 1593 our captaine was sent aboord our ship: but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French ship that he would giue mee passage home with him, to certifie the owners what had passed in all the voyage, as also of the vnrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnauy, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

The last of Nouember 1593 Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to haue his ship cast away vpon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselues at noone to be to the Southward of the island twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heigth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away: and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen & others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saued, I hope to his seruice & glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being hie clifs, but we found our selues seuen leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made & towed at our boats sterne, we were saued some 26 of vs; among whom were no more English but myselfe. Now being among so many strangers, & seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for

They wracked vpon Bermuda the 17 of December 1593.

for feare lest they should haue cast me ouer boord, or els haue killed me: so I stayed in the ship which was almost full of water, vntill the captaine being entred the boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it stood vpon life or death: and so I presently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day vntil an houre or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, euery man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the fresh water that we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be foūd store of fresh water. This Island is diuided all into broken Islands: and the greatest part I was vpon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and two miles & a halfe ouer; being all woods, as Cedar & other timber, but Cedar is the chiefest. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saued our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recouered the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, & in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with tronnels and very few nailes. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ship before she split, and cut downe her shrowds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and assoone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the morter into the seames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water should faile vs: and therfore made the more haste away: and at our departure we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our prouision of raine-water, and 13 liue tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the Island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises. And to the Eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough. Also in this Island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subiect to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Island, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast. And here the people of the countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred side vnto their skins, & brought with them furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so some of our company hauing saued some small beads, bought some of their ducks. Here we stayed not aboue foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good countrey. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left capitan de la Barbotier my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed myselfe aboord the English barke: and hauing passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arriued at Falmouth 1594.

The description of the isle of Bermuda.

The saueing of the carpenters tooles was their preseruation.

A barke strōgely built & furnished.

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ye East part of Bermuda. An excellent fishing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people nere Cape Briton vse traffike of rich furres.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. Robert Duddeley, now knight, to the Isle of Trinidad, and the coast of Paria: with his returne home by the Isles of Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Iuan de puerto rico, Mona, Zacheo, the shoalds called Abreojos, and the isle of Bermuda. In which voyage he and his company tooke

and

and sunke nine Spanish ships, wherof one was an armada of 600 tunnes. Written at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt.

HAuing euer since I could conceiue of any thing bene delighted with the discoueries of nauigation. I fostered in my selfe that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to vndertake such a matter. To this purpose I called to me the aduise of sufficient seamen, and principally vndertooke a voyage for the South seas; but by reason that many before had miscaried in the same enterprise, I could not be suffered to hazard more of her Maiesties subiects vpon so vncerteine a ground as my desire: which made me by constraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another course for the West Indies, without hope there to doe any thing woorth note: and so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registring. Neuerthelesse, I haue yeelded to your former importunity, and sent you this my iournall to supply a vacant roome amongst your more important discourses.

Nowe being prouided for this last enterprize, rather to see some practise and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the sixth of Nouember 1594. But the winde falling scant, it was the 17. day of the same moneth before I could put into the Sea. Vpon this day my selfe in the Beare a shippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two small pinnesses called the Frisking and the Earewig passed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My busines at this port-towne dispatched, I set saile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great misfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it misfortune; for by this meanes I vtterly (for all the voyage) lost my vice-admirall; which was the cause likewise of loosing mine owne pinnesse, which three were the principall stay of my voyage. For at this last leauing of England in a storme I lost mine owne pinnesse, as is before said. Notwithstanding all these crosses all alone I went wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine within view of Cape Finister, and Cape S. Vincent, the North & South capes of Spaine. In which space hauing many chases, I could meet with none but my countreymen or countreys friends. Leauing these Spanish shores I directed my course the 14. of December towards the isles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get some vessel to remoue my pestered men into, who being 140. almost in a ship of 200. tunnes, there grew many sicke. The first hope was frustrated, because my vice-admiral was returned into England with two prizes. The second expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Caraules vnder the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. sailes. In the one Caraule called The Intent, I made Beniamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheered as a desolate traueller with the company of my small and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpose for the West Indies, and first for Cape Blanco in Africa vpon the deserts of Libya. My last hope was to meete my lost ship, and withall to renue my victuals vpon the Canthers, which are Portugal fishermen: but the Canthers had bene so frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding vnder this White Cape two daies, and walking on shore to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand running in drifts like snow and being very stony; for so is all the countrey sand vpon stone (like Arabia deserta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my Caraules from the shore, who road very neere it. But not desirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reason of the most infectious serenas or dewes that fall all along these coasts of Africa, I caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the isle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22. dayes we descried, and the first of February came to an anker vnder a point thereof called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which glister like golde (but all is not gold that glistereth) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure vs it was Caluori, which signifieth gold with

This M. Beniamin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. sent forth with two ships, and certeine pinnesses vpon a voyage for the South seas and for Chiua, at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley.

A description of Cape Blanco in Africa.

The yle of Trinidad described.

Punta de Curiapan.

with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked & painted red, their cōmanders wearing crownes of feathers. These people did often resort vnto my ship, & brought vs hennes, hogs, plantans, potatoes, pinos, tobacco, & many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with vs for hatchets, kniues, hookes, belles, and glasse buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I desired rather to ride, because it was a cōuenient place to water, balast, ground, & graue my Carauels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on shore, after I had caused to be made for them a little skonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being iealous of the Spaniards, of whose estate I could gather no certaintie, till frō Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten some 300. souldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, hauing then but 50. men, becāuse my Carauels before their comming were sent away. The Simerones of the yland traded with me stil in like sort. And the Spaniards now prouided for me, began to send messengers to me in kindnesse. Notwithstanding though I had no reason to assault them, because they were both poore & strong, yet for my experience and pleasure I marched 4. long marches vpon the yland, & the last from one side of the yland to the other, which was some 50. miles: going and comming through a most monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) and lodging my selfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions & parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to stay here some time about discouering the maine right against the same (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being shewed the discouery thereof by Captaine Popham, who receiued the discouery of the saide empire frō one captaine Harper, which being a prisoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries in the selfe same maner almost, as sir Walter Ralegh very discreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceiue, the Captaine hath yet to shew in Spanish. This discouery of Guiana I greatly desired: yet least I should aduenture all occasions vpon it onely, I sent my two Carauels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies, not appointing any other place to meet but England, furnishing them with all the prouision that I could spare, and diuiding my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ships. The Carauels being gone, I began to enquire priuately of the Sauages concerning the maine ouer against vs, and learned that the names of the kingdomes ioyning to the Sea-coast were in order these. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdome of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdome of Yguirie, and right against the Northermost part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon. Of Waliame I will speake last, because therein I made most discouery. The Caribes I learned to be maneaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very base gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by diuers of these Indians, that there was some Perota, which with them is siluer, and great store of most excellent Cane-tabacco. But lastly to come to Waliame, it is the first kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I vnderstood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the Riuer (as he called it) of Owrinoicke was much to be esteemed. This Indian spake Spanish, and whatsoeuer he knew, he reueiled it to my selfe onely by a priuate interpreter, not in words alone, but offered vpon paine of life to be guide himselfe to any place that he spake of. This discouery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined against my going, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my lost pinnesse, and was constrained to send 14. men in my ship-boat for this discouery, with most of the discreetest men in my ship, & gaue them their directions to follow, written vnder mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which riuer goeth vnder the name of the

Paracoa, or Parico.

They inskonce themselues.

A treasonable practise of the Spaniards.

They march from one side of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

His two Carauels sent to range the Indies.

Seawano called perhaps in sir Walter Raleghs discouery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Ralegh speaketh of Saima, and Wikeri in his discouery.

This Indians name was Balthasar, who afterward gaue our men the slip at their greatest need.

the great Riuer Orenoque, the foreland wherof was called Capulio bearing South & by West, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforesaid, being 4. leags distant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of fresh Riuers running one into another, abounding with fish, and a land al woody, seeming to haue great store of strange beasts and foules, & very populous. They entred into a small riuer called Caboia, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next riuer they passed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tuitiuas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpose sent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this answere, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refused them, but if they would come thither, hee himselfe would make them answere. Vpon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with some 100. men in Canoas, and tolde them that by force they should haue nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and lewes-harps, he bid them assure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, & would trade with me: for token whereof, he sent me 3. or 4. Croissants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of siluer. Also he told them of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the poulder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with many other things. My men being satisfied, and thinking their company too fewe to stay among these Sauages, and their victuall spent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which distresse caused them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a Riuer called Braha by the high land of Paria, and so to my ship. They accompted Orocoa 150. miles distant, so they rowed in my boate aboue 250. miles. Their absence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worse then before; for vnlesse I would haue gone my selfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commission to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull case almost dead for famine; and indeed such was their misery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for so long they were out of the fresh Riuers, before they recouered the shippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

A riuer called Caboa.

The riuer of Amana and the kingdome of Tuitiuas are both mentioned by Sir Walter Ralegh.

A people sprinkled with poulder of gold.

In this time of my boates absence there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gaue vs great comfort. And if I had not lost my pinnesses, wherein I might haue caried victuals and some men, we had discouered further the secrets of those places. Also this Captaine and I stayed some sixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Ralegh (who, as wee surmized, had some purpose for this discouery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might haue done some good: but it seemed he came not in sixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not conuenient to stay any longer: therefore new watering our selues at Paracoa, we set saile to see further of the Indies, leauing the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a small prize of sackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I sailed by, called Granata. This prize refreshed vs well; yet meaning to sel her at the yle of Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, and shaping our course thither by the vlands of Santa Cruz and Infierno, I coasted all the South side of the said yle of S. Iohn, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Iuan de puerto rico buy my prize) I vnladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I disemboqued (where fewe Englishmen had done before, by reason of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Iuan de puerto rico and Hispaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the shouldes of Abreojos, I caused the Master, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spanish fleete ment now to put out of Hauana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete dispersed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleetes; which companion left mee not in greatest extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cueruo: whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great Fleete of her Maiestie my souereigne, as I had intelligence, and to giue them

Captaine Popham arriued.

They depart from the yle of Trinidad.

A prize taken North of the yle of Granata.

The yles of Santa Cruz and Infierno.

Cape Roxo.

They disemboque by the yle of Zacheo.

The shoulds called Abreojos, that is, Open thine eyes, or Looke out.

Bermuda.

Flores and Curuo.

them aduise of this rich Spanish fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

A fight of two dayes with a Spanish Armada of 600 tunnes.

Returning alone, and worse manned by halfe then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of some 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of sixe hundreth tunnes. And hauing spent all my powder I was constrained to leaue her, yet in such distresse without sailes and mastes, and hull so often shot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leauing her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the latter ende of May 1595, escaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

They arriue at S. Ives in Cornwall in May 1595.

Thus by the prouidence of God landing safely, I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also reputed rich by diuers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then supposed not, & were doubtfull whether she had bin of Biscay or S. Iohn de Luz in France laden with fish onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, sunke and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of Trinidad which I obserued at my being there.

GVttemock.	A man.
Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra	The heare of ones head.
Dessie	The forehead.
Dasereth, or Dacosi	An eye.
Dalacoack	The mouth.
Archeh	The teeth.
Daria	The gummes.
Desire	The lips.
Dill	The tongue.
Dudica	The eares.
Dacan	A hand.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.
Dadena	The wrist.
Daeurle	A knee.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.
Dabodda	The toes.
Dacutti	The feete.
Cattie	The moone.
Tauraroth	A rope.
Arkeano	A paire of cizers.
Weeuah	The heauen.
Harowa	A stone good for the head ache.
Mointiman	Yron or steele.
Howa	Munkeis in generall.
Carotta	A thing like pappe.
Sakel	It is well, or I am well.
Techir	A bracelet.
Bodad	A boxe or chest.
Mentinie	A tree.
Addehegaeno	A glasse.
*Calcouri	Gold.
Perota	Siluer.
Tacorao a green stone.	Arrara copper.
Caulpiri	A white stone.
Casparo A sword.	Tibetebe cockles.
Marrahabo a bow.	Semaro an arrow.
Huculle	A bow-string.
Halete	A Potato roote.
Caerwoda	A sweete root.
Maurisse Wheat.	Queca A basket.
Yeddola A knife.	Sambolers A hat.
Byou A pipe.	Callit Bread.
*Oronuie	Water.
Arguecona	A paire of cizzers.
Heldaro	A spoone.
Hemachugh	A bread which they eate.
Hicket Fire.	Walrowa A parrot.
Vreit Tabacco.	Baruidda A combe.
Addoth	A sticke.
Barrennaire	A button, or beads.
Curaballa & Sibath, for 2 sundry stones: but Sibath in general signifieth a stone.	
Tolletillero bels.	Vllasso a Tuny-fish.
Bohery A flying fish.	Bara Water.
Haddalle	The Sunne.
Babage-Canoaseen	The maner of the Indians hailing of a ship, calling it after the name of their Canoas.
Non quo, Or Non quapa	I know not. Or I cannot tell.

* It is before in this voyage called Calourie.

* The name of the riuer Oronoque may seeme to be deriued from this word.

The

The victorious voyage of Captaine Amias Preston now knight, and Captaine George Sommers to the West India, begun in March 1595. Wherein the yle of Puerto Santo, the yle of Coche neere Margarita, the fort and towne of Coro, the stately city of S. Iago de Leon were taken sacked and burned, and the towne of Cumana ransomed, & Iamaica entred. Written by Robert Daule one of the company.

CAptaine Amias Preston, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen & discreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ships, the Ascension and the Gift, and a small pinnesse at Plimmouth, for the space of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Iones their consort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of those which he put in trust, could not make his ship in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. set forward on their voyage for the West Indies. We with captaine Iones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowse in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the said moneth. The last of March, captaine Preston by giuing chase to a saile, was separated from captaine Sommers, and his pinnesse, so that they vtterly lost sight ech of other: whereupon captain Preston in his ship alone, resolued to surprise the yle of Puerto santo, and shortly after came before the same. This yland standeth inthe Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old souldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde seruices, by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, & oile: and hath good store of sheep, asses, goats & kine: they haue also plenty of foules, fishes, & fruits. Captaine Preston coming before this yland with one ship only sought with 2. long boats to land his men & to force the same: but the people were on shore in warlike array, with baricados & trenches made, ready to withstand them. Whereupon, considering the great danger, and disaduantage of the place, he caused his people to returne abord againe. And the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater security, with 60 men onely, who lay closely in a chapel, to defend themselues from the raine til break of the day, and so marched forward vpon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados vpon the shore. By this time the enemie was 500 strong. But, being so suddenly surprised, after some resistance of our muskets, when they saw our pikes approch, and had tasted somewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets, & shrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no losse at all, our men dislodged them of that place also. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new stand at a certaine house by the way, from whence they were repulsed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were slaine, and an ensigne, which one captaine Haruey an English man had lost not long before, was recouered: and the chiefe towne it selfe was by our men wholly woon and possessed. But before the entrance of our men they had conueighed their wiues, their children, and the rest of their goods into an exceeding high hil which standeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding losse. Although they sent diuers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they vsed towards captaine Haruey and his people, captaine Preston would shew them no fauour, but vtterly burnt their towne to ashes, and sent his men to wast the rest of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour & iust reuenge of his country men, before his owne priuate gaine, & commodity. And so with small pillage and great honour he retired in safetie and all his small company with him, from the conquered yland vnto his ship. But we in our ship met not with him, vntill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling pursuing our voiage, had sight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the same, we watered on the Southeast side of the grand Canaria. There we met with cap. Sommers, & his pinnesse, & 3 ships of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to seeke captaine Preston: and standing ouer towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ship. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recouered Tenerif, & the same day towards night we ankered vnder the southside

The yle of Puerto Santo taken and the chiefe towne in it burnt.

They water vpon the grand Canaria.

southside of the same. There I went aland in our boat, & found 3 or 4 fisher boats, and brought one of them off. The rest bulged themselues. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we set saile to find captaine Amias Preston: and standing towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had sight of him. Then we thought to haue landed in Gomera: but the wind blew so much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with ioy the 13 of April, & set our course for the West Indies. And the 8 of May next ensuing, we arriued at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened vnto vs sauing this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral lost her long boat in towing. We staied at Dominica til the 14 of May, to refresh our sicke men. Here the Indians came vnto vs in canoas made of an whole tree, in some wherof were 3 men, in some 4 or 6, & in others 12 or 14, and brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with vs, for hatchets, kniues, & small beadstones. Here in refreshing of our men, we found an hot bath hard ioyning to a cold riuer side: wherein our sick men bathed themselues, and were soone recouered of their sicknesses. This is a goodly yland, and something high land, but al ouergrowen with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, & the 16 sailing Southwestward, we had sight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arriued at the Testigos & ankered there, and consorted with the 3 ships of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men & tooke view and muster of all, & the same night set saile away. The 19 we had sight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fish for pearle: we stood in very neere the rode, but saw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but stood from it againe. The same day toward night, we had sight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita & the maine, called Coche. We came neere it in the night with our ships within some 3 leagues, & there ankered vnder the maine side, and about midnight we manned our pinnesses & boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherein are few or none inhabitants, but they comonly come frō Margarita in boats on the Munday, and remaine there fishing for pearles vntill the Saturday, and then returne & cary al that they haue taken to Margarita. Here we tooke some few Spaniards and Negros their slaues with them, and had some smal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fishing with our seine, and tooke good store of mullets and other fish, and amongst the rest drew a shore in the seine a fish called by the Spanyards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, & wil deuour men. Some of these Lagartos are in length 16 foot, some 20 foot, and some 30 foot: they haue muske in them, and liue as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to haue gotten in that night to haue landed: but the current striketh so strong out of the bay that we could not recouer the towne till day light. In the morning we espied 2 sailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied too and againe in the sound all the forenoone, but could not get vp so farre as the towne. These 2 sailes came roome to vs, after they saw that we were at an anker, & came somewhat neere vs, and sent their skyphs abord our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, & had secretly aduertised the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our first arriuall. Here they of Cumana perceiuing that we would land, came to parle with vs, and tolde vs, if we would land, we might easily take the towne, for they ment not to withstand vs, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but, if we would not land to burne and spoile the towne, they would giue vs some reasonable ransome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, receiued their ransome, and departed without landing. But at our first arriual in this bay, our generals long boat was sent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Caruels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: sauing in one were some sides of bacon, and some maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we staied til the 23 of May, & in the euening we set saile, and departed frō thence. And the 26 of the same we thought to haue landed at a fort that standeth by the sea-coast in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marueilous high land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here ouer night, by reason of the roughnes of the sea, which goeth in that place, & there is but one litle creeke against the fort,

Dominica.

An excellent holsome hot bath found in Dominica.

The yles called Tratgon.

Certaine Spaniards and Negros taken in the yle of Coche where they fish for pearls.

Two flieboats of Middleburgh forewarne the Spaniards of our comming.

The towne of Cumana ransomed. Three Caruels taken.

fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiuing no fit place to land, by reason of the sea, stood away some league to the West-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in safety, none resisting vs. Then we presently set ourselues in aray, and marched toward the fort, & tooke it without any resistance. Here we remained al the rest of this day vntil the 28, about three of the clock in the afternoone. We found nothing in this fort but a litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reason of some disorder amongst the company ouercharging themselues with the wine, our general for the most part caused to be spilt. While we remained here, some of our company ranging the woods, found the gouernor of the fort where he lay asleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the state of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared vnto vs that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our coming: and that if we did go the cõmon beaten way, it was neuer possible for vs to passe, for that they had made in the midst of the way betweene this fort and the said city, an exceeding strong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the passage being not aboue 25 or 30 foot in bredth, & on each side maruellous steep-vpright, and the woods so thicke that no man could passe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Vpon which speeches our general demanded of him if there were not any other way: who answered, there is another way maruellous bad and very ill to trauel, which the Indians do cõmonly vse: but he thought that the Spaniards had stopt the same, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and sickly man not able to trauel, so our generall sent him abord his ship, & there kept him. In the taking of our three small Carauels at Cumaná, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had traueled these wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told vs he would cary vs thither by any of both these wayes, if afterward we would set him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters side, the Spaniards came downe vnto vs by the great & beaten way on horsebacke, who being discouered, our generall sent out to meete them captaine Roberts with some 40 or 50 musketeirs, who came to skirmish with them, but they would not stay. The same day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, & tooke the Indians way called The vnknowen way. In our march we came to diuers Indians houses, which we neuer hurt, but passed by and left them vntouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched vntil it was night ouer such high mountaines, as we neuer saw the like, and such a way as one man could scarse passe alone. Our general being in the forward, at length came whereas a riuer descended downe ouer the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spanish gouernors confession to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in diuers places with trees, & other things in such sort, that we were driuen to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with vs for that purpose. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we set forward to recouer the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were so extreeme high and so steep-vpright, that many of our souldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came vnto them, and first entreated them to goe, they answered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulsion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, & to leaue them there lying on the ground. To be short, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a stand til all the company was come vp, and would haue stayed longer to haue refreshed our men: but the fogge and raine fell so fast, that wee durst not stay. So wee made hast to descend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: because that in these high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themselues, it doeth almost continually raine. Assoone as we were descended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceased, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we saw the towne not farre distant from vs. Here we all cleared our muskets: and when our colours came in sight, we discharged a second volee of shot to the great discouragement of the enemie.

A fort neere the Caracos taken.

Al our actions betrayed by dangerous exiles out of England.

Thus

Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemie was in readinesse a little without the towne to encounter vs on horsebacke. Being nowe fully descended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion fielde, without either hedge, bush or ditch, sauing certaine trenches which the water had made, as it descendeth from the mountaines. Here we set our selues in a readinesse, supposing the enemie would haue encountered vs: but hauing pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them some loose shoot, and marched in all hast toward the enemie before the maine battel, wherein was our generall with cap. Sommers and came to skirmish with them: but it was soone ended: for the enemie fled. One Spaniard was slaine in this skirmish, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked.

The Cide of S. Iago de Leon taken the 29. of May.

We soone marched into the towne, and had it without any more resistance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conueyed all into the mountaines, except such goods as they could not easily cary, as wine, and iron, and such things. By three of the clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained vntil the 3 of Iune without anie great disturbance, sauing sometime by night they would come on horsebacke hard vnto our Corps du guard, and finding vs vigilant, and ready for them, would depart againe.

The first of Iune, there came a Spaniard neere vnto vs alone: the Corps du guard perceiuing him, called our General, who soone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made signes that he should lay aside his armes: which he refused to doe, but promised as he was a souldier, if he would come, hee should haue free passage. Vpon which promise hee came to him on horse backe, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he answered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ransome of it should be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So hauing had some other conference together, hee shewed him that hee had bene a souldier in Flanders a long time, and now was sent thither by his kings commandement. Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reason was they had not walled the citie, being so faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee stronger walled than anie citie in the world, meaning, by those huge & high mountains which the enemie must passe ouer before he can approch it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire speeches, he tooke his leaue for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go speake with the gouernour: (but it might be himselfe, for any thing we know) howbeit because our General had granted him free comming and going, he suffred him to depart: who before his departure, requested to haue a token of our General, that he might shew to the Gouernour how he had spoken with vs, or else he doubted, that he would not beleeue him. Whereupon our General gaue him a piece of 12 pence: so he departed and promised the next day by ten of the clocke to returne vnto vs with an answere: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of Iune, at his houre appointed, he returned w his Indian running by his horses side. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the gouernours house that was. The dinner ended, with the best entertainment which could be giuen him, they communed again about the ransome of the citie. Our General proposed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard first proffered him 2000, then 3000, last of all 4000, and more he would not giue. Our General counting it a small summe of money among so many, did vtterly refuse it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him again before the next day noone, with the ransome which he demanded, he would set all on fire. That whole day past, and the night also without any thing of momēt, except some shew of assault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe againe. The 3 day being come, in the morning some of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne,

Certain villages about Sant Iago fired.

& some two leagues and more vnto certaine villages thereabout, & set them on fire: but the enemy neuer came to resist them, so they returned backe againe safe into the towne, and brought

brought certaine Indian prisoners with them, among whom there was one which spake broken Spanish, which being examined, confessed vnto vs of his own accord, how the General had sent to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we vnderstood this, we grew into some distrust of the Spaniards trechery, and thought vpon the messenger, how he had vsed long delayes with vs: whereupon we were commanded presently, euery man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which forthwith was done. And after we had seene it all on fire, & burnt to ashes, we tooke our leaues and so departed, & marched away that day being the 3 of Iune, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters side, we came vnto that strong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spanish captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters side: for this baricado was of such force, that 100 men in it wel furnished, would haue kept backe from passing that way 100000: first by reason of the huge and high mountaines, next the steepenes of them, on both sides, last of all in regard of the fine contriuing of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I cease to recite. The fourth day of Iune in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee ouerthrew on the one side of the steepe hill two bases of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and so set forward toward our ships, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters side, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, vntill the fift day at night: in which time we laded some small quantity of hides, and Salsa-perilla, which we found there at our first landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before wee departed, wee set fire in the fort, and all the Indians houses that were about it, and burnt them. Then we set sayle, and standing along the coast, our Spanish guide signified vnto vs, that there were foure sayles of ships about fiue leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall sent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, vnto those places, where they found 3 of the ships: but the Spaniards had conueyed their sailes ashore into the woodes, so that they could not bring them off, but set fire in them and burnt them. From hence we stood along the shore, sailing vntill the ninth day of Iune, on which day toward the euening we imbarked ourselues in our pinnesses and small caruels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainely: wherefore we ankored that night some two leagues to the Eastward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to see if we could discouer the towne, but we could not, wee went aboue a league vp into the countrey, but could not see any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with diuers others which came ashore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could see nothing, & so returned. At the water side captaine Prowse died. There we remained all that day on land, by reason the wind blew so much that wee could not get aboord vntill the euening. After our comming aboord a boat which we sent into the bay, returned and brought vs newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne should be there. So presently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and some of the small caruels. The tenth day in the morning, the rest of our shipping came into the bay, and our men landed the same day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, & so marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very strongly. Notwithstanding the courage of our men was such, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leaue their forces, and flie. Hauing wonne this baricado they there remained vntill the next day being the 11 of Iune, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemie often times came to skirmish with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great losse of men, God be thanked. Hauing gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had vsed them before, which caused them to conuey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall caused it to be set on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ships: and the greatest cause was by reason of the departure of

The citie of S. Iago burned.

A fort and certain Indians houses by the waters side burnt.

Three Spanish ships burnt.

A baricado woon.

The towne of Coros taken & burnt.

captaine Sommers: who the day before in a most furious tempest, being in the pinnesse, with some 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and lost all his ankers, and so was faine to put to sea to saue himselfe, otherwise they had bene in danger of perishing. Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themselues, and departed away with all speede to seeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two bases, which they had made for to stay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was so deepe and should withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had stood in two daies & a night. So we sayled ouer toward the Isle of Hispaniola the sixteenth of Iune: and the twentieth day we saw it. The 21 we ankored vnder Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and stayed vntill the 25 of the same. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great sickness fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the same. This sicknesse was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common disease in that countrey. We remayned about this Island vntill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the second of Iuly arriued at the Island of Iamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ships of Hampton had forsaken vs, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Iones, was sent to discouer some other secret matter, in which discouery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a small pinnesse. We stayed at this Isle of Iamaica vntil the sixt of Iuly, in which meane time we landed to see if we could kill any beeues, but we could not, they were so wild: here is great store of them, and great plenty of fresh-fish. We departed hence the 6 of Iuly, and passed by the Islands, called Caimanes, and the Isle de Pinos, and the 12 of the said moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the same night, wee set saile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the westermost part of the Isle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were vnder this cape, and the same day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his paineful and happie discouery of Guiana, and his surprise of the Isle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ships company till the twentieth day at night, what time we lost them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, saue that we gaue chase to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

The bay of Laguna.

Hispaniola.

Iamaica.

The death of captaine Iones.

Cape de Corrientes.

Afterward we plyed to recouer Hauana, vntill the flue and twentieth of Iuly: then we set our course for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in sight of them. The 28 wee entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we set our course homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fish there the 20 day of August. The same night we set sayle to come home, by reason the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arriued in safety (God be thanked) in Milford hauen in Wales, hauing performed so long a voyage in the space of sixe moneths, or somewhat lesse.

The Banke of Newfoundland.

The voyage truely discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some speciall seruice on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd knights died by sicknesse.

WEe brake ground out of the sound of Plimmouth on Thursday the 28 of August, and that night ankored againe in Causon bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we set sayle and stoode Southwest: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein sir Thomas Baskeruil went, strake vpon the Edy stone, and shot off a piece, but after cleared herselfe wel enough.

On Munday at sixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northwest and by North, and then we stoode away Southwest and by South for the coast of Spaine.

The

The 8 of September we tooke two small Flemish fliboats bound for Barbary; which we caried a while with vs and afterward dismissed them without doing them any harme: only wee learned newes of them, and stayed them from discrying our fleete to the enemie.

The 26 we saw Forteuentura, being one of the Islands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had ouer-shot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeast, and then stood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eastward of the towne some league. At one of the clocke wee offred to land one thousand and foure hundreth men in the sandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the sandie bay and planted Ordinance: so that by reason thereof, and the great breach of the sea that went then on shore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horsemen and footmen some 900, which played vpon vs out of their trenches, most of them being shot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket shot of the shore, & rode there at ankor some three hours, the Salomon, the Bonauenture, the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the Iuell, the Little Iohn, the Delight, the Pegasus, the Exchange, the Francis, the caruell, and the two catches: But when the Generall sir Francis Drake gaue ouer the landing being in his barge, the ships weighed being in some danger, and stoode off againe to the great ships. Then we went to the West end of the Island and there watered: where captaine Grimston going vp the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was set vpon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and staues killed the captaine and three or foure of his company: the rest were sore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken prisoner, who disclosed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: so as the Viceroy sent a caruel of aduiso into the Indies, vnto all such places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of August, which was three weekes before we set foorth of England: as also by a Fleming that had seene all our prouision at London.

The 28 being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee set saile, and stood away Southwest and Southsouthwest some 200 leagues, vntill we came in the height of the Islands of Cape Verde, and then more Westerly for Martinino, one of the Islands of the West Indies, which we saw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a storme, in which sir Francis with foure or fiue other ships bearing on head of the fleete was separated. Then we stood for Dominica, an Island full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not past ten leagues distant from Martinino. In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter knines, hatchets, sawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco. Dominica.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his course, and went for Marigalante, which we had sight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeast side a saker shot off the shore in 13 fathomes water faire sholding. There the Generall went on shore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gaue a yellow wastcoate of flanell and an hankerchiefe; and they gaue him such fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch some fruits which they sowe and plant in diuers places of that Island, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and stoode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Islands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing vpon these Islands but wood. We came to the Southeast side of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the shore: the Southwest side of the Island is deepe water and good ankorage: where that day sir Iohn Hawkins came to vs againe standing vp from the South side of Dominica. There we watered, washed our ships, set vp our pinnesses, and refreshed our souldiers on shore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the sternmost of sir Iohn Hawkins fleete was chased by fiue of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ships of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpose with 3. other Zabras for the treasure of S. Iuan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, supposing they had bene our

owne fleete, was by them taken in sight of our carauel. They left the Francis driuing in the sea with 3 or 4 hurt and sicke men, and tooke the rest of our men into their ships, as the prisoners which wee tooke at S. Iuan de Puerto rico told vs.

The 4 of Nouember we began to vnlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day vnladen, vnrigged and then sunken. Then we stood Northwest & by North: and the next morning saw the Ilands of Monserrata, Redonda, Estazia, S. Christopher and Saba. The biggest of these Islands is not past 8 leagues long. There is good ankorage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water faire white sand. Then we stood away Southwest, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker some 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Ilands called Las Virgines, which haue bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 sails of ships in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire sand and good ankorage, high Islands on either side, but no fresh water that we could find: here is much fish to be taken with hookes and nets: also we stayed on shore and fowled. Here sir Iohn Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sicknes began vpon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and stoode North and by East into a lesser sound, which sir Francis in his barge discouered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, hauing hie steepe hils on either side, some league distant from our first riding.

The 12 in the morning we weied and set sayle into the sea due South through a small streit but without danger, and then stode West and by North for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 small Islands called the passages to the Southward of vs, and that night came vp to the Eastermost end of S. Iohn, where sir Iohn Hawkins departed this life: vpon whose decease sir Thomas Baskeruil presently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the estermost side of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a sandie bay 2 miles off: where we receiued from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance some 28 great shot, the last of which strake the admirall through the misen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the sterage, the Generall being there at supper, and strake the stoole from vnder him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table sir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and master Browne died of their hurts.

The death of sir Iohn Hawkins.

Then wee set sayle and stood to the Eastward, and at midnight tacked about to the West, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Westwards by the 3 Islands.

The 13 we rode still vntill night, when in the beginning with twenty fiue pinnesses, boats and shallops manned and furnished with fire-workes and small shot wee went into the rode within the great castels, and in despite of them fired the fiue Zabras of frigats, all ships of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greatest shippe of them all, and also mightily spoiled the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithstanding the castles and ships gaue vs a hundreth eighty and fiue great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunke a great shippe in the mouth of the chanell and rafted it ouer with her mastes almost to the very fortes and castles, so as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of brasse, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was silke, oyle, and wine. The treasure which they went to fetch, which was brought thither in a ship called the Vigonia, was conueyed into the strongest and surest castell of defence; being, as one of the prisoners confessed, three millions of ducats or fiue and thirty tunnes of siluer. Also they had sent all the women, children, and vnable persons into the woods, and left none but souldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our side was resolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee lost some forty or fifty men, and so many were hurt. There was also great death of the Spaniards aboord the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and besides some taken prisoners.

The fight at S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

The 14 we rode stil, being within shot of the vttermost castell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe vp the other 4 frigats, beginning first with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes wee saw to sinke; and as wee suppose

suppose so did they with all the rest, or else by stealth got vp farther within their chiefest forces.

The 15 also we rode still, and at afternoone wee espied a carauell comming from the castell point: but before our pinnesses could fetch her vp, she ranne on shore, where our boates could not come at her because of the breach, and also many of the Ilanders came downe to guard her with shot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and stoode one houre to the East, and then tacked about to the West.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 also we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southwest point of the Island, giuing the point a birth because of a shoald of sand that *lieth* some two cables length off: there we rode in foure, fiue, and sixe fadomes faire white sand, where wee set vp more pinnesses, washed our ships, and refreshed our men on shore. Here the Generall tooke a pinnesse of Hispaniola with diuers letters, signifying that two Englishmen of warre had done great hurt along their Island.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the carauell, and caused them to wey and anker right against the mouth of a fresh riuer in two fadomes water in ozie sand to the Southward of the other ships some league or more. The Generall went into this riuer three or foure leagues vp, and tooke horses in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskeruil rowed vp the riuer, and stayed there all night, and went vp into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee discharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to set saile, there came aboord the Defiance our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared some great torment for not hauing repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Island, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete should repaire to the towne to defend it against vs. Then we stood againe West and by North because of a ledge of rocks that lie sunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southside of the Island.

The 25 we stood away southwest, and saw Mona being a lowe flat Island betweene Hispaniola and S. Iuan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter spent her boultsprite: and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was sent backe to seeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company vntil the next morning, then taking in a small cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning she spent her maine mast and split her foreyard, breaking also her tow: so as they were faine to saue some trifles out of her and the men, and to sinke the hull. Then we stood away South, and South and by West after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had sight of the fleete againe. Mona.

The 29 we had sight of the Island called Curaçao within eight leagues of the maine, and on the Northwest side came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboord the shore without any danger: but the Generall weyed presently and stoode away Northwest and by West, and Northnorthwest for the maine, and that night saw Aruba, being somewhat a lesse Island then the other: we left it some three leagues to the Southward of vs. The Isle of Curaçao. Aruba.

On Sunday morning being the last of Nouember wee saw three or foure little Islands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we sawe the maine, where we saw a great current setting to the Westward, and also the water changing very white. The Phenix, the carauell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came vnder Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the rest of the fleete came to anker vnder the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire sholding and sandie ground, fourteene, twelue, and tenne fadoms neere the shore. The Cape is a bare land without trees or shrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeast and Northwest: and a saker shot off the point standeth a little Island like Mewestone neere Plimmouth, but somewhat bigger. In the morning the first of December wee imbarked all our souldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Westwards, one of the ancientest in all the maine, although not very bigge: but it standeth in a most fertile and pleasant soyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clocke in the night. The ships bearing all that night and the day before Monjes. Cape de la Vela. Rio de la Hacha taken.

before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the lesser ships in two fadomes and an halfe water: the Phenix went so neere the shore by the Generals commandement, that shee strake on ground, but got
A shold of sand. off againe. There lieth to the Eastward of the towne a mile or thereabout a shold of sand: therefore giue a birth some halfe league or more before you come right against the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ships rode off in fiue and sixe fadomes.
A fresh riuer. There is a fresh riuer about a bow-shot to the Eastward of the towne; whereinto our pinnesses could scarse enter by reason of a barre of sand in the riuers mouth, but within it is nauigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes some sixe or eight leagues vp.

The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ransome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskeruil marched vp into the countrey to ouer-runne those parts: and the Generall the same night with some hundreth and fiftie men
La Rancheria taken. went by water sixe leagues to the Eastward, and tooke the Rancheria a fisher towne, where they drag for pearle. The people all fled except some sixteene or twenty souldiers, which fought a little, but some were taken prisoners, besides many Negros, with some store of pearles and other pillage. In the houses we refreshed ourselues, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had sight of a brigandine or a dredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chase with his two barges: she had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and some siluer and pearle, but of small value.

On Saturday the seuenth, master Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of sickne, and then master Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and master Ionas Bodenham captaine of the Aduenture, and master Charles Cæsar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ransome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one prisoner promised to pay for his ransome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ransome in pearles, but rated so deare as the Generall after conference with them, misliking it, sent it backe againe, giuing them foure houres respite to cleere themselues with their treasure.

The sixteenth the gouernour came into the towne about dinner, and vpon conference with the Generall told him plainely, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ransome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or consent, and that his detracting of time so long was onely to send the other townes word, that were not of force to withstand vs, whereby they might conuey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the General gaue the gouernour leaue to depart according to promise, hauing two houres to withdraw himselfe in safety.

The seuenteenth Sir Thomas Baskeruil with the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the carauel with foure or fiue pinnesses went some fiue leagues to the Westward, & landing,
Tapia taken. marched some foure leagues vp into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke & burned certain villages and ferme houses about it. He had some resistance as he passed ouer a riuer, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboord aliue with him: he marched
Sallamca burnt. one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and so returned with some prisoners, the souldiers hauing gotten some pillage.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies house onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preserued. That day wee set sayle and fell to lee-ward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskeruil.

Cape de Aguja. The 19 we weighed and stood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at sunne rising we saw. It is a Cape subiect much to flawes, by reason it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Island within the mouth of the sound, which hath a white cliffe or spot in the Westnorthwest part of the Island. The land all about the cape riseth all in homocks or broken steepie hils. A league Southwest within that, (for so falleth the land thereabout) there standeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-house: and a little within that a small Island: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you lust: and hard within that is

the

the rode and towne of Santa Martha, which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled, except a few Spaniards, Negros & Indias, which in a brauado at our landing gaue vs some 30 or 40 shot, & so ran away. Santa Martha taken.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and some little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houses swept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in euery place, and also in the sand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reason of a small moone, for euery small moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall caused the towne to be burnt, and all the ships to wey, and stood out, many of the souldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the small ships which rode neerest the shore. We lost that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Austin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinnesse, which stood along the shore, and being chased off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the rest came safe to our fleete.

The 26 we saw the Ilands some 12 leagues to the Eastward of Nombre de Dios standing in toward the shore, but toward night we stood to the offin vntill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except some 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played vpon vs, hauing in the fort some 3 or 4 small pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in discharging at vs. They gaue vs also a voley of small shot: but seeing our resolution in running vpon them they all fled and tooke the woods. Nombre de Dios taken.

The towne was bigge, hauing large streetes, houses very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large wrought all of timber likewise. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a shew in their shops of great store of marchandises that had bene there. There was a mill aboue the towne, and vpon the toppe of another hill in the woods stood a little watch-house, where we tooke twentie sowes of siluer, two barres of gold, some money in coyne, besides other pillage.

The towne was situated in a waterie soile, and subiect much to raine, very vnhealthy as any place in the Indies, hauing great store of Orenges, plantans, cassany-roots, & such other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diseases. To the Eastwarde of the towne within the bay runneth out a fresh riuer of excellent good water, with houses, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due East into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our passage, where they lay in ambush with some twentie or thirtie small shot, and bowes and arrowes, set vpon vs, and killed Lieutenant Jones, hurt three or foure and so fled into the woods, ranne before vs and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diuerse other houses in pursuing them, and so returned againe: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Riuers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about some myle from vs. An Indian towne fired.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each side, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger because they are in sight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Castle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their strength. For they had no Castle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforesaid standing on the top of an hill, although they might haue made it stronger if they would.

The 29 sir Thomas Baskeruil with 750 armed men, besides Chirurgians and prouand boyes, went for Panama.

The last of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the first of Ianuarie burnt the rest, with all the Frigats, Barks & Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, hauing houses built ouer them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The second of Ianuary sir Thomas returned with his souldiers both weary and hungry, hauing marched more then halfe the way to the South sea. The Spaniards played diuers times vpon

vpon vs both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods & rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was so sore as neuer Englishman marched before. Hauing marched some 10 leagues in a maruellous straite way, vpon the top of an hill, through which we must needes passe, the Spaniards had set vp a Fort and kept it with some 80 or 90 men, who played vpon vs as we came vp, before wee were aware of them, and so killed some twentie or more of vs, amongst whom was Captaine Marchant quarter-master Generall, and Ensigne Sampson, Maurice Williams one of her Maiesties guard, besides diuerse were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskeruil a valiant gentleman, with diuers others. Then sir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they must passe two such Forts more, if he got that, besides Panama to be very strong, the enemie knowing of our comming long before.

Also our souldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which considerations caused sir Thomas to returne and giue ouer his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and sent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we set saile at 12 of the clocke, and stood to the Westward.

The Ile of Rocado.

The 10 day we saw an Iland lying Westward some 30 leagues called Escudo, where wee came to anker on the Southside in 12 fadoms water, faire sand and good ankorage. If you come into the Easterne point, giue it a birth, because of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Island: comming to anker we sawe a roader, who seeing vs, set sayle, but that night with our Pinnesses we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confessed him to be an Aduisor sent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along the coast Westward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 leagues from the maine, & is not past two leagues long full of wood, and hath great store of fresh water in euery part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a sickly climat also, and giuen to much raine: here we washed our ships, and set vp the rest of our Pinnesses.

The 15 day Captaine Plat died of sicknesse, and then sir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a scowring or fluxe.

The 23 we set saile and stood vp again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Westwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of sir Francis Drake.

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He vsed some speeches at or a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes sonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gaue to captaine Bodenham.

Puerto Bello.

The same day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the best harbour we found al along the maine both for great ships and small. There standeth a saker shot off the shore at the Easterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine & that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the best comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland & another Iland that lyeth to the westward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses, besides a great new house which they were in building for the Gouernour that should haue bene for that place: there was also a very strong Fort all to the waters side with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming disappointed their pretence, they would haue made it one of the strongest places in all the maine. There they ment to haue builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of brasse ordinance sunke in the sea, which we weighed vp, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Vp within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great fresh riuer, our men rowing vp some two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and some small quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the solemne buriall of our Generall sir Francis in the sea: Sir Thomas Baskeruill being aboord the Defiance, where M. Bride made a sermon, hauing to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, sir Thomas commanded all aboord the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, & there shewing his Commission

mission was accepted for General, & captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, & M. Sauill captaine of ℣ Aduenture.

The 27 died captaine Iosias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foresight, and Iames Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, washed our ships & made new sailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne vp againe for Santa Martha, we should, if not, to goe directly for England. Here also we tooke in some balast as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was discharged and sunke, and that day the Pegasus iolly was going on shore for water, carying no guarde: The Spaniards perceiuing it came downe vpon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 prisoners, and so ranne vp into the woods againe.

The seuenth the Delight and captaine Edens frigat were discharged and sunke because they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ships wanted saylers.

That day our men being mustered we had sicke and whole 2000. And the next day we set on shore all our prisoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our first comming to Puerto Bello sir Thomas sent two of those Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ransome for some of the chiefest prisoners, but they neuer returned againe. As we were setting saile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well vsed, adding that if he would stay 8 or 10 dayes longer they should be brought from Panama. We supposed this to haue bene but a delay to haue kept vs there while the kings forces had come about by sea, as they dayly expected. We set saile the 8 of Februarie, turning vp for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we saw the Ilands of Baru some 14 leagues to the Westward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told vs he would stand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew so much winde and continued that small moone, that the same night we lost the Foresight, and the next day standing againe to make the land which we had made, we lost companie of the Susan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegasus. Then the next day we put ouer for Cape S. Antonie, and gaue ouer Santa Martha.

The 25 we saw the Iland of Grand Cayman some 30 leagues to the Northwestward of Iamaica, being a low sandie Iland, hauing many tortoyses about it. The Grand Cayman.

The 26 we saw the hie land of Cuba to the Eastward of the broken Ilands, to the East of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among those dangerous places. But perceiuing it, we stood out againe Southsoutheast and so got cleere, and then stood away West and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we saw the first of March. It is a low land with wood and fresh water to the Western end. If you come in with the middest of it you shall see rise vp aboue the rest of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Westermost hath three in one. The Ile of Pinos.

Being shot forth with the West end, and standing in for to water we espied 20 sayle of ships about one in the afternoone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king sent for Carthagena, the rest of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 sailes sent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded whereseoeuer they heard we were, to come vpon vs with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came standing for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreshed at Hauana.

As soone as they discried vs, they kept close vpon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of vs: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the rest of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, sir Thomas Baskeruil putting out the Queenes armes, and all the rest of our fleete their brauerie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to shoot, but to keepe close by to second him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ship than any of ours, and the best sayler in all their fleete loofed by and gaue the Concord the two first great shot, which she repayed presently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonauenture bare full with her, ringing her such a peale of ordinance and small shot withall, that he left her with torne sides. The Admirall also made no spare of powder and shot. But the Defiance in the middest of the Spanish fleete thundering of her ordinance The fight betweene the English and the Spanish fleetes.

and small shot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her consorts were forced to tacke about to the Eastward, leauing their admirall and the rest of the fleete, who came not so hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres & better. At sunne set all the fleete tacked about to the Eastward, we continued our course to the Westward for cape de los Corrientes, supposing we should haue met with more of their consorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had fiue men slaine, three Englishmen, a Greeke and a Negro. That night some halfe houre after their fleete keeping vpon their weather quarter, we saw a mightie smoke rise out of one of their great ships which stayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and presently after she was all on a light fire, and so was consumed and all burnt, as we might well perceiue.

One of the Spanish great ships burnt.

The next day being the second of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, hauing a bush of trees higher than the rest some mile to the Eastward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southside. The Spanish fleete which then were but 14 no more than we were, kept still vpon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with vs although our Admirall stayed for them. As soone as we had cleered our selues of the Cape 3 of their best saylers came roome with the Salomon, which was so neere the land that she could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eastward, & so was both a sterne and also to leeward of all our fleete: But when we saw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to rescue her: which the Spaniards seeing, & hauing not forgotten the fight which she made the night before, they loofed vp into the middest of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete stayed vntill the Salomon came vp, and so stood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in sight of by two in the afternoone, being a low cape also, and to the Southwest a white sandie bay where 3 or 4 ships may very well water. There is a good road for North & Easterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a sterne. That night wee stood away a glasse or two Northwest, and Northnorthwest, and Northeast, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had sight of Cuba about the East part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off vpon the North part of Cuba, presently assoone as you passe Cape S. Anthonie: then we stood to the Eastward of the land, the winde at Southsouthwest, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came scant. The 7 we sawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth so 13 or 14 leagues to the Westward of Hauana, and another place in Cuba called the table, 8 leagues to the Eastward of the crowne. The land ouer Hauana maketh two small mountaines like a womans breasts or paps. Here we found no great current vntill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

Cape Sant Antonio.

The Crowne.

The Cape of Florida.

The 10 we saw the Cape of Florida being but a reasonable low land and broken llands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we lost sight of the land 12 leagues to the Northward of the Cape. After we had disemboqued, we stood West till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then stood Northeast till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind scanted with a great storme, in which we lost the Bonauenture, and the Little Iohn, they bearing on head. Then we stood with our larbord tacked Eastsoutheast.

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our course Eastnortheast. The 21 we had a great stormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the rest of our fleete fell asterne except the Hope, which bare a head: so that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and stood away for Flores, which the 8 of Aprill we saw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southside, where we watered because the Defiance when we came in had but two buts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for some fresh victuals, and set here on shore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which sir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Easter-eue at night we set saile the winde seruing vs to lie some slent in our course. That night and Easter day we had much raine: the winde came vp at Northeast, wee beate it vp some 30 leagues to the Eastward, & then about to the West, and so againe

to

to the East, and tryed, and the next boord to the West. On Thursday towards night, being the 16 wee had sight of Coruo againe, we tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Westward of the point of Santa Cruz vnder Flores: but before midnight we drawe, and set saile the next day standing away northeast. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp againe at North. On Sunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an East way: and then the winde came vp a good gale at Northwest, and so Northeast with a flowne sheete we made the best way we could: but being dispersed by bad weather we arriued about the beginning of May in the West parts of England. And the last ships which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Sauile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by sir Thomas Baskeruil Generall of her Maiesties Armada after the decease of sir Francis Drake.

To the courteous Reader.

WHereas Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his printed letters published to the world diuerse vntruthes, concerning our fleete and the commanders thereof, seeking thereby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I haue taken vpon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed copie came first into my hands, hauing myselfe bene Captaine of one of her Maiesties ships in the same voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and loue to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a souldier and Nauigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publish some greater labour.

HENRY SAVILE.

THe true copie of a letter found at the sacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Nauie in the West Indies, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, and by him put in print with priuilege: wherein are declared many vntruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the seruice of her Maiesties Nauie, and the commanders thereof, lately sent to the West Indies, vnder the command of sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins Generals at the sea; and sir Thomas Baskeruill Generall at land: with a confutation of diuers grosse lies and vntruthes, contayned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight, according to the truth.

Copia de vna carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Presidente de la casa de la contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del sucesso de la Armada de Ynglatierra, despues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Francisco Draque, y de su muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vuestra Merced como sali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tanbien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y con el tiempo se perdio uno, y por desgracia se quemo vn Filibote, y auiendo andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta que llegue a Cartagena, donde auiendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Gouernador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necessidad de agua, y reparar los Nauios por que venian faltos della, me detuue en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por vn Auiso, que Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena, de auer perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estenso. Y auiendo dado a vuestro Mer-

ced cuenta de lo que hasta alli a succedido, agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Hauana, donde entendi hallarlo: y auiendo hecho la diligencia posible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir de la Ysla de Pinos, en la ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yua con catorze Nauios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por suyo, y el Almiranta que yua mas al viento con otros dos Nauios commençó arrimarsele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarsele paraque quisiesse enuestir: los que estauamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimauamos, con mas diligencia de lo que se puede creer se desembaraço de todos. poniendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le segui con nueue Nauios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, hasta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las instruciones de su Magestad: siruio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Nauios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar vn arcabuz, ni vna pieça, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Nauios los auia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y estos acabaua de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y ansi venian muy reparados; y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para adereçarlos. A que nauego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana, que desde que partí de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que sali se me lo arrimo vna Zabra con esta necessidad; la Almiranta y los demas Nauios vienen con el mismo trabajo, pero sin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse del, sino es hallarlo sobre el Ferro. Con todo esso me an dexado vn Nauio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Ynglesa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deuen de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, segun se echa de ver en ellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro sennor guarde a vuestra Merced, como puede, y yo desseo. De la Hauana. 30 de Março, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Assistente desta ciudad de Seuilla y su tierra, que hago officio de Assistente della por ausencia de su Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Francisco Draque. La qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil maranedis para la camara de su Magestad. Fecha en Seuilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y nouenta y seys annos.

El Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudez y Figueroa.

Por su mandado, Gregoria de Gutierez, Escriuano.

The Spanish letter Englished.

The Copie of a letter which Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his armie, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, wherein he maketh mention of the successe of the English armie, after they departed from Panama, whereof was Generall Francis Drake, and of his death.

FRom Cartagena I gaue relation vnto your Worship how I departed from the citie of Lisbone, in the pursuite of the English armie: although for the great haste the Galeons could not be so well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And hauing sayled many dayes in pursuite of the enemie, vntill I arrined at Cartagena,

Cartagena, and there taking the aduise of Don Pedro de Acunna, Gouernour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our shippes) we stayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestly knowen. Thus hauing giuen you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you vnderstand, that I left this Port the second of March, and tooke our course towardes Hauana, where I thought to haue found the English fleete. And hauing vsed all the diligence possible, vpon Munday the eleuenth of the said moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Isle of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the English fleete, being fourteene very good ships: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of vs, and our Admirall who bore vp towards the winde, with other two ships beganne to draw neere them, and although we set thus vpon them, three times with all their ships, yet would they not set againe vpon vs, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of artillerie, muskets, and caliuers, whereby they receiued euident hurt by vs: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leauing their boates for haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Maiestie. It little auailed vs to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could vse, could cause them to stay or come neere vs, nor to shoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them; the rest they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and so by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our shippes were very foule, because the time would not permit vs to trim them: I haue sayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, since we departed from Cartagena, we haue not repaired their pumpes nor clensed them: and the same day I departed thence, there came vnto me a small Pinnesse in the like distresse: our Viceadmirall and the rest of our ships haue the like impediment, but no great hinderance vnto vs, for ought I could perceiue by our enemies: It is manifest what aduantage they had of vs, and by no meanes was it possible for vs to take them, vnlesse we could haue come to haue found them at an anker. Neuerthelesse they left vs one good shippe behinde for our share, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they haue made for Generall of the English fleete the Colonel Quebraran: and also by meanes of the small time, being straightly followed by vs, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will be able to arriue in England. The number of men we haue taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fifteene noble captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behauiour: I haue no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, and as I desire. From Hauana the 30 of March, 1596.

DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO DE AVELLANEDA.

THe Licenciat Don Iohn Bermudes of Figueroa Lieutenant of the Assistants of the citie of Siuill, and the Prouince thereof, who doth supply the office of the Assistant in the absence of the Right honourable the Earle of Priego, giueth licence to Roderigo de Cabriera to imprint the Relation of the death of Francis Drake, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the same within the said terme, vpon paine of tenne thousand Marauedis for his Maiesties chamber. Giuen in Siuill the 15 of May 1596.

The Licenciat Don Iohn Bermudes of Figueroa.

By his Assigne Gregorie Gutierez Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall Don Bernaldino sent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis

Francis Drake and their supposed victorie, was altogether receiued for an vndoubted trueth, and so pleasing was this newes vnto the Spaniarde, that there was present commandement giuen to publish the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be pertakers of this common ioy: the which letter printed in Siuill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Sauile Esquire, who being employed in that seruice for the West Indies, and Captaine of her Maiesties good shippe the Aduenture, vnder the conduct of sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins, hath caused the said printed letter to be translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainely appeare, the sayde Henrie Sauile doth answere particularly to euery vntrueth in the same letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The answere to the Spanish letter.

First the Generall doth say, that Francis Drake died at Nombre de Dios, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

The Generals first newes, & his best newes is in part lying newes.

THe Generall sent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and seale of Armes: It is the first newes in his letter, and it was the best newes that he could send into Spaine. For it did ease the stomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him, whose life was a scourge and continuall plague vnto them: But it was a point of great simplicitie, and scarcely beseeming a Generall, to tie the credite of his report locally to any place vpon the report of a silly Indian slaue. For it had bene sufficient to haue sayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publishing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is most certaine sir Francis Drake died twixt the Iland of Escudo, and Puerto Bello: but the Generall being rauished with the suddaine ioy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an insolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie vpon another, doth not cease vntill he hath drawen them into sequences, and so doth commende them vnto Peter the Doctor, as censor of his learned worke.

Secondly, The Generall doth write vnto the Doctor, that Francis Drake died for very griefe that he had lost so many barkes and men.

A Thing very strange that the Generall or the Indian, whom hee doth vouch for his lie, should haue such speculation in the bodie of him whom they neuer saw, as to deliuer for truth vnto his countrie, the very cause or disease whereof hee died: and this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might be tollerable; notwithstanding, this precise affirming the cause of his death doth manifestly prooue that the Generall doth make no conscience to lie. And as concerning the losse of any Barkes or men in our Nauie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one small pinnesse excepted) which we assuredly know was taken by chance, falling single into a fleete of fiue Frigates (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere vnto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour of Don Bernaldino: the which fiue Frigates of the kings afterwardes had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and one other was sunke in the same harbour, and the other three were burnt amongst many other shippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wise mens iudgements, will seeme a silly cause to make a man sorrowe to death. For true it is, sir Francis Drake died of the fluxe which hee had growen vpon him eight dayes before his death, and yeelded vp his spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall shall surney his losse, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his, destroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of so great comfort vnto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had beene vtterly lost.

Don Bernaldino doth lie impudently.

The successe of the kings fiue Frigats.

The certaine cause whereof sir Francis Drake died.

Thirdly, the Generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleuenth of March last he met the English fleete

at

at the Ile of Pinos, being fourteene good shippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he set vpon them three times with all their shippes: but the English Fleete fled, and refused to fight, shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Viceadmirall.

THis third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda (whose name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawen somewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iust proportion in measure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoça his countreyman, concerning the ouerthrowe of hir Maiesties Nauie in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpose to winne the whetstone from Don Bernardino de Mendoça the olde Spanish lyer; I cannot coniecture why he should write to his countrey for a truth, that he chased the English Nauie with nine shippes, and did three seuerall times giue the onset to the English fleete, who being fourteene good shippes (as he saith) did flie and refuse to fight; considering that the Spanish Viceadmirall (if he be liuing) and many other can witnesse the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered shippe to saue her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish Fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will say they were lesse then twentie sayle of shippes when they met the English fleete: and the Spanish Nauie can witnesse that they receiued such store of bullets from the English fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English nauie did holde their determined course: And taking a viewe of the Spanish fleete the next day, their number was not aboue thirteene ships, which did argue that they were either sunke or fled to harbour to saue themselues.

A peyre of Spanish liers.

The Spanish Viceadmirall a man of valour.

The number of Spanish ships after the fight.

Fourthly, the General saith, that the English fleete fled away, and left their *oares for hast behind them in the sea.

* The translation of the Spanish word Lanchas is here mistaken.

IT was strange that they should leaue behinde them oares in the sea, sithence there was not in the English fleete either Galley or Galliasse, which required the vse of oares: as for the oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stowed them aboord their shippes, and were no impediment vnto them, but most necessarie for them to vse, and therefore not likely they would cast them ouerboord: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein he did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, and for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is sinne to belie the Deuill, and therefore the Generall shall haue his right: the letter is so well contrined, and yet with no great eloquence, but with such art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which shewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should haue beene printed, he would haue omitted many things conteined in the letter: for the Doctor did vse him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to bee printed: for friendes may like good fellowes send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the simplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot see but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his shoulders.

This lie was made in the Generals own forge.

Fiftly, the Generall doth say in his printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could vse, he could not cause the English fleete to stay nor come neere them, nor discharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could.

ANd this lie also he doth not receiue by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action, which made him bold to sende this with the rest into his countrey for current newes: but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde than wise, for the torne and battered sides of his Galeons, being compared with her Maiesties shippes, and others that serued

The torn sides of the Spanish ships doe condemne Don Bernaldino of lying.

serued in that fight, doe declare, that his ships receiued at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreyman (if any do fauour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done vnto the kings fleete, sithence they did encounter with the English Nauie, whensoeuer they that remaine shall arriue in Spaine. But the Generall seemeth to be a very good proficient in his profession, and waxeth somewhat bold, treading the true steps of olde Bernardino de Mendoça: and yet Mendoça was somewhat more warie in his lies, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldnesse to impudencie maketh no scruple to say, that the English Nauie fled as fast as they could without discharging any harquebuze or peece of artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behaue himselfe so valiantly, that he was alwayes farthest off in the fight, and had so great care of his owne person, that he stoode cleare from the danger of musket or any small shot, and durst not approch; whereas our Generall was the foremost, and so held his place, vntill by order of fight other shippes were to haue their turnes, according to his former direction: who wisely and politikely had so ordered his vangarde, and rereward, that as the manner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniarde, so might they haue bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any iudgement in sea-fights: I knowe no reason why the English Nauie should flie from him; for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that euer he did winne from the English: Peraduenture some silly nouice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of coniuration, and for feare of raysing a spirit, might flie from him as from the Deuill: or some simple Indian slaue hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the English Nauie were men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges could dismay them (for they haue often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish beardes) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowfred in his gilt leather buskins, and his Toledo rapier.

The order of the English Nauie.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his gaine.

Spanish bragges are of no value with the English.

> Sixtly the Generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good ship well manned, who tolde him that Drake dyed in Nombre de Dios: in which ship were one hundred and fortie men, and fifteene noble captaines of the best sort.

THe Generall Don Bernaldino, like a resolute Spaniarde hauing already gone ouer his shooes, maketh no danger to wade ouer his bootes also: and as he hath begunne, so hee doth conclude. I maruaile that he did not in writing his discourse remember this old saying: that is, A liar ought to haue a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to reuoke the testimonie which he saith he had from the Englishmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and stand to the intelligence receiued from the silly Indian slaue, as it appeareth in his first lie: for without all doubt there is no English man that will say (if he haue his right senses) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General auouch that he receiued intelligence from any English man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth most falsely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and friuolous letter) seeing that this name was strange & vnknowen to any in the English Nauie. Neither do I imagine that any of those which the Generall saith he hath taken, were so forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new and strange a name to the English Generall, doth prooue that Don Bernaldino is not vnfurnished of a forge and storehouse of lies, from whence as frō an euerflowing foūtaine, he sendeth forth lies of al sorts sufficient for his own store, and great plentie to furnish his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gaue him the name Bernaldino, which we in English doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of priuilege from being sharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common saying amongst

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in coyning a new and strange name.

amongst the schoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard seeth not all things, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which fauour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name sake, if he were not taken with so many manifest and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that Sennor Bernaldino will say, that he sawe all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the Generall: for is there any man so voide of reason as to thinke, that any Englishman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or speake Quebraran for Baskeruil. So much difference there is in the sound of the sillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to his small prayse) that we Englishmen must of force confesse, that the Generall hath giuen a proud onset to carrie the whetstone from Sennor Bernaldino de Mendoça: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fifteene noble Captaines (which he saith he did take, of whom he might haue bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giuing the name of Quebraran to the English Generall. As for the good shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them after the fight, I am perswaded he hath no man to witnesse that lie, for the ship was separated by weather from the English fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spanish Nauie, and neuer to any mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleete. If the Spanish ship by chance did take the saide well manned ship (as they call her) I doubt not but they haue the ship, the hundred and forty men, and the fifteene noble Captaines to shew: But euermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fifteene noble Captaines will prooue, (as I take it) but three, whose losse I grieue to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leaue them for cowardise, as most vntruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a prouident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh vpon him (amongst other his miracles performed before the English fleete) by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great, as a little shooe to serue a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth so stretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to breake: and yet notwithstanding al this will not serue his purpose; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth wish might be concealed, and were he not of so drie and cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently such manifest vntruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie English Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongst other exploites hauing taken the citie of Cadiz, in the sacke thereof was found some of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that serued in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the West Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slanders to the English Nauie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the trueth onely may appeare, to all such as haue a desire to be rightly informed of such accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the West Indies: and this may suffise to shew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda his great iudgement in amplifying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe somewhat. And now hauing thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the slanderous, false, and vntrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lies, I will leaue him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discerne the same: And haue here following plainely and truely set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met.

The schoolemen of modesty doe vse this kind of reprehension, when they doe thinke the author to erre.

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskeruill.

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a distressed ship which is supposed not to strike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines contrary to the Generals lying occupation, wil proue but three.

The first discouery of the Generals printed letter.

The meeting of our English Nauie and the Spanish fleete, and the order of our encounter.

MVnday the first of March, according to our computation, wee descryed the Iland of Pinos, where haling in for the Westerne part thereof, thinking there to haue watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, we sent in three of our Pinnesses to discouer the harbour, and to sound afore vs, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discouered

The first discouery of the Spanish fleete.

discouered a fleete of twentie sailes, and deeming them to be the Spanish fleete, we kept our loofe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with diuers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnesses: so that our Generall with some other of our shippes, was forced to tacke about vpon the larbourd tacke, and so ranne in towardes the lande keeping the winde, so as we recouered our Pinnesses; which forced the enemies shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere vnto them they shot at vs; we still approched, hauing our close fights vp, our flags, ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight vntill our Generall beganne, and gaue vs warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: so being within musket shot, the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete came neerest vnto vs, to whom our Viceadmirall Iohn Traughton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonaduenture gaue fight, betwixt whom there was the greatest voley of small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spanish fleete came in to fight. Our Generall Sir Thomas Baskeruill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next shippe vnto the Elizabeth Bonaduenture) bare vp to the enemie, playing with his great ordinance hotly vntill he came within musket shot. Ionas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Sauile Captaine of the Aduenture, came likewise in to fight with them. After the Garland being within musket shot played her part, and made good fight for the space of an houre. The Defiance bare vp likewise and had her turne: after came the Aduenture againe within musket shot, who hauing changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, & continued it an houre with small shot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who last of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queenes shippes their course: The marchants ships with other small vessels being without the Queenes ships, shot, when they saw opportunitie. After the enemie finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from vs, the Aduenture playing vpon them with her great ordinance, made three of the last shot at them: their Viceadmirall with diuers others of their ships, were so beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durst not lie of either boord by reason of their many and great leakes, which they had receiued by our great shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee sought to hinder. But our Generall seeing that in holding the winde we should shoot our selues into the bay, gaue them the winde. All that night they kept themselues vpon our brode side, notwithstanding our Admiral carried his cresset-light all night, haning great care of our smallest shippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were slaine so few persons of our English fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with so little losse of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leaue to your iudgements. Yet our eyes can witnesse their ships were sore beaten and raked thorough, whereby there was such falling backe and lying by the lee to stoppe their leakes, as some of them were driuen to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to saue themselues then sinke in the Sea: besides within two houres after our fight with them, we sawe one of their great shippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the sterne of another of their ships blowen vp: And in the morning a shippe of our fleete was runne so neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he must of necessitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemie, which caused our Generall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two ships forced the three ships of the enemies (which were put foorth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to saue themselues, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by vs hauing the winde of vs, being but thirteen sayle of their twentie to be seene: then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to haue fought with them againe, which they perceiuing tacked about from vs, and after that neuer durst nor would come neere vs: What became of the rest of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great distresse mightily beaten and torne, by hauing receiued many bullets from vs. All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come

The incounter betwixt the English and the Spanish ships.

The Spanish Viceadmirall can witnesse, what successe they had in this fight.

The English admirall carried his Cresset light, notwithstanding the enemie was vpon his broad side.

The English receiued little losse in this conflict.

The remainder of the Spanish fleete were but thirteene sayles.

come neere vs, so we keeping our course West, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true discourse of our fight with the Spanish fleete. The which the author hereof will iustifie with the aduenture of his life, against any Spaniarde seruing in that action, that shall contradict the same.

HENRY SAVILE.

Thomas Baskeruil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captaine Sauile.

I Thomas Baskeruill knight, Generall of her Maiesties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spanish fleete and vs, hauing perused the Spanish letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Nauie, and also hauing perused captaine Henrie Sauile his answeres vnto the sixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleete, doe say that the said Henrie Sauile hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I haue hereunto set my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda the Generall shall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the iustification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, President of the Contractation house for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then say that he falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoeuer armes he shall make choyce of. And because the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reason of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I haue written) let him make choise of any indifferent kingdome of equall distance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I haue written: But if by my imployments into France I be so stayed by her Maiesties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot see why he should take any exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our princes be there resident.

THOMAS BASKERVILE.

A true relation of the voyage vndertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley Knight in Anno 1596 intended for the Ile of San Tomé, but performed to S. Iago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Tierra firma, to the Ile of Iamaica, the bay of the Honduras, 30 leagues vp Rio Dolce, and homewarde by Newfoundland. With the memorable exploytes atchieued in all this voyage.

WE departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ships and a gallie. The Beuice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rereadmirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little Iohn 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinnesse. All which ships we sufficiently victualled and furnished for ten monethes, with all necessaries fit for the voyage. They were also manned with souldiers and saylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture necessarie for the intended purpose of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably & orderly distributed into euery ship. We arriued at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Essex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ships and 500 souldiers well victualed and furnished. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Beuice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinnesse, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with vs our Generals purpose was to haue first sackt the Madera Ile, and so to haue proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arriued vpon the coast of Spaine, coasting all the shore, hoping to meete with some of the kings ships. From thence we past in sight of the coast of Barbary, and came to Masagant, within shot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in strong garrison. And bending our course for the Canarie Iles there purposing to water, our galley

The Fort of Masagant.

lost her rudder; so our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Betweene which place and the Canarie Iles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Brasill, hauing nothing aboord her but some small portion of victuals for their reliefe. The captaine of this Flybote tooke vpon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly consented to stay with vs, being a Fleming. Hauing watered at the Canaries, by the counsell of this Fleming we shaped our course for the Iles of Cape Verde, he assuring vs that we should there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was so farre past, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

A Flieboat taken.

The first of Iuly we fell with the Isle Maio, where wee saw small hope of any fleete to bee expected, & therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete vs: where we arriued the fift of Iuly, and there found him. And so instantly we proceeded for our voyage, because the yeere was farre spent. At this place most vnfortunately our General fell exceeding sicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Pescadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many skirmishes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopelesse of life, and we all dismayed and comfortlesse through that his exceeding extremity, hauing his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Masters, and officers vnto him, vnto whom he made a very pithie and briefe speech, tending to this purpose: That as we were Christians and all baptised and bred vp vnder one and the true faith, so wee should liue together like Christians in the feare and seruice of God: And as we were the subiects of our most excellent soucreigne, and had vowed obedience vnto her: so we should tend all our courses to the aduancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any base or vnfit actions. And because we came for his loue into this action that for his sake we would so loue together as if himselfe were still liuing with vs, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him, vnto whom vnder his hand he would giue commission to succeede himselfe: all which with solemne protestation we granted to obey. Then for that the yere was past, and finding the cost of Guynea most tempestuous, hee saw in reason that the bay of Æthiopia would be our vtter ouerthrow, and infect vs all to death: whereupon he aduised vs to be respectiue of our selues, and to diuert our purpose from S. Tomé, either for Brasil or the West India, yeelding many reasons that it was our best course: but we all with one voice desired to proceede for S. Tomé. And so departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our course for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the sholds of Madrabomba, but very dangerously ran into shold water, still hoping of the best. In fine we were enforced to beare vp & take some other course; for the time wasted, our men fell sicke, and the coast was contagious alwayes raging & tempestuous. The water falling from the heauens did stinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

The Isle of Mayo.

A most contagious & filthy place.

So by a general consent it was held to be our best course to goe for the West India; & so much the rather, because we had good pilots for that place, who vndertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our course for the Isles of Cape Verde, & arriuing at the Isle of S. Iago the 30 of August, we presently landed at Praia, where we found a smal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

After we were departed from this vile coast of Guyny our Generall to our great comforts began to recouer strength; so that being now at Praia, he was able to land with vs. In our landing the people made a shew of great resistance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, hauing a small fort in it, with 6 or 8 cast pieces.

The towne of Praya vpon the Isle of S. Iago taken.

Being here on shore, and finding nothing left in the towne, diuers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded consent, and so we marched towards the citie with 280 souldiers. As we passed by the Negros and herdsmen, they would crie vnto vs Guarda S. Iago. That night we lost our way, & lay vnder a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was shot off to giue vs notice where the towne was: so wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all spred ouer with people made shew of feare only to draw vs into the town: but we farther marched with our colours flying

flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by vs and viewing vs very much. But when we came in sight of the towne, we could see no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very steepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The strength and situation of this towne was sufficient to haue danted a man of very good courage, for it standeth between two steepe cliffes strongly housed, & three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefest and best standing vpon the top of the hill right ouer the towne: so that from thence with muskets they command euery streete, the other 2 forts standing by the waters side, all three commanding the rode, and these two euery streete in the towne. Vpon the front of the towne the sea beateth, the rest standeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not accessible but by one small path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall seeing himselfe thus straighted, and perceiuing the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reason of many straights and aduantageable places, with an excellent resolution (like vnto himselfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: assure yourselues that the deuice of the Portugals shall serue our turne this day; for they will suffer vs quietly to passe downe into their supposed trappe, and then will pursue vs, then which nothing can happen better. The day is ours now shew your selues as I know you will: and so presently we descended into the trench. And being downe the enemy pursued with a mightie crie, and all the cliffes on both sides were beset full of men; shot, and stones we wanted none from them on euery side in great plenty; for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket shot ouer. Those that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were so receiued that they made a stand, and neuer more came neere vs. We had now halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were receiued with the streetes full of souldiers, who ioyned with vs at the push of the pike. But their captaine and diuers of them being slaine (feare possessing them) they fled: and our Generall pursuing with such furious speede, did so dismay them that they fled the towne, and the third of August we possessed both the lower forts.

A description of the towne of S. Iago taken by sir Francis Drake 1585.

The towne of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley.

Being now masters of the towne, we presently by the Generals direction (whose skill, spirit, and diligence can neuer haue sufficient commendation) baricadoed vp all the streets, and brought our selues into a very conuenient strength. After we had bene sixe houres in the towne the Portugals still comming in great multitudes to the vpper fort, began to sally downe vpon vs, and to assault vs at euery baricado: so that in the first assault they slew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had small cause of triumph, for their losse was thrise more then ours: but they still prosecuted their assault, not giuing vs time either to sleepe or eate, so that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increase to the number of three thousand persons: but we dayly lost of our poore number. Whilest we were thus keeping the towne, our ships came about vnto vs, who receiued many dangerous shot from the vpper castle. Our Generall finding himselfe thus streighted, & discreetely looking into the policie and strength of the enemy, and scarse able to defend any one assault more, sent to the forts and to his ships that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they should shoote at the vpper fort with all possible diligence, and send all the boates ashore, which was accordingly perfourmed. And wee likewise keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemie supposing that our purpose was to assault the vpper fort (which God knowes was most impregnable for vs) retyred from their plotted purpose for the defence thereof. So we in a souldierlike order with very good safety departed the towne, although the Portugals hauing espied our Generals policie came very furiously vpon the backe of vs, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ship with wine and cloth, which did greatly refresh our men. From hence we sayled to an Isle called Fuego, being a very small Isle, with a very high hill in the midst of it, which continually burneth: this Isle is inuincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent search we found a small path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and so were masters of the Isle the eleuenth of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Isle yeelded vs nothing but miserable infection. One

Isla del Fuego.

night

night wee had a showre of ashes which fell so thicke into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger vpon the vpper decke.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we shaped our course for Dominica an Isle in the West India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieue the sicke, the disease was so vile that men grew lothsome vnto themselues, franticke and desperately rauing, among whom our good Generals part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the losse of those whom he loued were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himselfe vnto. But had not his mind bene inuincible and his desires aboue the ordinary course of men, it had bene impossible that life should now haue rested in him: but God (I hope) hath preserued him to some exceeding good purpose.

Dominica.

Two excellent hote bathes.

Arriuing at Dominica the seuenteenth of October, with all our men sicke and feeble, wee found there two hote bathes, wherein our weake men washing themselues were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place vsed vs with great kindnesse, so that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we stayed vntill the 25 of Nouember.

Margarita.

From Dominica we sayled to Margarita, betweene the Isle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we sawe a Flemish ship riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboord vs, and brought with them my lord Admirals passe. By which meanes our General would in no sort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Isle Buenaire our Fliboat was cast away, & some of the men lost, but the most part saued. Coasting all the shore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a small frigat laden with Guiny corne, the eleuenth of September: she had in her money to the valew of 500 pound, linnen cloth and China silke, all which our General bestowed vpon his company to comfort them after their long sustained miseries: Out of which frigat we had 2 good pilots for those coasts: for our pilot, that promised many things before we came thither, was now absent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully loose vs. Arriuing at S. Martha, two leagues West from the towne in a faire bay,

Santa Marta taken.

we landed the 12 of September, & so marched to the towne being often times encountred by the way, and in a narrow way at our descent downe a hill, they had placed two cast pieces of brasse, which we recouered, and so entred the towne, the enemie flying before vs. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Castilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great traueller, who knew the whole state of the West India, Malucos, & Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpose was to saue the towne from burning, wherin he preuailed, but ransome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great protestations of great pouerty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a prisoner lost there by sir Francis Drake, with some reliefe of victuals. Hauing stayed there al the time of Christmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great submission vnto him, for they were now within a league of vs with 700 souldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithstading intreat fauour with great humilitie Whilest we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe vnto vs: so wee shaped our course for Iamaica, and missing the rode, were constrained to saile round about the Isle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe absolutely againe forsooke vs with the smal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods fauourable help wee arriued in the road of Iamaica the 29 of Ianuary, which is very dangerous to enter by reason of the sholds and rocks that lie before it.

The Ile and chiefe towne of Iamaica taken.

Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the countrey, where the towne standeth; the people all on horseback made shew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of the towne and whole Isle, the people submitted themselues to our Generals mercy: and here they prouided for vs great store of dried beefe, and Cassaui meale, a base food, yet the

the best that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at sea. This Isle is a marueilous fertil Isle, & is as a garden or store house for diuers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the rest of the Indies we haue not seene: it aboundeth with beeues and Cassani, besides most pleasant fruits of diuers sorts. We haue not found in the Indies a more pleasant and holsome place. During the time that we remained in this Isle the captaine of the Isle came often aboord vs, we hauing pledges for the security of their promise. They were in fine at our Generals deuotion, to dispose of al things, and in all things as he pleased, so that now we were as one people & in one peace together. Being almost ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ships boat the second of March, with whom our Generall consorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perswasion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing frō Iamaica the 6 of March, we sailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better strength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we purposed to entrap the watch, & so to socke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch discouering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpose: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is inuincible by nature. It standeth vpon the top of a very steepe hill, bordering close to the sea: so enuironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing vp the hill, only hauing one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very strongly fortified, so that it is not to be approched vnto, so that with the losse of some few men, we retired from this enterprise, being altogether impossible to be atchieued by our few and weake men.

We departed from Truxillo the second of April and went for Puerto de Cauallos lower down in the bay, stil nourishing our hope of good successe: and comming thither found it reasonably fortified, but wee presently preuailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the most poore and miserable place of all India. Now our hopes were all frustrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voiage: our General reseruing vnto himselfe his silent inward impatience, laboured to doe some memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to search with his boats some narrow passage or Isthmos for the South sea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it should serue him to great purpose; against which there could be no reasonable contradiction. All his chiefest sea men consented hereunto, but especially the Captaine of the Admirall. So sayling with the ships to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leauing the ships well mored the tenth of Aprill he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his passage through the land. Vp this riuer by many vncertaine windings we passed 30 leagues and better, where we found a strong built fort, a towne, and diuers store-houses: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miserable people that we tooke, that the South sea was 20 leagues from the nerest of that riuer, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonsonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to march vnto: so that now we were in worse case then before: for wee were fallen sicke with the vnholsomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted, as that we were desperate how to recouer our countrey. Whereupon with most vnwilling minds we returned to our shipping, and with all possible expedition weyed, & so laboured vpon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of land. Being out of the bay, wee shaped our course for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whose restles spirit continually laboured to auoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Beuice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to reuictual, and to haue fresh men, of which we stood in good assurance, & so to depart for the streits of Magellan, and so by his very good policie would haue concluded his voyage in the East India, which plat I thinke it vnnecessary here to reueale, being put in principall trust by him.

Puerto de Cauallos taken.

Guatimala, Sonsonate, and Sacatocaluca.

Their returne.

Being thwart Hauana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May,

May, and here in a desperate place hee was left desperately alone. The George departed by consent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our misery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was euer before in the Indies, besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithstanding we were enforced without stay to disemboque: which happily being performed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arriued there the fifteenth of Iune, not hauing one houres victuals to spare, and there by our countreymen we were well refreshed: where we stayed till the 24 of Iune, still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but she not comming, and that plat ouerthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erle of Essex bound to the seas, with whom wee presently departed in his lordships ship, to doe him our humble seruice.

A voyage of Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman, to Margarita, Iamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cauallos situate within the bay of Honduras, and taken by sir Anthony Sherley and him, as likewise vp Rio dolce: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize vpon Campeche the chiefe towne of Iucatan, which he tooke and sacked with sixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and surprized also the towne of Sebo.

IN the yeere 1596, Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman being furnished with a tall shippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ship called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himselfe went captaine, and the barke called the Aduenture of fiue and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed frō the foresayd hauen of Plimmouth in the moneth of Nouember, hauing one hundreth men in his company.

Margarita. The first place where wee touched in the West Indies was the Isle of Margarita on the coast of Tierra firma, where we tooke a Spanish gentleman and others, who for his ransome set at

Sixe English men redeemed. libertie Master Iames Willis, and fiue other Englishmen which were prisoners in Cumaná, who otherwise were neuer like to haue come from thence. Thus passing from thence, wee sayled ouer to the Isle of Iamaica, where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Island, and was now almost in a readines to depart. And here consorting our selues with him, we departed from

Truxillo assailed. Iamaica the sixt of March, and resolued to set vpon the strong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And hauing sayled to Cape de Corrientes vpon Cuba, to seeke a barke of mine for our better strength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purposed to intrap the watch, and so to haue sacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch discouering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpose, for the towne is inuincible by nature, and standeth vpon the top of a very steepe hill ioyning close to the sea, enuironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage through the trees: there is also but one very narrow and steepe lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very strongly fortified: so that it is not to be approched vnto, vnlesse it be vpon the sudden, and with surprize of the watch: wherefore with the losse of some few men wee retired from this enterprize.

From hence we passed vp farther into the gulfe the second of April, with intention to in-

Puerto de Cauallos taken. uade the towne of Puerto de Cauallos, where wee arriued the seuenth of April, and tooke the same, finding it well fortified, but nothing answering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto frustrate of our hopes, resolued here to enter vp

They passe aboue 30. leags vp Rio dolce. to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to passe ouerland vnto the South sea. Wherefore wee set forward, and entred aboue thirty leagues vp the sayd Rio dolce, thinking to haue passed ouerland with two companies of men, and to haue caried a pinnesse in sixe quarters to be set together with skrewes, and therein to haue embarked our selues in the South sea, and there for a time to haue tried our fortune; and to haue returned ouerland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke no effect, because of the huge highnes of the mountaines

tainties, and the length of the way, being more then was giuen out at the first. Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I set my course for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the East part of Iucatan from whence I ranged al the North coast of the said promontory of Iucatan, vntill I came vnto Cape Desconoscido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leauing my ship sixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning * I landed hard by the monasterie of San Francisco, and tooke the sayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein fiue hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes close adioyning to the same eight thousand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled vpon my first assault by ten of the clocke in the morning assembling together renued their strength, and set furiously vpon me and my small company. In which assault I lost some sixe of my men, and my selfe was shot vnder the left brest with a bullet, which bullet lieth still in the chine of my backe. Being thus put vnto our shifts wee deuised on the sudden a newe stratagem: for hauing diuers of the townesmen prisoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in stead of a baricado to defend vs from the fury of the enemies shot. And so with ensigne displayed, taking with vs our sixe dead men, wee retired with more safetie to the hauen, where we tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in siluer and other good commodities, * which were presently to bee transported to S. Iuan de Vllua, and brought the same and our Periago or Canoa to my ship, which lay in two fadome water sixe leagues from the town. being not able to come any neerer for the sholds vpō that coast. Ouer against the place where our ship rode, stoode a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo, which we likewise tooke, where wee found Champeche-wood good to dye withall, with waxe, and hony. This done we left this coast, and turned vp to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored euery day at noone, because of the brizes, and in turning vp I lost my barke called the Aduenture, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as since we vnderstand by some Spanish prisoners that were taken in those parts. After we had stayed fiue weekes on this coast, wee shaped our course for Hauana, where finding nothing, we disemboqued, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda, and crossed ouer to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence sayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the first of Iuly, and within two dayes after arriued at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Essex setting forth with a great fleet for the Isles of the Açores.

Cabo de Cotoche.

Cabo desconocido.

* On Easter euen 1597. The towne of Campeche taken.

A new stratagem.

* To the value of 3000 pound.

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

An excellent ruttier for the Islands of the West Indies, and for Tierra firma, and Nueua Espanna.

IF a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee must steere Southwest vntil hee hath sight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Isle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be these. An high point sloping to the sea, & at the Easter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they shew to be separated from the maine of the Island & stand in 28 degrees & a halfe. And if thou wilt haue sight of the Grand Canaria, and findest thy selfe with Punta de Naga, thou shalt then steere Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Canaria which standeth in 28 degrees. And thou must come to ankor on the Southeast side of the Island. But I aduise thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another course, and that as followeth.

The course that a man must keepe departing in winter for the Indies from Sant Lucar.

DEparting from Sant Lucar in winter thou shalt goe West and by South keeping along the coast, because if thou goe farre from the coast, thou shalt meete with the wind off the sea vntill thou be as high shot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the sea. And thou salt see a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Casa del Cauallero. And from thence thou shalt steere thy olde course, that is Southwest and by South for the Isles

Cape Cantin.

A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin.

of Alegrança, and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegrança, thou shalt steere thence Southwest, and so thou shalt see the Canaria, which is a round high land, and standeth in twentie eight degrees.

What thou must doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the shore.

WHen thou art fifty leagues shot on thy way into the sea Southwest off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the sea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou shalt steere Northeast and by East, and shalt hall with sight of Cabos del Plata, which shew when thou art a seaboord so farre as thou mayest descrie them, to be like two points of white sand: and if it be cleere thou shalt see within the land certain high hilles lying Northwest and by West called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou shalt haue thirtie fadomes water, and sand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou shalt goe along Northwest by the coast: and if thou be in thirtie or forty fadomes, thou shalt haue oaze; but if thou bee in lesse then thirtie fadomes, thou shalt haue other sounding; which if it chance, then thou art against S. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou shalt see the Ermitage of Sant Sebastian, which seemeth to be a shippe vnder sayle. And thou shalt goe into the bay taking heede of the Puercos, giue them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou fallest with the bay, and wouldest goe into the bay, thou shalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be sounding: and finding thy selfe in rockie ground, thou shalt steere North because of shunning the Puercos: and yet giue them not too great a birth because of The Diamant, and so thou mayest goe in, sounding when thou thinkest good. And being benighted and then not East and West with the bay, and if thou doest not goe into it, then make the largest boord thou canst keeping off till day.

The bay of Cadiz.

San Pedro.

San Sebastian.

Los Puercos.

The Diamant.

If thou be at the Canaries and wouldest sayle to Nueua Espanna, thou shalt sayle foure and twenty houres South because of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou shalt goe Westsouthwest, vntill thou finde thy selfe in twenty degrees. And then thou must goe West and by South, which is the course for the Isle Deseada. And from Deseada thou shalt goe West and by North, because of the variation of the compasse. And falling with Deseada, thou shalt finde it to rise low with the sea: and it standeth in 15 degrees. And the eastermost part is the sharpest, and smaller then the West point.

The Canaries.

The Isle Deseada in the West Indies standeth in 15 degrees of latitude.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou shalt goe West and by South vntill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northwest side is a riuer, where thou mayest water. The markes to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And seeing it when thou art farre off to the seaward, it maketh in the middest a partition; so that a man would thinke it deuided the Island in two parts. And this Island standeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

Markes to know Dominica by.

I aduise thee that if thou wouldest goe for Nueua Espanna, and so doest passe betweene Guadalupe and Monserate to the Westward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou shalt go Westnorthwest, and so shalt haue sight of Santa Cruz, which standeth in seuenteene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to know it be these. It is an Island not very high, and lyeth East and West, and at the East end it is lower then at the West end.

Guadalupe. Monserate. Santa Cruz.

And going forward on thy course thou shalt runne Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe to haue sight of the Isle of San Iuan de Puerto rico, which is an Island lying East and West, and standeth in eighteene degrees. And the markes be these. That on the West end it is lowest, and the Eastermost is the highest. And if thou fall with the middest of the Island, then thou shalt goe a long it to the West vnto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Isle. And from thence the coast runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou must steere West and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and so thou shalt haue sight of Mona. And the marks thereof be these, it is a low land lying East and West: and on the East end it is highest, it hath a slope towards the sea, and standeth in 18. degrees, rather lesse then more. And if it be by day, then thou shalt runne West and shalt see Saona: which is an Island lying without Hispaniola, and lyeth East and West, and is full of trees: and hath certaine sandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou shalt see within the land of Hispaniola certaine hie hils called las Sierras de Yguey. And being benighted vpon Mona, then

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Cape Roxo.

Mona.

Saona.

Las Sierras de Yguey.

then thou shalt steere West and by South, because of certaine shoalds that lye off Saona: but hauing day light and no sight of land, thou shalt loofe vp Northwest and so passe by it, and as thou goest along the coast of Hispaniola, and seest the sea to be cast vp into the aire, then thou shalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and these mountings vp are called The Spoutes. Los Buffaderos or The spoutes.

But I aduise thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou fallest with Santo Domingo, then thou must keepe the hils called Sierras de las minas viejas to the Northwest. And if thou wouldest goe into Santo Domingo, and meetest there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the best way is to runne East till it be day. And hauing daylight thou shalt cast about, and so thou must ply to wind-ward vntill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is past, make all the saile thou canst to hale with the sight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou hast sight thereof thou shalt lye with thy stemme with a sandie Bay, which lyeth on the other side: and thou must take in thy maine saile, and go so till thou bring thy selfe open with the midst of the riuer; and so hauing opened the riuer, thou must go with great care in the middest of the same, with all thy sailes vp, except thy maine saile, and thou must haue thy boat out, if it be needefull to sound or to tow thy ship, if she cast too much to the loofe, for the currents will cast here to the loofe: wherefore bee sure to haue thy boat out to helpe thy steerage: and this is the way whereby thou must worke. Santo Domingo. Calle de las Damas.

The course from Santo Domingo to go for Nueua Espanna.

I Aduise thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueua Espanna, thou shalt goe Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Punta de Niçao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Vieias, and towards the Northwest of them thou shalt see a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou shalt stirre from this poynt of Niçao Westnorthwest, and thou shalt see the point of Puerto Hermoso, and the Bay that it maketh: and thou must be sure to keepe neere the shore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker til thou be past all the riuers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, because it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou must be ready, that when thine anker commeth home, thou haue thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on shore with foure or fiue men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayest let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayest send on shore to moare, so shalt thou be best moared. Punta de Niçao. Hocoa. Puerto Hermoso.

The course from Hocoa to Nueua Espanna.

GOing from Hocoa to Nueua Espanna thou shalt stirre Southwest: and this way thou shalt find the Isles Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath these marks: It is a low land with the sea, and full of trees: and on the East side an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath these markes. A blacke round land, and the Easternmost part thereof is highest, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou shalt go West, vntill thou be so farre shot as the Frailes: and from thence goe West and by North, and keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this course thou haue sight of a little Island, thou mayest make account it is the Isle of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou shalt go West, keeping thy selfe out vntill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou must go West and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in some part thereof certaine white cliffes. Beata, and the marks thereof. Alto velo, and the marks thereof. Frailes. The Isle of Baque. Cape de Tiburon.

I aduise thee that when thou art against Cape de Tiburon, thou stirre Northwest, and so thou shalt haue sight of Cuba, which lyeth East and West: and thou shalt see certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the highest of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy selfe so, thou mayest runne West vnto Cape de Cruz. And before thou seest Cape de Cruz thou shalt see the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from these hils to Cape de Cruz the land waxeth lower and lower, and it is lowest of all at the Cape it selfe. And if thou chance to haue the water troubled, as though thy ship did raise vp the Cuba. S. Iago de Cuba. Sierras de Tarquino.

The nine fathoms.

sand from the ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou shalt find no lesse water vpon it, and it is the shallowest water that thou shalt haue.

Cape de Cruz in 19. deg. and better.

Thou must marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coast that commeth from the East to the West, and beginneth the course that goeth North and South, and standeth in 19. degrees, rather more then lesse.

From Cape de Cruz thou must stirre Westnorthwest: and this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isle de Pinos, and if thou haue faire weather, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, because of the currents that will set thee out to sea. And keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Isles called los Iardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou shalt goe West and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Westsouthwest vntill thou haue brought thy selfe out from The Iardines. And being by day thou shalt keepe off the land, and shalt goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt see the Isle de Pinos.

Los Iardines.

The Isle de Pinos.

The markes to know the Cape de Santo Antonio.

THe headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and vpon the Cape it selfe it hath two or three thicke woods, and the coast lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And thou must also take good heed that thou haue sight on the same coast of a white sandie Bay; and it is on the same coast that lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And these be the markes from Punta de las Arenas, or The poynt of the sands, to the Cape of Saint Anthonie, and from the Cape de Corrientes to Punta de las Arenas thou shalt haue a great Bay, being so long, that if thou be not very neere the shore thou canst not see land, it is so low. And if thou see not the land well, it will shew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony standeth in 22. degrees.

Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Sant Anton in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man must keepe from Dominica to Martinino, and so to Tierra firma.

I Aduise thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldest goe for Margarita, that thou stirre South and by West, because of the great currents that goe here, and set Northwest. And by this course thou shalt find the Testigos, which be 4 or 5 Islands: and if thou wilt not goe so much to windward, then thou shalt see Frailes, which bee three small Islands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is presently in doubling of the point on the East side to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Iuan Griego, which lieth on the Northside, then go neere the land, and along the coast of the West, and presently thou shalt haue sight of puerto de Iuan Griego; it standeth in 11. degrees.

The Testigos. Frailes.

Puerto de Iuan Griego.

I aduise thee that going from Matalino, which standeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldest goe to Cartagena, thou shalt goe West and by South, and by this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isles of Curaçao and Aruba, which stand in 12. degrees: from these Islands thou shalt go West; and when thou art North and South with Monjes, thou shalt see them to be three little white Ilands, and they are white because of the multitude of birds that are there: they stand in a triangle. From thence thou shalt goe West, if it be by day, and so shalt haue sight of Coquebacoa that standeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northwest: and by day thou shalt cast to goe for the land againe Westsouthwest. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou shalt see in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Auite.

Curaçao. Aruba. Monjes three litle Islands.

Coquebacoa.

Going from this poynt of Coquebacoa thou shalt run West, and shalt run along the coast, and shalt go to haue the sight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land euen with the sea.

Baia honda. Portete.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde shewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

Cape de la vela.

And going from this Cape to haue sight of Cape del Aguja thou must stirre Southwest, and thou shalt haue sight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Neuadas.

Cape del Aguja.

Neuadas. And then presently thou shalt see the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are these: It is a low Cape, and vpon it is a copple not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Neuadas, or snowy mountaines.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the course aboue-sayd, and commest into a whitish water, then sound and thou shalt find 40. fathoms, and thy sound will be certaine smal sandy white oaze, and some smal weeds. And then thou mayest make account that thou art North and South with the riuer called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midst of the Sierras Neuadas. And being benighted thou shalt go Westnorthwest, or West and by North vntil day: and being day then thou mayest hale in with sight of the land Southwest, because thou mayest be sure to come right in with it. Rio de Palominos.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou shalt goe West and by South, and shalt goe to haue sight of Morro Hermoso, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Westward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ship of saile, and drawing towards night, then thou must come to anker behind Morro hermoso: and after the first watch thou must set saile, and go out West and by North, because thou must be sure to keepe a seaboord from the Island de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to seaward right against Samba. Morro hermoso. Rio grande. Isla de Arenas. Samba or Zamba.

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night thou shalt goe West and by North: and so thou shalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see Morro hermoso, which, as I haue sayd, lyeth to the West of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoso, thou must goe West, and must take heede, as I sayde before, of the Isle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South of Samba. Samba hath for a marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou shalt see El buio del Gato which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the seaward: and also more to the West thou shalt see the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land euen with the water: and there endeth the coast which lyeth East and West. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest. El Buio del Gato. Punta de la canoa. Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted against Samba, thou shalt take in thy sailes, & lye off to the offward vntil midnight without any saile abroad vntil midnight: and from midnight forward thou shalt lye so into the land without sayle: and if in the breake of day thou see no land, then goe Southwest, and if this way thou haue sight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ship bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meane thou mayest not with a great ship come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa vntill thou come to Cartagena, because in many places there are not aboue 3 or 4 fathoms at the most. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right ouer the harbour of Cartagena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that neuer was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying East and West, and all the land is low, and seemeth to be full of trees. Hauing these sights, then make account thou art against Cartagena, and to goe in thou hast nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thyselfe hard aboord the poynt of Yeacos: and then when thou commest to double the poynt del Iudeo, giue a breadth off, because there is a shoald. The land marks of Cartagena. The poynt of Yeacos. A shoald.

I aduise there that if thou be benighted when thou art at The poynt de la canos, and wouldest enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a shoald that lyeth halfe a league to the sea, and so thou shalt goe in 8 fathoms, and sandie ground. And when thou findest thyselfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou haue any fresh Northerne winds, then loose vp to the seaward, and lye with thy stemme Eastsoutheast, and so thou mayest goe in East through the middest of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayest goe in safely, because it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou shalt haue sight of the Island called Cares, and it is an high land. A shoald halfe a league to the sea. The Isle of Cares.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou

Sal Medina. Cabeça de Catiua. Rio de Francisco.

thou must bring thy selfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence stirre West till thou bring thy selfe North and South with Cabeça de Catiua: and then goe Southwest and by West, and thou shalt so fall with Rio de Francisco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hils lying East and West. And on the West of the riuer of Francisco thou shalt see certaine chiffes that bee sixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the sea.

The Isles of Catiua. Punta de Samblas. Sierras de Santa Cruz.

I aduise thee that going this course aboue written; if thou see 3 or 4 Isles lying lowe with the sea, and also lying East and West, thou mayest make account that they be the Islands de Catiua, and then runne West, and so thou shalt go along the coast. And if thou see by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and vpon it thou shalt see a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

Sierras de las minas viejas. Puerto de velo alto. Nombre de Dios.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the sea winds when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou shalt goe West and by North, that thou mayest haue sea-roome, and take the Brisas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southwest, and if by this way thou see a row of high hils on a coast that lyeth Northeast and Southwest, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Hauing kept this course aboue said, and hauing sight of the former marke, thou mayest account that thou art on the West side of Nombre de Dios.

Sierra de Capira. A ledge of rocks.

Furthermore when thou hast sight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou seest as it were a litle table, if it be highest toward the East, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I say, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must keepe thy prow right against this hill, and comming neerer to the shore, thou shalt see a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou mayest goe in what depth thou thinkest good, or at which place thou findest most water in. And to the West of the harbor thou shalt see two or three Islands called Islas de los Bastimentos.

Isla de los Bastimentos. The course to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Brisas or Northerne winds, and wouldest goe for Cartagena, thou shalt come out in the morning, and shalt go Northnorthwest vntill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then cast about to the land, vntill thou be hard aboord the shore, and so thou must go turning vntill thou hast doubled Cabeça de Catiua and hauing doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayest: and if thou be Eastnortheast off it then thou shalt haue sight of the Ilands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Islands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then presently thou shalt haue sight of the gallie that is ouer Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

Islas de Baru.

I aduise thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time abouesayde, and commest from Cabeça de Catiua, if the wind will not suffer thee to lye but West, then going this if thou seest a great high Island full of mountaines, and on the North side thereof thou see a ledge of rocks two leagues into the sea, thou mayest be sure it is Isla fuerte: but if thou see not the rocks, giue them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayest ride well on the West side of them, betwixt the mane and them in fifteene fathomes; and the sounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Islands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayest goe safely. And if any man aske thee how thou knowest the Islands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayest answere truely, that the Isles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine sandie bayes to seaward: and the sayd Isles haue a good depth two or three leagues to the sea: and this depth is called The Bacilla. And these are all the markes for the Islandes of San Barnardo. And touching the Isles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 litle Islands and very euen with the sea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Isla fuerte. A ledge of rocks.

Islas de San Barnardo.

La Bacilla.

A ruttier from Cartegena to Hauana in Cuba.

COmming from Cartagena to goe to Hauana, thou must goe Northnorthwest vntill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardes thou shalt goe with great care to anker euery night

night, and when it is day set sayle. And this is to bee done in this place because of the shoalds of Serrana: and so thou mayest proceede with a care to anker when thou commest about Seranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And vpon it thou shalt see a lowe flatte land lying Northeast and Southwest: and the sea beateth vpon it round about, except that on the Southeast part it hath certaine shelues of sand, and on the West side it hath a certain litle copple, which from sea seemeth to bee a shippe vnder sayle: and being Northeast and Southwest off it, scant a league from the shoald commeth out on the West side a certayne shoald, whereupon the sea doth alwayes beate. The shoalds of Serrana. Seranilla.

I aduise thee that if thou canst not passe on the West side, then thou must goe betwixt the sayd little copple that it is like a sayle and the shoald; for the passage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northwest, and seest a lowe land with the sea, and certaine white sandy bayes, and on the West side seest a low land, and on the Eastside a little coast lying East and West, thou mayest make account it is Cape de Corrientes. Cape de Corrientes.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou must goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white sandie bayes: and vpon the Cape itselfe thou shalt see two thicke groues of great trees, and they be vpon the Cape it selfe. Cape de Sant Antonio.

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Hauana in the time of the North winds, thou shalt goe Northwest vntill thou be cleere of all the shoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canst possibly, vntill thou bring thy selfe vnto 24. degrees, and there sound, and thou shalt find it the Tortugas, and thy sounding will be white sand. The Tortugas.

Thou must take heede what is said in the Chapter before: for he that writ the same hath seene it, and bene witnesse to this: that comming from Seranilla, and stirring North and by East he had sight of an Island standing in 16. degrees, and it is on the shoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou haue the wind large, goe Northeast and by East, because of the variation of the compasse, and thou shalt make thy way Eastnortheast, and thou shalt fall with Isla de Pinos. This I say, because the currents set sometime West: and so it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforesayd Isle stirring North and by East, for the wind would not suffer vs to lye neerer the East, and one euening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the same markes to our iudgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and because night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, stirring West: and about midnight we had land all high right a head, & the coast lying Southwest: and then we cast and lay Northeast till day: And being day, wee saw the land all a head, and we plied to windward to the East, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southwest. And to be short, we went here on land in the same place that we first fell with in the euening before: and it was an Island called Cocumel, lying on the coast of Iucatan. And this Island was the land which we saw first, seeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middest of the Island, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gaue vs all things which we needed for our money: and wee carried our Astrolabs on shore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Island and the coast of Iucatan, and the Cape de Catoche at pleasure Northeast; and the water wil set in thy fauour: and thou must go till thou be in 24. degrees, and so thou shalt haue the sounding of the Tortugas. Seranilla. An Island in 16. degrees. Bayes de Cabo de Camaron. The variation of the compasse. The currents yet here sometimes West. Isla de Pinos. Isla de Cocumel. The latitude of Cocumel in 19. deg. and one tierce. Las Tortugas.

The course to be kept from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Espanna.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Espanna, and beeing late, thou shalt stirre Westnorthwest till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou shalt stirre something to the West, vntil thou bring thy selfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art so, thou shalt go Southwest, & by this way thou shalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees & a halfe, and the signes be these. Thou shalt find a ledge of high hils lying Northeast and Southwest. But if thou chance to fall with a coast The litle Isle called Vermeja. Marks of Villa Rica.

that

The low ground of Almeria.

that lyeth North and South, then thou mayest account, that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath these markes. It is a land not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou haue cleare weather, thou shalt see within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

Las sierras de Papalo.

And I aduise thee that beeing so farre shotte as the poynt called Punta del gada, which is the ende of all those hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayest stirre thence South and by West, and thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see a lowe land, and with this land thou shalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and beeing so farre shotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must stirre Southwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe beeing shotte into the Bay. And thou shalt goe along the coast of the lowe land in sight thereof: and keeping this course thou shalt see on the other side a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth ouer the house of Buytron: and as thou doest come neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou must bee sure to keepe thy lead going, and shalt haue foure fathomes and a halfe or fiue fathomes and so thou mayest goe through the middest of the chanell. And comming against the castle, thou shalt giue it some breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and hauing doubled the castle, thou shalt goe from thence and shalt bring thy selfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou shalt ride against the hospitall.

Saint Paul.

Monte de Carneros.

Casa de Buytron.

The castle of S. Iuan de Vllua.

The hospitall.

I aduise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meetest with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy best way is to bring thy selfe into thy coarses, and lye by, plying to windward, and to seaward in 20. fathomes which depth thou shalt haue neere the shore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canst best, obseruing what is abouesaid.

And I aduise thee that if thou come from Villa Rica, and findest thy selfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and seest no land, and seest that the water doth alter, thou shalt sound 60. fathomes water: and if in this depth thou hast ooze, make account thou art East and West with the riuer of Almeria. This course is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueua Espanna without or aseaboord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

The riuer of Almeria.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the Alacranes and the maine.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldest goe for Nueua Espanna within the Alacranes, thou must stirre West and by South, and by this way thou shalt bring thy selfe in 20. fathoms and if thou keeping this course findest less water, then go West and by North, and that way thou shalt bring thy selfe into 20. fathomes againe, vntill thou haue brought thy selfe North and South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou shalt be also North and South with Surta: from thence thou shalt go Southwest: and by this course thou shalt haue sight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northwest and Southeast, and they haue a partition in the midst, and to the Northwest they be highest: and on the Southeast part within the land, thou shalt see something on high land, called Pan de Minsapa, that is, the loafe of Minsapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

Alacranes or Scorpions.

The triangle.

Surta or Zarza.

The high hils of S. Martin.

The hils of S. Martin stand in 18. degrees lesse one fift part.

I aduise thee, that when thou fallest with Saint Martin, and wouldest go with Saint Iohn de Vllua, then thou shalt goe Westnorthwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe, if thou bee farre off at sea, I meane so farre off as thou mayest well descrie the hils of S. Martin.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, and thou shalt so come along the coast, and thou shalt find the coast to bee low land: and comming this course thou shalt haue sight of certaine little hilles not very high: then thou shalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro: and these hilles lye ouer the riuer of Medelin. And if when thou art East and West, with The Volcan or hill that casteth out fire, any man doe aske thee, where the harbour of Sant Iuan de Vllua is, thou mayest truely answere, West and by South, and it standeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

Rio de Medelin.

S. Iuan de Vllua in 18. deg. and a halfe.

The

The course to be kept from Nueua Espanna to the maine of Spaine in Europe.

COmming from S. Iuan de Vllua to goe for Spaine, thou shalt stirre Northeast vntill thou be in 24. degrees: and so beeing thou shalt goe East vntill thou bring thy selfe in the soundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground wil be white sand. I aduise thee, that if it be by night, thou goe East; and finding the water to waxe sholder, then goe Southwest, with a care to keepe thy lead going, vntill thou loose ground, and come into great depth, because thou mayest fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this sound for Hauana thou must stirre Southsoutheast, because of the currents that carrie thee to the East. And if by this way thou haue sight of an hie land, that seemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the East of this loafe thou shalt see a land that hath a plaine. It sheweth to be low, euen with the sea, and as smooth as the sea: and from this land to the East the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Hauana thou must goe East. And if the wind will not let thee go that course, thou must turne vp till thou be vpon the harbour of Hauana.

The Tortugas.

The currents to the East.

Pan de Cabanas.

Hauana.

The marks of the poynt of Hauana be these, that on the East side it hath an hie blacke land, which is sloping to the sea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goest into the port, thou must keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, strike thy toppe sayles in signe of peace to the castle, least it shoote at thee.

What course the Spaniards keepe from Hauana to Spaine.

IF from Hauana thou wouldest set thy course for Spaine, thou must goe Northeast, and shalt so haue sight of the Martyres, which stand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coast lieth East and West. The marks be these, it sheweth like heads of trees, and in some places certaine rocks with white sandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayest go East and by South vntill thou see the coast to lye Northeast and Southwest: and if the wind be scant, then go turning vp: and take good heed that euery euening at Sunne going downe thou haue sight of the land, and so thou must do being in the chanell, vntill thou bring thy selfe into the middest of the chanell: and thou must lye off from the going downe of the sunne, vntill the ende of the first watch with thy coarses alone, without any more sayle; and from midnight forwards cast about, and lye the other way with the like sayle vntill day: and thus thou must doe vntill thou bring thy selfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou shalt stirre Northeast, with a care to goe cleane off the sholds of the Mimbres or the Osiars. And if being in the Chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou must turne with a litle saile 4. glasses one way, and 4. another, as thou thinkest good. And if thou canst not beare sayle, then thou mayest goe with all thy sayles downe, except when thou wouldest cast about, thou mayest loose some small sayle to winde thy ship.

Los Martyres.

The sholds of Mimbres, that is, of Osiars.

I aduise thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou shalt be in 28. degrees. And if it be in Summer, thou shalt goe Northeast vntill thou be in 39. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$, which is the height of Flores: and thou shalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to haue the seawinds, thou shalt goe by the same height, as I haue sayd: and if thou shalt finde the winde off the sea, thou hast no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou shalt goe East and by South: and thou must goe thus becanse of the variation of the Compasse. And thus thou shalt find the isles of Flores and Cuerno, which stand in 39. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, and in 40. large. These markes be these.*

The chanell reacheth to 28. degrees.

La Bermuda.

The variation of the Compasse.

Thou mayest goe from betwixt Flores and Cuerno, and must goe East Southeast, and so thou shalt haue sight of the Island of Sayles, which is the Island of S. George. And beeing at the land thou shalt goe along it, and when thou hast doubled a certaine litle Headland that lyeth in the East poynt, then thou shalt stirre East and by North, and East. And thus going, thou shalt haue sight of Terçera, which is in 39. degrees. The markes bee these.* And behinde a certaine blacke land something high, which is called el Brasil, standeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terçera, thou shalt runne East Northeast, vntill thou bring thy selfe Northwest, and Southeast with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayest worke thus being in summer: for alwayes thou shalt haue the windes at Northwest. And beeing

Flores and Cuerno.

Saint George.

Tercera.

The Cape of S. Vincent.

The windes are alwayes at Northeast in the summer.

Northwest and Southeast with this Cape, thou shalt stirre Southeast and by East, and thou shalt so fall with the land 6. or 7. leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coast, which lyeth North and South: then thou shalt goe along the coast to the South, vntill thou see the Cape. And the Cape standeth in 37. degrees: the markes be these. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, sloping to the sea. And from thence thou shalt double the Asagreal Southeast; and so running, thou shalt then goe East vnto the Cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe East Northeast, and so thou shalt runne to haue sight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou shalt see presently a little hill towardes the East which is called Cabeça de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8. or 9. fathoms, then I wish thee to come to anchor, vntill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by some meanes carie thee into harbour.

The markes of Cape S. Vincent.
The Asagreal.
The Cape of Saint Mary.

The course in winter from the chanel of Bahama.

I aduise thee, if in the Winter time thou bee shot out of the narrowest of the Chanel of Bahama, and wouldest goe for Spaine, that thou must goe East Northeast, vntill thou be in 30. degrees rather lesse then more; and then thou mayest goe East and by South, because of the variation of the Compasse. And stirring hence East Southeast, thou shalt goe on the Southside of Bermuda: and must goe with great care, because many haue bene lost heere about this Island, because of their negligence. And when thou art sure thou art past this Island, then goe East Northeast, vntill thou bee in the height of seuen and thirtie degrees: which is in the height of the Island of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not seeing Land, but seeing the Sea to breake, make account it is the rocks called Las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou shalt goe till thou be in 38. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ scant, and then thou shalt goe East, and so shalt haue sight of Faial. The markes of it it be these.*

The variation of the Compasse.
Many lost vpon Bermuda by negligence
The Isle of S. Marie.
Faial.

Comming out from Faial, and leauing all the Islandes, then all goe East and by South vntill thou bring thy selfe in 37. degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe East, and thou shalt see the Cape hauing the markes aforesayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou must goe East Southeast, till thou be Northeast, and Southwest, with the barre of S. Lucar: and then goe Northeast for the Barre.

The barre of S. Lucar.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37. degrees thou haue not sight of Cape S. Vincent, and hast sight of certaine hie hils make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

Sierras de Monchico.

I aduise thee, that if thou stand in feare of men of warre about the Cape of S. Vincent, then goe in 36 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. And finding thy selfe within the Cape, if thou see many signes of greene weedes, then cast about to the North Northeast, and by this way finding land, and the same shewing white, be sure it is the castle of Aimonte.

To auoyde men of warre.
The castle of Aimonte.

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the East point of Cuba by the North side thereof to Hauana.

The cape of S. Nicolas on the East ende of Cuba.

GOing from the Cape of S. Nicolas, thou shalt goe North Northwest, but thou must keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayest weather it, & it is called the poynt of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and smooth: and aboue vp within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that poynt to Baracoa is 7. leagues.

Punta de Mayaci.

Baracoa.

And being disposed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-shore all along, vntill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke vpon the South side; and thou shalt see an Hill by it selfe, which maketh as it were a crowne vpon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, ouer the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou must take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the East side, and thou must keepe the West side: and goe not much from the Shoald, because the foote of the Shoald that shooteth Westward hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou must goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: and looke that thou come not much on the East side, for it is shoaldie.

A shoald on the East side of Baracoa.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to passe through the old chanel, you shal set your course Northwest vntil you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the shoald of Moa, vntill you thinke you are Northeast and Southwest with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and

Cayo de Moa.

and you shal know that you are vpon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2. leagues or more, you shall vnderstand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and vpon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you shall see alwayes, before you see the point: and it is like a sayle. From thence to the Pracellas or Flats you shall stirre Northwest two parts of your way, that you haue to runne from Cayo de Moa to the sayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northwest and by West. And this way you shall see The Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the shoald aboue the water, for all the breach of the sea. The Mosowes bee from the Pracell West, and you shall leaue them to windward. This worde Cayo in the Biskeyne tongue signifieth a flat or a shoald. Pracellas. The Mosowes.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you shall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe sure without danger a Northwest course vntill you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe vpon the Shoald, you shall goe vpon that depth, vntill you haue runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you shall set your course Southwest, till you see the Flattes of the maine land. You shall then see to the Westward a rocke diuided into 3. partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southwest, you haue certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you shall set your course West Northwest vntill day: and when it is day, you must beare close aboord the shore, and then you shall see a flat Island with many broken sands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, somewhat to the Northward. Off that you shall see 2. Rocks of stone, which are the poynt of all the Flats: And two leagues from them on the mayne land you shall see a poynt which sheweth like broken land. This is called the poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Matanças on the Northside of Cuba are 12. leagues, and your course lieth West and by North: and then you must borrow vpon the land all that you can, because of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Channell. And being at Matanças, you must runne all along the shore, because of the currents. Remember that when you see one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath vpon it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the sea is an Hil, and the Hil is not very hie, it standeth East and West, and vpon it are some little risings and they are not very high, and vpon these risings stand two round homocks close together, you shall see the Teates of Hauana. Camoloquea. The Flats of Mecala to be auoyded. Cropeda a flat Island. 2. Rockes of stone. Ponta de Caucus. Matanças. The currents. The Teates of Hauana.

To know along the shore when you are against the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are these. A little to the Westward one league, you shall see along the shore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hill is ouer the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Westward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you shall see that North and South from these broken hils is a Flat off. And from that to Hauana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the shore till you come to Hauana. To know the harbour of Hauana, you shall see before you come at it one litle rocke of stone not very hie, and smooth toward the sea: vpon the rocke standeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you haue the winde large, you shall see the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it. The harbour of Xaroca. Markes to know the harbour of Hauana.

Your shippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the West side, because on the East side, on the West end of the Rocke aforesayde, there lieth a ledge to the Westward which hath but three or foure fathoms ½ vpon it. If your ship be of small burthen, you may run along the weather shore, vntill you come right against the Castle; and then halfe the Bay ouer you may come to an anchor.

How to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe ouer the Pracellas or shoalds.

IF you will come through the olde Chanel, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming vpon your course from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or shoald: and then set our course West vnto the low islands of the firme land. And vpon this course you shal ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romano: and within it is one Flat higher then the other, and smooth vpon, and in the middest it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you must take heede you come no Caio de Moa. Caio Romano.

neere the shore by 2. leagues, and by your sounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you must take heede stil when ỹ night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the shoalds. And in the night you must goe Northwest as is aforesaid. And also you must take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the shoald. And finding much wind & being benighted, from midnight till day stirre West Northwest, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforesaid.

Alcane de Barasoga. Sauano. Basquo.

And as you stirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the inwards of the Chanell, you shall see the firme land of Cuba, and other markes; and among the rest, a round hamocke, which you may easily know. It is called Alcane de Barasoga. And from thence to Sauano and to Basquo is 6. leagues, and likewise Hauana 6. leagues. And from thence to crosse vnder the Fort is 45. leagues. And stirre hence vpon your course aforesaid.

The Flats of Mecala. Take heede of that which is here sayd, for it hath litle reason.

And if you haue gone from Barasoga 30. leagues, you shall see none of the Flats of Mecala: And giue them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your course West Northwest, as aforesayd, vntill it be day, and presently you may edge round to the Flats. And thus stirring, keepe your course vntill you see the hilles of Camaloqua.

Sierras de Camaloques. Caio de Moa. Pracellas. Hauana.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or shoald by night close by it, you shall not see what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning you shall set your course as is aforesayd vntill you see the shoald, and in seeing it, you may stirre on your course as is aboue mentioned, vntill you come to Hauana.

Punta de Mance. Sierra del Hama. Caio Romano. The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

For to set your course from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you shall stirre thence West Northwest, vntil you thinke you be Northeast and Southwest with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and smooth to the seaside. And from this hill to Caio Romano you shall stirre Northwest and by West: and vpon this course you may be bolde to see Caio Romano. And the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and smooth vpon the top: and in the middest of it, it sheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you must take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, because it is fowle. And looke that you bring not yourselfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you must take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it vntill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your course vntill you see it, and then set your course, as is aboue said.

A principal ruttier conteining most particular directions to saile from S. Lucar in Andaluzia by the Isles of the Canaries, the small Isles called Las Antillas, along the South parts of the Isles of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, Hispaniola and Cuba: and from Cabo de Corrientes, or Cabo de S. Anton without and within the litle Isles called Los Alacranes, to the port of S. Iuan de Vllua in Nueua Espanna: and the course from thence backe againe by Hauana, and through the Chanell of Bahama to Spaine: together with the speciall markes of all the Capes, Islands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

Punta de Naga.

IF you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you must stirre away Southwest vntill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga vpon the Isle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the sayd barre in the Winter, you must stirre away Southwest and by South, vntill you come to the height of Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie: the markes and signes wherof be these following.

The markes to know Cape Cantin.

CApe Cantin is a lowe Cape and small to the sea ward, and maketh a snowt like the nose of a galley, and hath vpon the top of the poynt a Heath or shrubby place, and on the toppe thereof stand two homocks, that to the sea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther side sheweth like a tower: and his Cape is in 32. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$.

And he that wil seeke from this Cape to discouer Punta de Naga beforesayd, must stirre away

away Southwest and by West, vntill hee bring himselfe Northeast and Southwest with the same point, and then he must stirre away South to fetch the said point.

The signes of Punta de Naga.

THe said point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine vpon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Islands; and vpon the North side of the said point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and vpon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like vnto the eares of a Hare. Punta de hidalgo.

The course from the Canaries to the West Indies.

IF you set saile from any of the Islands of the Canaries for the West Indias, you must stirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may auoid the calmes of the Island of Fierro: and being so farre distant from the said Island, then must you stirre away West Southwest, vntill you finde your selfe in 20. degrees, and then saile West and by South vntill you come to 15. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. And from thence stirre away West and by North; and so shall you make a West way by reason of the Northwesting of the Compasse: which West way will bring you to the Island of Deseada. The calmes of Fierro. The variation of the compasse.

The markes of the Island of Deseada.

THis Island Deseada lieth East Northeast, and West Southwest, hauing no trees vpon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeast ende thereof maketh a lowe nose like the snowt of a galley; and by comming neere it, and passing by the Norther ende thereof, you shall perceiue white broken patches like heapes of sand with red strakes in them: & the Southwest end of this Island maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Island standeth in 15. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. Deseada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

Markes of the Island of Monserate.

MOnserate is an high Island, and round, full of trees, and vpon the East side thereof you shall perceiue certain white spots like sheetes: and being vpon the South side at the very point of the Island, somewhat off the land, it maketh like a litle Island: and putting your selfe either East or West from that point, in the midst thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Island of Marigalanta.

MArigalanta is a smooth Island, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the fashion of a galley vpon her decke: and being on the Southeast side about half a league off you shall make certaine homocks of blacke stones, and certain white patches: but on the West side appeare faire white sandy shores or plaines.

Markes of the Isle of Dominica.

THe Island of Dominica lieth Northwest and Southeast, and vpon the Northwest side it sheweth more high: and if you come neere it at full sea, it will shew like two Islands, but by comming neerer vnto it, you shall perceiue it to be but one: and vpon the Southeast side you shall make or see a plaine and long point, and vpon the same point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon; and vpon the North side a litle from the land it sheweth like a litle Island, and vpon the top thereof is, as it were, an high steeple, and vpon the Norther side you shall perceiue it like many white sheetes.

Markes of the Island of Guadalupe.

THe Island of Guadalupe lieth on the West of Deseada, and vpon the Southwest part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but vpon the East side it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Island is cut North and South; so that the Canoas of India do passe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Islands.

Markes

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Markes of the Isle of Matalina, or Martinino.

THe Isle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, hauing in the midst thereof 3. homocks: the middlemost homocke being highest sheweth like the great bowleof an hat. And vpon the North side it appeareth like three little Islands. And in this Island there are warlik Indians like those of Dominica.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like those of Dominica.

Markes of the three small Islands called Islas de Los Santos, or the Islands of Saintes.

LOs Santos are 3. Islandes lying one close by another vpon the South side of Guadalupe. For to goe with S. Iuan de Puerto rico you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you fall with the Isle of Saba.

Markes to know the Isle of Saba.

SAba is a litle Island, and round about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side thereof it sheweth like a Ship vnder saile: but follow that direction that I haue giuen, and you shall see La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Isle called La virgin gorda.

LA virgin gorda is an high Island and round, and seeing it, you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines which lye East and West one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them vntil you see the litle gray Island, which you shal see by it selfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the sayd Island, ouer that you shall by and by rayse sight of the white litle Island, which seemeth like a ship vnder saile. And if you will passe betweene this litle white Island or bare rocke, and the greene Island, you must beware that you leaue the white Island on the larboard side of you, and come no neerer it then a Calieuer-shot, and so shall you passe through 12. fadome-water: and then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you enter into the Hauen of Puerto rico: and if you chance to passe the sayd Island by night, goe by the foresaid direction, vntill the first watch be out, and then take in your sayles, and so driue vntill it bee neere day: and then hoise sayles, and stirre away Southwest, seeking the sayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you must stay till 10. of the clocke for the sea-turne. And know, that hauing the Loguilo at Southwest, then shall the Harbour be off you North and South.

These 2. the white and the gray Islands are rather bare rockes in the sea, for so doeth Farellon the Spanish word signifie. But I interpreete it Island, because all the rocks separated frō the bigger Islands are sayd to be litle Islands. This white & bare Island is made white by the dung of birdes and seafoules that resort vnto it.

Directions from Monserate to Santa Cruz.

HE that departeth from Monserate to Santa Cruz, must stirre away Westnorthwest: and by the same course you shall seaze vpon S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Isle of Santa Cruz.

SAnta Cruz is an Island not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full sea, it will shew like the Virgines: and vpon the East side there are two homocks higher then all the rest. And by this course you may goe to the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico; and hauing found it, you may sayle along the South coast East and West, vntill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know Cape Roxo.

CApe Roxo is a low Cape and trayling to the sea-ward, hauing certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full sea the same sheweth like a litle Island from the land by it selfe, but comming neere vnto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from Cabo roxo to the Isle of Mona.

IF you will seeke Mona frō Cape roxo, you must stirre away West and by North.

Markes

Markes of the Isle of Mona.

THe Isle of Mona is a low, round, and smooth Island, lying lowe by the sea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Isle of Saona you must stirre away West; and if you fall with it in the night season, and come any thing neere the land, then stirre away West and by South, vntill it be neere day, that you may keepe your selfe by the land; and if so be that in the Morning you see it not, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceiue that the current hath set you to the Southwest, then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes of the Isle of Saona.

IF you chance to see the Isle of Saoua, it is an Island smooth with the sea, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and you shall see the trees before you see the Island: and on the Southwest end of this Island appeareth a great high banke of white sand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Island to Santa Catelina, you must stirre away Northwest.

Markes of the Isle of Santa Catelina.

SAnta Catelina is a litle lowe Island all full of low rockes euen from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is close by the land; and if you doe not run along the coast of Hispaniola, you shall not see it: and from that Island to goe to Saint Domingo, you shall sayle along as the land lyeth, West and by North: and before you come to the point called Causedo, you shall see certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongst as the rocks doe that cast vp the water, which will shew like to the spouting of Whales. And a litle a head off that, you shall see the point of Andresa: and ahead thereof the poynt of Causedo. This poynt of Causedo lyeth lowe close by the water, and passing thereby, the coast will make to thee North-west and Southeast; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop vp at North vpon you, by meanes whereof you should be cast off from the coast or Port, and that you happen to see the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northwest off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then shal you be North and South with the barbour; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then shall you be below the harbour.

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the spoutes.

The point of Causedo.

San Domingo.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Directions from Saint Domingo to Nueua Espanna.

IF you will sayle from Saint Domingo in Hispaniola to Nueua Espanna, stirre away Southsouthwest, vntil you come vp as farre as the point of Niçao: and from thence stirre away Westsouthwest, and so you shall finde the Isle of Beata. And if you saile from this point of Niçao for Ocoa, you must passe along the coast West and by North, vntill you come to Puerto Hermoso, or The beautifull hauen, which is 18. leagues distant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoso for Nueua Espanna, you must stirre away Southsouthwest, vntill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

The point of Nigao.

The Isle of Beata.

Ocoa.

Puerto hermoso.

The Isle of Alto Velo.

Markes of the Isle of Beata.

BEata is a small Island and not very high: you may passe along the outside thereof, and there is no danger but that you may see; and by and by you shall raise Alto velo: and from thence you must stirre away West and by South, to giue a birth from the Islands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre a head as the Frailes, then must you stirre away West and by North, and so shall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you shall see high craggie cliffes, and at the descending of them white paths like great sheetes; these high craggie mountaines are called Las sierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the sayde point of Bacoa, you shall discouer a little lowe Island euen with the Sea and full of trees, which is called Isla Baque.

Los Frailes.

Bacoa.

Los sierras de donna Maria.

Isla Baque.

Directions

Directions from Isla Baque to Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon. IF you will goe from the Island Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or
The Isle of Nauaza. to the isle of Nauaza, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and edge in somewhat to the Northwest, and you shall passe betweene Nauaza and Cape Tiburon.

Markes of Cape Tiburon, which is the Western cape of Hispaniola.

CApe Tiburon lyeth sliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a sharpe cliffe like the snout of a Tiburon or sharke-fish; and vpon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines vpon it, which are caused by the passage of the water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Isle of Nauaza.

NAuaza is a litle round Island full of low trees or shrubs, and it lyeth East and West from Cape Tiburon, and from this small Island to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of Copper vpon the Southeast part of Cuba, you must stirre away Northnorthwest.

Directions from Cape Tiburon to Cabo de Cruz in Cuba.

IF you will saile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you must stirre away North-
Sierras de Cobre. west, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coast West towardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you shall see The
Sierras de Tarquino. great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you shall haue to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the highest land vpon all that coast; and then by and by you shall see the lesser Tarquino, from whence to the foresayd Cape you haue 12. leagues, and so shall you goe discouering the coast, vntill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cabo de Cruz.

CApe de Cruz is a low Cape full of shrubs; and from thence Westward you shall see no land; for the distance or bay is great between the sayd Cape and the Isles called Los Iardines.

Directions from Cape de Cruz to Isla de Pinos.

IF you sayle from Cape de Cruz to seeke the Island of Pinos, you must stir away Westnorthwest. And note, that if in this course you happen to sounde, doe not feare; for you haue nine fathoms. If also going this course, you meete with certaine little Islands vpon
Los Caimanes. the larboord side, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, hauing sight of them, stir away Northwest, and so shall you finde the Island of Pinos. And if by seeing the sayde Islands called Caimanes you are amazed, you shall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee
Los Iardines. The Iardines or no: for if you finde your selfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you sure they are The Iardines, and then stir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you haue brought them North of you, then may you stirre away West, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, West and by South, till you see the Island of Pinos.

The markes of Isla de Pinos.

THe Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shewe like 3. Islands, as though there were diuers soundes betweene them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and vpon the East side of these three homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare vnto you a lowe point euen with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees before you shall discerne the point.

Directions from the Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes.

IF you saile from the foresayde Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes, stir away West and by North; and before you come to the sayd Cape vpon the Northside of you, you shall see certaine

certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that vpon the West part hath more homocks then that on the other. Las sierras de Guanaguarico.

Markes of Cape de Corrientes.

CApe de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not so low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it: for it is more lowe, and hath vpon it 4. or 5. great splats like vnto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white sand: and from thence Westward you shall discerne no lande, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you must saile to Cape de Sant Anton.

Markes of Cape de Sant Anton.

THe cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the sea, and all full of shrubs or trees; and you shall see within the land a lake of fresh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and vpon the North side of the said Cape you shall discerne a palme tree higher then the rest of the trees, and it sheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ship: and North from the Cape are certaine sholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long. A conuenient watering place.

Directions from the Cape de S. Anton to Nueua Espanna on the outside of the small Islands called Los Alacranes or The Scorpions.

IF you will sayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueua Espanna with a North winde, then stirre away Westnorthwest from 21. to 22. degrees, and then sound vpon the pracel or flat; and if you see by this direction, that you holde water, then stir away Northwest, vntill you lose the ground; and then follow your course againe, vntill you haue brought your selfe into 24. degrees and ½. and then saile West vntill you bring your selfe North and South with the Isle of Vermeja, or The red Isle: then stir away Southwest, and by this way you shall finde Villa rica on the coast of Nueua Espanna. And if by going this course you be in 19. degrees and ½. and chance not to see the lande, then stir away West vntill you see Villa rica, and from thence saile you South for the harbour of S. Iuan de Vllua: and if you should be neere the land you must stir South and by West towardes the same harbour. And if you chance to see the Volcan or burning hill to beare west & by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Iuan de Vllua shalbe East and west off you. The Ile Vermeja. Villa rica. S. Iuan de Vllua. A volcan or burning hill.

Markes of Villa rica.

Villa rica standeth in 19. degres and ½. and the signes thereof are certaine high hilles full of homocks of many heads, which haue on the top of thē certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and these hils lie Northeast and Southwest. And if you doubt whether these be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or sound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and saile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, so much will they seeme lower vnto you: but so doe not the hilles of S. Martin: for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you: and likewise if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you shall not finde bottome, but euen at land it selfe. Sierras de Sent Martin. Sierras de Villa rica.

Markes of Rio de las palmas, and of the riuer of mountaines called Rio de las montannas.

IF you should chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The riuer of palmes, or els with the riuer of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of sand, and all this along by the sea side: and if you went by land to the riuer of Panuco, you shall haue many mouthes or openings of plaias or strands, where also are many lizas or oozy places, which stretch to Rio Hermoso. Rio de las palmas. Rio de las montannas. Rio de Panuco. Rio Hermoso, or The beautifull riuer. The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the East) setteth to the North, and 40. leagues from the shore to the Northeast.

You must beware what part soeuer you happen of this coast to fall withall, to discouer it, and although you knowe it, you must sound the depth; because if the windes bee Easterly,

erly, the current setteth there much to the North: but if you should be 40. leagues at sea, then this current setteth to the Northeast.

Markes of Rio Hermoso or The beautifull riuer.

IF you wil seeke the riuer called Rio Hermoso, looking well within the land, you shal see three homocks of an high hill, and those two which are to the landward within, are rounder thē the other which is neerest the sea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you shall be 4. leagues at sea when you shall see them: and they are called The sierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the riuer of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and euen with the sea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of Tamaclipa.

Markes of the riuer of Panuco.

IF you fall with the riuer of Panuco (betweene which and the foresayde Villa rica standeth the Island called Isla de Lobos or The Isle of seales) the markes bee these. From the mouth of the riuer it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay vpon the Northside there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place vpon the West side it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you see the aforesayde cliffe, you shall bee in the opening of the mouth of the sayd riuer, and then shall you see a little low tower hauing on the top of it a crosse, which the fishermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and ½. and you neede not to stay for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I haue mentioned, or not, you shall see certaine hils at West Southwest, which are called Las sierras de Tarquia; and forthwith also you shall see the oazy place that I speake of, which goeth to the mouth of the riuer where standeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you haue 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the riuer of Panuco.

Las sierras de Tarquia.

S. Luis de Tampice.

The markes of Isla de lobos, or The Isle of seales.

ISla de lobos is a small Island nothing so big as the carde doth shew it, and in it is a litle groue or wood of palme trees, and all the rest of the Island is without trees, and round about it are sundry playas or strandes, and it is inclosed round about with arraçifes or shoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or The red Cape are 3. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Island to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South side close by the poynt that stretcheth to the Westward, and you may passe by the East side of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and vntill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Cabo Roxo. A watering place.

Markes of the riuer of Tuspa.

IF you fall with the riuer of Tuspa, you must beware the sholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the sea: and vpon this riuer of Tuspa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeast and Southwest, and haue their ending vpon the bay of Cassones: and vpon the riuer you shall perceiue a white cliffe, which will shew vnto you like the castle of S. Iuan de Vlua.

The bay of Cassones.

Markes of the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul.

IF you chance to fall with the bay of Cassones, and vpon the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the sayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuspa haue their ending vpon this bay. And in the mouth of this riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul are two homockes of white sand, the Westermost being bigger then that on the Northeast. And by and by you shall perceiue the water to change white which commeth out of the riuer, and sounding you shall finde sande mixed with clay vpon your lead; and looke vpon the West side, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North side is higher then the other.

All these are vpon the coast of Tabasco. Las sierras de S. Pablo.

Markes

Markes of Almeria.

IF you should chance to fall or come vpon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many homocks, some with tuftes of trees on them, and some bare with white sand, and in 60. fathoms you shall haue clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward sand. And from thence to Punta de hidalgo or Punta delgada the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

Punta delgada, or The slender point.

Soundings of Villa rica.

IF you fall with Villa Rica in 30. fathoms, you shall finde clay or oaze, and in some places stones, and neere the lande you shall haue sand: and vpon the port of S. Iuan de Vllua you shall haue in some places clay or oaze, and in some places herring bones, and in other places mase and ; and vpon the rocks called Cabeças anegadas you shall haue small blacke sande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you see a coast that lieth Northeast and Southwest, and another Northwest and Southeast, you shall be vpon S. Paul: and if you should be vpon Cabeças anegadas, you shall finde in 30. fathoms great sand & blacke, and in 28. fathoms you shall haue the sand white like the shaulngs of free stone: and from S. Paul to the barre of Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Iuan de Vllua you haue many deeps, which at one sounding bring you clay, and at another sand, and at another clay and mase together, and herring bones: and in some 35. or 40. fathom you shal finde rockie ground, and in some places sand, and in some other places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de pescado, or The foode of fishes.

Cabeças anegadas are sunken heads or rocks vnder water.

Comedera de Pescado.

The course from Cabo de Corrientes and Cabo de S. Anton vpon the West end of Cuba, towards Nueua Espanna, within the Isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions.

IF you saile from Cape de Corrientes towarde Nueua Espanna on the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir West: and when you thinke you haue sailed 35. or 40. leag. you shall sound vpon the pracel, and you shall come vpon many bristlings of waters, which if it were faire weather, would seeme a skull of fish. And before you come out of the bristlings, if you sound you shal haue depth as I haue sayd. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir away West and by South, and you shall finde sounding in the same order as I haue sayd: you shall haue white sand, and neere the land you shall finde it like the shaulngs and peckings of free stone, and white sand like houre-glasse-sand, and sometimes periwinkles or small shelles. Also if you sound in deepe water, and on the sudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are vpon The Alacranes, and then stir away West-southwest vntill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your selfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then stir away West, and by these depths you shall go sounding; and then taking your heigth by sunne or starre, you must beware that you passe not 21. degrees & $\frac{1}{2}$. or 21. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. at the most; and in this heigth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you shall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northwestward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southwestward, vntill you haue gotten so farre ahead as Cape Sisal, and discouered the coast of Campeche, which coast lyeth North and South, and you shall take vp on your lead white sande like houreglasse sand, and sometime periwinkles or small shelles; and by and by you shall goe increasing depth, vntil you lose it, and so shal you passe between the Triangle and the Sandy Iland.

Cabo de Corrientes.

Cabo de S. Anton.

Cape Sisal vpon the coast of Campeche in Iucatan. Or Isla de Arenas.

The course betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Island to S. Iuan de Vllua.

WHen you haue lost your depth, stirre away Southwest to fetch the Sierras or hils of S. Martin: and to knowe the hils of S. Martin, there are 2. hils stretching Northeast and Southwest, and the Southwest is greater then that on the Northeast, but the Northermost hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Island which is called Roca partida, or The clouen rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southwest side an high lande like a top-saile will appeare, and then shall you bee North and South with The

Sierras de S. Martin.

Roca partida.

Or Misapa. Pan or Loafe of Nisapa. Note, that these Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no shewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, so much the higher will they shewe vnto you: neither shall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very shoare.

The course from Roca partida or The clouen rocke to S. Iuan de Vllua.

IF you depart from Roca partida or The clouen rocke for Sant Iuan de Vllua, you must stir Or Antonisetto. away Westnorthwest, and so shall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton Mislardo: and if you happen to sound vpon The sunken rocks called Cabeças anegadas, you shall haue black sand and 17. fathom water, and you shall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you shall haue 34. fathoms.

The course from Sant Iuan de Vllua in the bay of Mexico to Spaine in Europe.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Vllua to Hauana, you must stir away Northeast vntil you bring your selfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you must stir away East from the little Islands Las Tortugas. called Las Tortugas, vntill you haue the sounding of them; and if you finde white sande very small, you shall bee East and West with them, and if your sounding bee shellie ground and periwinkles, or small shelles, or skales, then shall you be Northeast and Southwest, and the shelles or skales must bee red, and if at some time you take vp blacke sande, then are you North and South with the sayd Tortugas.

Markes of The Tortugas.

IF you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Islands of white sand, lowe and close by the sea, sauing one which hath on it some shrubs or bushes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The course from the Tortugas toward Hauana.

IF you depart from The Tortugas towards Hauana with a fresh winde, you must stir away Southwest: and if it be faire weather, and a small gale of winde, then stir South, that the current may not draw you in, nor set you too much to the Westward: and if you fall with The hilles called Los Organos vpon Cuba neere Hauana. Rio de Puercos. Baya honda. Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many sharpe heads like vnto Organ-pipes, and at the entring thereof on the South side is Rio de puercos, or The riuer of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to say, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place vntill you come to Cape de S. Anton all is sholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the sea, euen as farre as the sayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to La Quadrilla de sierras. Hauana, all the coast is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de sierras, which is as much to say, as A companie of hilles together like souldiers on a heape; and more to the Eastward you shall descry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if El pan de Cabannas. La mesa de Marien. you fall with Hauana, you shall see on the Southwest side an hill called La meza de Marien, or the Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you shall see lower to the Westwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You must note, that about Hauana it is all lowe land euen with the sea, till you come to Mesa de Marien, and then looke well within the lande, and you shall see 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breasts; and bringing your selfe North and South, you shall be with the harborough of Hauana, and then shall you soone The towre of Hauana. perceiue the tower that is vpon the cliffes of Hauana.

Markes of the hauen or port called Puerto de Marien.

PVerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you must borrow on the West side, by reason of the rockes and shelues, and when you are within, then borrow on the East shoare, and leaue the other side, and so Note. shall you enter safe: and from this place to Hauana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you ouerpasse the harborough of Hauana to the Eastward, or if the current hath set you past it

by

by meanes of calmes, then shall you perceiue at full sea vpon the coast certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, because the lande is lowe; and comming neere the shoare you shall see in some places of the coast Playas or strandes of sande which shew like vnto Chipiona: and looking Eastward along the sea coast, you shall see a round loafe which is called El pan de Matanças: and also you *shall perceiue in certaine places round white* heapes of sande called Barrancas. *If you will recouer Hauana, go along the coast close by* the lande, for the current runneth very swift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may see; for all the coast is cleane ground.

Chipiona a towne standing vpon the coast of Andaluzia next vnto S. Lucar.

El pan de Matanzas.

Barrancas also signifie creeks or broken entrances of landes.

The course from Hauana to Spaine.

IF you will saile from Hauana to Spaine, you must stirre away Northeast, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeça de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the said head, that the winde should chop vp at North on you, then stand to the Eastward vntill you bring your selfe as farre ahead as Matanças; then cast about to the West, to discouer the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not set you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you see The Pan de Matanças at ful sea, it hath these markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Westerne side thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoise: and betweene this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and vpon the East side of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you shall see no high lande at all: and being so farre shot, that this Pan de Matanças shall beare Westnorthwest and Southsoutheast off you, and being desirous also to auoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, stir away Northnortheast, and by this course you shall passe the chanell, and win the coast of Florida.

Cabeza de los Martires.

Which Martires are a number of small llandz lying shead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The markes of Pan de Matanças.

Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

Markes of the head of The Martires called Cabeza de los Martires.

THe head of The Martires are three heapes of white sande full of trees, and that in the midst hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white sande, and is higher and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coast lyeth off you; and if you perceiue that the coast beareth off you East and West, you are not in the chanell; but if the coast should beare off you Northeast and Southwest, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you shall know: for if you finde your selfe in 24. degrees and ½, then are you East and West with the head of The Martires: and if you see the coast beare off you Northeast and Southwest, (as I haue sayde) stir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off; and then stir away Northeast: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you shall be shot out of the chanell, and then shall you be East and West with Cape de Cannaueral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

Cabo de Cannaueral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The course to come through the chanell of Bahama homeward for Spaine.

IF in Winter you should passe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, stirre away the first Sangradura or course Eastnortheast, and afterward East and by North, and so shall you passe by the South side of Bermuda: and you must take heede that you goe these foure hundred or fiue hundred leagues, because you shall not come neere the said Isle of Bermuda; & when you are gone this course, then put your selfe in what heigth you will, and make your way as you will your selfe. But if you passe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, stir away Eastnortheast, and you shall passe by the North side of Bermuda; and when you haue brought your selfe in 35. degrees, stirre East and by North, vntill you bring your selfe to 25. degrees and ½, and from thence stir away East for the Isle of Fayal or of Flores.

The course in Winter.

The Isle of Bermuda.

The course in the Summer more Northerly.

Markes to know the Isle of Fayal.

THe Island called Fayal vpon the Southwest side, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Brasilla in the Island of Terçera; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and vpon the East side it maketh a little plaine Island; and vpon the North side

Puerte Pini.

side there standeth a rocke or Island by it selfe. And from this Island being one of the Açores, you may shape your course to which of the Islands you please, or to any other place which you know.

Markes to know the Isle of Flores.

IF you happen to fall with Flores first, by this you shall know it: the Island lyeth North-east, and Southsouthwest, and the West ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you shall see two little Islands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betweene that and the village, in euery bay you may likewise ride and water: and you shall see the water run into the sea in euery part that you looke on.

El Passaje a place on the Northeast part of the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Now followeth the course and direction to saile from Passage on the Northeast part of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, vnto Hauana, by the North side of the Isle of Hispaniola, and by The old chanell.

Cabo del Engano the most Easterly Cape of Hispaniola. Or Samana.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Puerto rico to seeke Cabo del Enganno, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and so shall you see a round heape or loafe in the sea, which lieth on the Southwest side of the gulfe of Semana; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, & this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it should be neere night when you see this lande, stir away Northwest with a small sayle, because of certaine rockes called Las Ouejas, or The Sheepe: and in the morning cast about to see the land to the Southwestward; and if when you see the land, it seemeth vnto you a small island at full sea like a round mountaine, then is it The cape del Enganno: and from thence stir away West and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Las Ouejas.

Markes of Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco.

CAbo Franco is a low Cape euen with the sea, and hath these markes * And from thence stir away West, and you shall see an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat: and at the foote of this hill is the hauen or harbour called El puerto de plata. And if you will goe into this port, you must leaue the Island on the West side, and then take heede of that which you see, and borrow on the castles side. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you come out of sight of lande, and then stir away West and by North, and so shall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teats which looke like 3. crownes. And you shall passe betweene the Isle of Tortugas or Hinagua, and the Island of Iaico; and from thence run alongst the coast Northeast and Southwest; and hauing doubled the outmost high hill or mountaine, you shall see in the midst thereof a round hill, and vpon the Southwest side by the sea you shall see a lowe euen lande foure or fiue leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called Las sierras de Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the sierras you shall see a rounde loafe which is in the midst of the same bay, and ahead of that you shall see a hill flat on the top like a table sixe or seuen leagues, which hill is not very high, and from these hilles to Cayo Romano you haue fiue and thirtie leagues, and you must stirre the one halfe of the course Northwest, and the other halfe Northwest and by West, and so shall you make or see the sayd Cayo Romano vpon the larboord side of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you haue three leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.

Isla de Tortugas otherwise called Hinagua. The Isle of Iaico.

Las sierras de Cabanca. Cayo Romano. This word Cayo in the Biscaian tongue signifieth a flat or a shold.

Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cayo Romano.

This Island lyeth 190 leagues from Hauana.

CAyo Romano is an high Island, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and stretcheth it selfe as it were 4. leagues; and comming on it Northeast & Southwest, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midst there are two saddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe send or saddle in the midst. And if night should come on

you

you at this Cayo Romano, enter not the chanell, because in the mid way is an Isle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romana, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full sea you shall discerne a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midst of it, which is like to a saile; but al night beare but your foresaile a glasse one way and another glasse the other way vntill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leaue these Cayos, on the larboard side of you. Note, that if you bee within sight of the Parcel, and see two litle Islands of white sand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coasting the Parcell, about fifteene leagues, you shall see three Islands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all these three Islands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Hauana, if it be by day, stir away West Northwest; but if it be by night, then stir a point more to the Westward: and if in this course you chance to see the Parcell, feare not; for in the lowest water there are sixe fathomes; then cast about to the Southwestward to get out about two glasses, and then stir away Westnorthwest vntill it be day and so shall you goe by the Cayos: and in this course you must keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz sixe or seuen leagues lyeth another Cayo vpon the Northeast and by North, which is great and white, and all euen; But the point on the Southwest is smaller, and vpon the said point is a shrub or bush which sheweth like a saile: also there is a banke of white sand along by the sea-side, which in the middest thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that seemeth like a sadle: and vpon the Northeast side (for on this maner the coast lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you shal see certaine hilles eightеene or twentie leagues long lying Northeast and Southwest being all saddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southwest off you, you shall be in the middest of the chanell: and from thence you haue as farre to Matanças as to Cayo Romano. Likewise from thence on the side of Hauana you shall see certaine hilles which shewe to be three, and ly Northeast and Southwest, and that on the Southwest is highest: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which stretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the sayde flatte there is a litle Island of white sand: and from thence you must sayle to Cruz del Padre.

The great Parcell.

Las Anguillas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

El puerto de Matanzas or The hauen of slaughters.

Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

Markes of Cruz del Padre.

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you must stir away Northeast, because of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay stretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the sayd poynt: and then stir away West Northwest to goe with the Port of Matanças, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baia de Conel. La Baia de Caos, or Cayos.

Markes of the hilles of Camoniaca.

THe hilles of Camoniaca ly Northwest and Southeast, and the Southeast side is lowe land and euen: also vpon the Northeast side it is euen land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanças, and in the middle of these hilles there is one high hill, and vpon the Northeast side there appeareth a round heape: and if you see this hill at West Southwest, the Pan or round heape of Matanças will beare off you West and by South.

Or Camelequers.

Markes of the round hill called El pan de Matanças.

THis Pan is a round heape standing on a lowe land: and if you bring yourselfe North and South with it, it will make you two saddles; and on the West side it maketh a great parted lande as it were sinking with the sea. Note that wheresoeuer you shall goe to seeke the Tortugas, and shall come with the coast and finde it beare off you Northeast and Southwest, I aduise you to goe along the coast to the Southwestward: you may not deepen more then fortie fiue fathomes, for if you doe, you shall cast your selfe without the Tortugas.

Also you must note, that if by chance you finde your selfe shotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-side of the sayde Tortugas, then cause one to goe to the top, to see if you can descry them; and if you cannot see them, stir away Southwest vntill you see them; and hauing gotten sight of them, sounde, and you shall finde

Note.

finde eighteene or ninteene fathomes: and so sholding stir away South and by West, and goe by this course. And feare you not the sholding, for you shall meete with 12 fathoms, and shall haue blacke sand in your sounding. And going neerer to the ende of the said Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe shall see them all) as you passe by, you shall finde but eight fathomes, and stony ground, and that is the sholdest water you shall haue. And you shall passe by a bustling of a tyde, that shoules out of the chanel that way: but you neede not feare any thing for you shall haue no lesse then eight fathome water: and being past the said bustling but a minion shot, you shal loose the ground and be in the chanell.

An aduertizment.

WHen you shall passe this course, goe not out of sight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Hauana, hauing a faire winde, stir away Southwest because the current may not set you off: and if with a fresh winde and Northerly, then stir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Islands, as well of Madera, The Canaries, and the West Indies, as of the Açores and the Isles of Cabo Verde.	Degrees of latitude.
THe island called Puerto santo standeth in	33
The isle of Madera standeth in	32½
The isle Saluaja in	30
The isle of Alagrança in	29½
The isle Fuerte ventura in	28½
The Grand Canaria in	28½
The isle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Tenerif in	28½
The isle of Gomera in	27½

The latitudes of the Islands of the West Indies.	Degrees of latitude.
The island of Fonçeca standeth in	11¼
The Isle Tabago in	skant 11
The Barbudos in	13
The isle of Trinidad vpon the North side in	10
The isle of Granata in	11¼
The isle of Sant Vincent in	12
The isle of santa Lucia in	12½
The isle of Dominica in	14
The isle of Matalina or Martinino in	14½
The isle of Marigalante in	15
The isle of Deseada in	15½
The isle of Monserate in	16
The isle called La Antigua in	17
The isle called La Baruada in	17
The isle of S. Bartholomew in	17
The isle of S. Martin in	17½
The isle called La Anguilla in	skant 18
The isle of Sombrero in	18¼
The isle Anegada in	18⅝
The isle called La isla de Avez in	15½
The isles called Las Virgines in	18
The isle of Santa Cruz in	17
The isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico {On the North side in	18¼
The isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico {On the South side in	17¾
Cape del Enganno vpon the East part of Hispaniola in	18½

The

The point of the isle of Saona in	17½
The Cape called Punta de Niçao neere S. Domingo in Hispaniola in	17½
The Isle Beata on the South side of Hispaniola in	17
The point of Bacao on the South side of Hispaniola in	17½
Cape Tiburon vpon the West part of Hispaniola, and the isle of Nauaza in	18⅓
The isle of Iamaica { On the South side in / On the North side in	17½ / 18½
Cape de Cruz on the South side of Cuba in	20
The 3 Isles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in	19½
The dangerous isles called Los Iardines South of Cuba in	21
The isle of Pinos in	21
Cape de Corrientes vpon the Southwest part of Cuba in	21½
Cabo de sant Anton being the most westerly Cape of Cuba in	22
The litle isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions, in	22
The isles called Nigrillos in	23½
Isla de Lobos, or The isle of seales neere the maine of Nueua Espanna, in	22
The Cape of Iucatan called Cabo de Catoche in	21
The island called Isla de Ranas in	21½ large.

The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coast of Nueua Espanna, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine.	Degrees of latitude.
Villa rica standeth in	19½
Sant. Iuan de Vllua in	18⅔
From Sant Iuan de Vllua sayling to the Tortugas you must sound in	27½
The small isles called Las Tortugas stand in	25
The Port of Hauana vpon the Northwest part of Cuba in	23½
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25
The Mimbres are in	26½
The Chanel of Bahama in	27½
The Cape de Cañnaueral vpon the coast of Florida in	28½
The Isle of Bermuda in	33
The *isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez in	41¾ * This is a very commodious Ile for vs in our way to Virginia.

The latitudes of the Isles of the Açores.	Degrees of latitudes.
The isle of Flores standeth in	39½
The isle of Cueruo in	40
The isle of Fayal in	38½
The isle of Pico and the isle of Sant George both in	38½
The isle of Terçera in	39
The isle of Graciosa in	39½
The isle of Santa Maria in	37
The isle of sant Michael in	38
Cape sant Vincent vpon the coast of Spaine	37
The Rocke in	39
The Burlings in	40
Bayona in	42½
Cape Finister in	43½
The enterance of the streights of Gibraltar is in	36
Cape Cantin vpon the coast of Barbarie in	32½
Cape Bojador vpon the coast of Barbarie in	27 * large.
Rio del oro, or The riuer of Gold, in	23¼
Cabo de Barbas in	22
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20¾

The latitude of the isles of Cabo verde.

The isles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas stand all in	18½
Isla del Sal, or the isle of salt, in	17¼
The isle called Buena vista in	16
The isle of Sant Iago in	15

The latitudes of diuers Islands, Capes, and other places, from the Isle of Margarita vpon the coast of Cumana Westward along the coast of Tierra Firma.	Degrees of latitude.
The isles of Aruba, Curaçao, and Buinaro stand all in	12
The isle of Margarita in	11
The islandes called Los Testigos in	11¼
The coast of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth Eastand West in	12
Cape del Aguja in	11⅓
The rockes of Serrana in	14
The Roncador in	13½
The isle of Santa Catelina in	13½
The isle of Sant Andrew in	12½
The Seranilla in	15½
The isle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	17¼
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	16¾
Genaza in	16½

Here followeth a declaration of the Longitudes, or Western and Eastern distances, from Spaine to Newe Spaine in America, and from thence backe againe to Spaine.

	Leagues.
From Sal Medina vpon the Coast Andaluzia till you bring your selfe North and South with Cape Cantin vpon the Coast of Barbary	85
From Sal Medina to the island of Gran Canaria	200
From the Gran Canaria to Deseada	850
From Deseada to Monserate	20
From Monserate to Santa Cruz	58
From Santa Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southwest Cape of Sant Iuan de Puerto Rico	45
From Cape Roxo to Saona	25
From Saona to sant Domingo	25
From sant Domingo to Ocoa	18
From Ocoa to Beata	20
From Beata to the isle Baque	43
From the isle Baque to Nauaza	33
From Nauaza to sant Iago of Cuba	32
From sant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
From Cabo de Cruz to the first Cayman	40
From the first Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
From the great Cayman to the isle of Pinos	48
From Cabo de Cruz to the isle of Pinos by the forsaid course	106
From the isle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de sant Anton	20

The course from Cabo de sant Anton to sant Iuan de Vllua by the outside or North of the Isles called Alacranes.		
	From Cabo de sant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
	From the Nigrillos, vntill you bring your selfe North and South with the isle Vermeja	25
	From the isle Vermeja to Villa Rica	96
	From Villa rica to Sant Iuan de Vllua	12

From

The course from Cabo de Corrientes to saint Iuan de Vllua on the fouth or South of the Alacranes.

From Cabo de Corrientes to the first sounding	45
From the first sounding till you come so farre a head as the island called Isla de Ranas	80
From Isla de Ranas vnto	

The longitudes from New Spaine, backe againe to Spaine.

	Leagues.
From Saint Iuan de Vllua to the Tortugas.	280
From the Tortugas to Hauana.	36
From Hauana to the head of the Martyrs.	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres.	30
From the Mimbres to Bahamá.	24
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaueral.	62
From Cabo de Cannauerall to Bermuda.	350
From Bermuda to the Isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez.	320
From the Isle of Iohn Luis or Aluarez to Flores.	300
From Flores to Fayal.	28
From Fayal to Terçera.	28
From Terçera to Saint Michael.	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent.	218
From Terçera to Cape Saint Vincent.	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de santa Maria vpon the coast of Algarbe.	22
From Cabo de santa Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia.	32

THE DISCOVERIE

OF THE LARGE, RICH, AND BEAUTIFULL EMPIRE OF GUIANA, WITH A RELATION OF THE GREAT AND GOLDEN CITIE OF MANOA (WHICH THE SPANIARDS CALL EL DORADO) AND THE PROUINCES OF EMERIA, AROMAIA, AMAPAIA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES, WITH THEIR RIUERS ADIOYNING. PERFORMED IN THE YEERE 1595 BY SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, CAPTAINE OF HER MAIESTIES GUARD, LORDE WARDEN OF THE STANNERIES, AND HER HIGHNESSE LEIUTENANT GENERALL OF THE COUNTIE OF CORNE-WALL.

To the right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman Charles Howard, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counceller, and of the Admirals of England the most renowmed: and to the right Honourable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, Counceller in her Highnesse Priuie Councels.

FOr your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I haue hitherto onely returned promises, and now for answere of both your aduentures, I haue sent you a bundle of papers, which I haue deuided betwene your Lordship, and Sir Robert Cecyll in these two respects chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastfull factors, when they haue consumed such stockes as they had in trust, doe yeeld some colour for the same in their account; secondly for that I am assured, that whatsoeuer shall bee done, or written by me, shall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume, that you wil be pleased (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shal but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times

as I did especially Hon. you both, so I found that your loues sought mee out in the darkest shadow of aduersitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my many miseries: al which though I can not requite yet I shal euer acknowledge: & the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded very grieuous effects, & if ought might haue bene deserued in former times to haue counterpoysed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, & the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake these trauels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recouer but the moderation of excesse, & the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I could cõceiue what farther meanes I might yet vse, but euen to appease so powreful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I haue wasted in effect all herein. I haue vndergone many constructions. I haue bene accompanyed with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickenes, & perill: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other brauado of going to the sea, then was ment, and that I was neuer hidden in Cornewall, or els where, as was supposed. They haue grosly belied me, that foreiudged, that I would rather become a seruant to the Spanish king, then returne, and the rest were much mistaken, who would haue perswaded, that I was too easefull and sensuall to vndertake a iourney of so great trauell. But, if what I haue done, receiue the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in eternall distast; I doe not then know whether I should bewaile my selfe, either for my too much trauell and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserue nothing. From my selfe I haue deserued no thankes, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picory, it had sorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Maiesties grace I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of Guiana, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, at such time as Francisco Piçarro and others conquered the said Empire, from his two elder brethrẽ, Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being fauoured by the Orejones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caxamalca. I sent my seruant Iacob Whiddon the yere before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker, sometime my seruant, and nowe attending on your Lordship, that such a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of Charuas, or Guanipa: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they supposed, and many other impediments to them vnknowen and vnheard. After I had displanted Don Antonio de Berreo, who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at Trinidad at the Port called Curiapan, I wandred 400 miles into the said countrey by lande and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the Indies, or Peru: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maiesties vassals: and seeme to desire nothing more then her Maiesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the West Indies, an easier way to inuade the best parts thereof, then by the common course. The king of Spaine is not so impouerished, by taking three or foure Port townes in America, as wee suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueua Espanna so left

by

by the sea side, as it can bee easily washt away with a great flood, or springtide, or left dry vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in respect of the rest within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receiue the treasure for Spaine: and we might thinke the Spaniards very simple, hauing so many horses and slaues, if they could not vpon two dayes warning cary all the golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, especially the Indies being (as they are for the most part) so mountanous, so full of woodes, riuers, and marishes. In the Port townes of the Prouince of Veneçuela, as Cumana, Coro and S. Iago (whereof Coro and S. Iago were taken by Captaine Preston, and Cumana and S. Iosepho by vs) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of Barquasimeta, Valencia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Laguna, Maracaiba, and Truxillo, are not so easely inuaded: neither doeth the burning of those on the coast impouerish the king of Spaine any one ducat: and if we sacke the riuer of Hacha, S Marta, and Cartagena, which are the Portes of Nueuo reyno, and Popayan; there are besides within the land, which are indeed riche and populous the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophoro, the great Cities of Pamplon, S. Fe de Bogota, Tunxa and Mozo where the Esmeralds are found, the townes and Cities of Marequita, Velez, la Villa de Leua, Palma, Vnda, Angustura, the great citie of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Iuago, the great Citie of Popaian it selfe, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of Vraba in the kingdom or riuers of Dariene, and Caribana, the Cities and townes of S. Iuan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Anserma haue gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not easily inuaded by the way of the Ocean: or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the Prouince of Castilla del oro, and the villages vpō the riuers of Cenu & Chagre; Peru hath besides those & besides the magnificent cities of Quito & Lima so many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader: of all which, because I haue written a particular treatise of the West Indies, I wil omit the repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I haue anatomized the rest of the sea-townes aswel of Nicaragua, Iucatan, Nueua Espanna, & the ylands, as those of the Inland, & by what meanes they may be best inuaded, as far as any meane iudgement can cōprehend. But I hope it shal appeare that there is a way found to answer euery mans longing, a better Indies for her Maiestie then the King of Spaine hath any: which if it shal please her highnes to vndertake, I shal most willingly end the rest of my daies in folowing the same: if it be left to the spoile & sackage of cōmon persons, if the loue & seruice of so many nations be despised, so great riches, & so mighty an empire refused, I hope her maiesty wil yet take my humble desire and my labor therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, could haue laid hands on & ransomed many of the kings & Casiqui of the country, & haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemptiō: but I haue chosen rather to beare the burden of pouerty, then reproch, & rather to endure a second trauel and the chances therof, then to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, vntill I knew whether it pleased God to put a dispositiō in her princely & royal heart either to folow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, & do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part of the folowing discourse, in which I haue neither studied phrase, forme nor fashion, that you will be pleased to esteeme mee as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to do you all honour and seruice. W. R.

A treatise of the West Indies.

¶ To the Reader.

BEcause there haue bin diuers opiniōs cōceiued of the gold oare broght frō Guiana, and for ỹ an Alderman of London & an officer of her Maiesties Mint, hath giuen out that the same is of no price, I haue thought good by the additiō of these lines to giue answer aswel to the said malicious slāder, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of Trinidad, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far frō the Port, where we ancored, there

there were found certaine mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, & were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seene both English and Frenchmen gather, & imbark some quantities therof: vpon this likelyhood I sent 40. men & gaue order that each one should bring a stone of that mine to make trial of ỹ goodnes: which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was Marcasite, & of no riches or value: notwithstãding diuers, trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the said Marcasite, & haue tried therof since my returne in diuers places. In Guiana it selfe I neuer saw Marcasite, but al the rocks, moũtains, al stones in ỹ plaines, woods, & by the riuers side are in effect throughshining, and seem maruelous rich, which being tried to be no Marcasite, are the true signes of rich minerals, but are no other then El madre del oro (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is said by others the scum of gold: of diuers sorts of these many of my company brought also into Engld, euery one taking ỹ fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part I did not coũtermand any mans desire, or opinion, & I could haue aforded them litle if I should haue denied them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein: but I was resolued that gold must be foũd either in graines separate frõ the stone (as it is in most of the riuers in Guiana) or els in a kind of hard stone, which we call The white spar, of which I saw diuers hils, & in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit for labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I found of the said White sparre or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endeuoured to breake by al the meanes I could, because there appeared on the outside some smal graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the same vpon the vpper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rocke, I found a clift in the same from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some smal quantitie therof, of which kind of white stone (wherin gold ingendred) we saw diuers hils and rocks in euery part of Guiana, wherein we trauelled. Of this there haue bin made many trials, and in London it was first assaid by M. Westwood a refiner dwelling in Woodstreet, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by M Bulmar & M. Dimock Assay-master, & it held after the rate of 23000 li. a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by M. Palmer comptroller of the Mint, and M. Dimock in goldsmiths hal, & it held after 26900. li. a tun. There was also at the same time, & by the same persons a trial made of the dust of the said mine which held 8. li. 6. ounces weight of gold in the 100: there was likewise at the same time a triall of an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold, besides diuers trials made in the coũtrey, & by others in Lõdon. But because there came ill with the good, & belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also bene concluded by diuers, that if there had bin any such oare in Guiana, and the same discouered, that I would haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bound to satisfie any man of the quantitie, but such onely as aduentured, if any store had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of massie gold, it was impossible for vs to haue made any longer stay to haue wrought the same: and whosoeuer hath seene with what strength of stone the best gold oare is inuironed, hee will not thinke it easie to be had out in heapes, and especially by vs, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to performe the same. There were on this discouery no lesse then 100. persons, who can all witnesse, that when we past any branch of the riuer to view the land within, and staied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if wee attempted the same, the day following it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in Iune, Iuly, August and September, it is impossible to nauigate any of those riuers: for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if any boat but touch vpon any tree or stake, it is impossible to saue any one person therein: and yet we departed the land it ranne with such swiftnes, as wee draue downe most commonly against the wind, little lesse then 100. miles a day: Besides our ves-

sels

sels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a small cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in hast for that purpose at Trinidad, and those little boats had 9. or 10. men a piece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ships, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our returne in 15. dayes. Others haue deuised that the same oare was had from Barbary, and that we caried it with vs into Guiana: surely the singularitie of that deuice I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not so much in loue with these long voyages, as to deuise, therby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subiected to perils, to diseases, to ill sauors, to be parched & withered, and withall to sustaine the care & labour of such an enterprize, except the same had more comfort, then the fetching of Marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold oare in Barbary. But I hope the better sort wil iudge me by themselues, & that the way of deceit is not the way of honor or good opinion: I haue herein consumed much time, & many crownes, & I had no other respect or desire then to serue her Maiestie and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had bene of like beliefe to these detracters, we should litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now cõsider of the actions both of Charles the 5. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now liuing, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, garisons, & nauies he hath and doth mainteine, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88. aboue 100. saile of great ships with their artillery, & that no yere is lesse vnfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are deuoured, and yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwrack to vs all: we shall find that these abilities rise not frõ the trades of sacks, and Siuil oringes, nor from ought els that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other prouinces produce: it is his Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keepe vs from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of inuasion, or by besieging vs in Britaine, Ireland, or elsewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure haue great aduantages ouer the rest, if they once constraine them to a defensiue war, where they are driuen once a yere or oftener to cast lots for their own garmẽts, and frõ such shal all trades, & entercourse be taken away, to the general losse and impouerishment of the kingdom and common weale so reduced: besides when our men are constrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are prest & incouraged by the desire of spoile & riches. Farther, it is to be douted how those that in time of victory seeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or il successe; to trust also to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull & vncertaine aduenture, seeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might bee said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoeuer kingdome shalbe inforced to defend it selfe may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserued with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by litle and litle, the same must needs fall to the ground, & be dissolued. I haue therefore laboured all my life, both according to my smal power, & perswasion, to aduance al those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to our selues, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentifull trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake iudgement by such a warre were as easily indangered & brought frõ his powerfulnes, as any prince of Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdomes and nations his reuenues are gathered, & those so weake in their owne beings, and so far seuered from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in hast, & that the time which our enemies embrace, cannot be had againe to aduatage, I wil hope that these prouinces, and that Empire now by me discouered shal suffice to inable her Maiestie & the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of Spaine hath in all the Indies East

and

and West, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Maiestie wil vndertake it, I wil be contented to lose her highnesse fauour & good opinion for euer, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatsoeuer is in this discourse promised or declared. I wil now referre the Reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and indeuors of such as thereby seeke the profit and honour of her Maiestie, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue such construction, and good acceptance, as themselues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W. R.

¶ The discouerie of Guiana.

ON Thursday the 6. of February in the yeere 1595. we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the North cape of Spaine, the winter for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the Burlings, & the Rocke, and so onwards for the Canaries, and fel with Fuerte ventura the 17 of the same moneth, where we spent two or three dayes, and relieued our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Grand Canaria, & so to Tenerif, and stayed there for the Lions whelpe your Lordships ship, and for Captaine Amyas Preston and the rest. But when after 7. or 8. dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our course for Trinidad with mine owne ship, and a small barke of captaine Crosses onely (for we had before lost sight of a smal Galego on the coast of Spaine, which came with vs from Plimmouth) we arriued at Trinidad the 22. of March, casting ancker at point Curispan, with the Spaniards call punta de Gallo, which is situate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. dayes, & in all that time we came not to the speach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed frō the point Caroa towards Curiapan, but for feare of the Spaniards none durst come to speake with vs. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close abord the shore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the yland, while the ships kept the chanell. From Curiapan after a fewe dayes we turned vp Northeast to recouer that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espannoles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (reuictualing my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitants, and also to vnderstand the riuers, watering places, & ports of the yland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few dayes. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh water riuer, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea: In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of fresh water and one salt riuer that had store of oisters vpon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oisters grow vpon these boughs and spraies, and not on the ground: the like is commonly seene in other places of the West Indies, and else where. This tree is described by Andrew Theuet in his French Antarctique, and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very strange, and by Plinie in his 12. booke of his naturall historie. But in this yland, as also in Guiana there are very many of them.

The yle of Trinidad.

Curiapan.

Parico.

Tierra de Brea.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our shippes to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for shippes trading the South parts very profitable. From thence wee went to the mountaine foote called Anniperima, and so passing the riuer Carone on which the Spanish Citie was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Espannoles or Conquerabia.

This yland of Trinidad hath the forme of a sheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the soile is very excellent and will beare suger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deare, wilde porks, fruits, fish and foule: It hath also for bread sufficient maiz, cassaui, and of those rootes and fruites which are com-

mon

mon euery where in the West Indies. It hath diuers beastes which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confessed that they found graines of golde in some of the riuers, but they hauing a purpose to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any further. This yland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are diuers nations: those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Saluajos, betwene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish citie terme themselues Carinepagotes: Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and riuers I leaue to speake here, being impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the yland, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Espannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace, I sent Captaine Whiddon to speake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the said yland after my returne from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with vs, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne strength then for ought else, and in the ende vpon pledge, some of them came abord: the same euening there stale also abord vs in a small Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Casique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman, wee vnderstood what strength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the gouernour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not. The death of Captaine Whiddon.

While we remained at Puerto de los Espannoles some Spaniards came abord vs to buy linnen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew for those poore souldiers hauing bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be reuenged of Berreo, who the yere before 1594. had betraied eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to seeke the Edward Bonauenture, which arriued at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies: in whose absence Berreo sent a Canoa abord the pinnesse onely with Indians and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no sooner one harquebuze shot from the shore, but Berreos souldiers lying in ambush had them al, notwithstanding that he had giuen his word to Captaine Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I dayly learned more and more of Guiana, of the riuers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same. 8 Englishmen betrayed by Antony Berreo.

While wee thus spent the time I was assured by another Casique of the North side of the yland, that Berreo had sent to Margarita and Cumana for souldiers, meaning to haue giuen mee a cassado at parting, if it had bene possible. For although he had giuen order through all the yland that no Indian should come abord to trade with me vpon paine of hanging & quartering, (hauing executed two or them for the same, which I afterwards founde) yet euery night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had diuided the yland and giuen to euery souldier a part, that hee made the ancient Casiques which

were Lords of the countrey to be their slaues, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true; for in the city after I entred the same there were 6. of y lords or litle *kings* (which they cal Casiques in the West Indies) in one chaine almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their owne language Acarewans, and now of late since English, French and Spanish are come among them, they call themselues Capitaines, because they perceiue that the chiefest of euery ship is called by that name. Those fiue Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarrooganama, and Ateruna. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ships, and to leaue a garison in my backe interressed in the same enterprize, who also dayly expected supplies out of Spaine, I should haue aduentured very much of the asse: and therefore taking a time of most aduantage I set vpon the Corps du guard in the euening, and hauing put them to the sword, sent Captaine Calfield onwards with 60. souldiers, and my selfe followed with 40. more, and so tooke their new City which they called S. Ioseph by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a fewe shot, and all being dismissed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me aboord, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new citie of S. Ioseph on fire.

The Cite of S. Ioseph taken. Antony Berreo taken prisoner.

The same day arriued Captaine George Gifford with your Lordships ship, and Captaine Keymis whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the Galego, and in them diuers gentlemen and others, which to our little armie was a great comfort and supply.

We then hasted away towards our purposed discouery, and first I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and waste those that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderstand that I was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Casiqui vnder her then there were trees in that yland: that shee was an enemie to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression; and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and hauing freed all the coast of the Northren world from their seruitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their inuasion and conquest: I shewed them her Maiesties picture which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to haue brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Maiestie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princesse or greatest commaunder. This done we left Puerto de los Espannioles, and returned to Curiapan, and hauing Berreo my prisoner I gathered from him as much of Guiana as hee knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman well descended, and had long serued the Spanish king in Millain, Naples, the low countreis and elsewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great assuredues, and of a great heart: I vsed him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

I sent Captaine Whidon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my iourney at this time was to discouer and enter the same; but my intelligence was farre from truth, for the countrey is situate aboue 600. English miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleeue it had bin, which afterward vnderstanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would neuer haue bene brought to attempt the same: of which 600. miles I passed 400. leauing my ships so farre from mee at ancker in the Sea, which was more of desire to performe that discouery, then of reason, especially hauing such poore and weake vessels to transport our selues in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a shipboat of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driuen to lie in the raine and weather, in the open aire, in the

Sir W. Ralegh passed 400. miles toward Guiana.

the burning Sunne, and vpon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and vnsauory, that what with victuals being most fish, with wette clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any prison in England, that could bee found more vnsauorie and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing.

If Captaine Preston had not bene perswaded that he should haue come too late to Trinidad to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tary for him there ere hee coulde recouer the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God hee might haue ioyned with vs, and that we had entred the countrey but some ten dayes sooner ere the Riuers were ouerflowen, wee had aduentured either to haue gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleased not God so much to fauour mee at this time: if it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perfourme more then euer was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Piçarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar, and Atabalipa, and whatsoeuer prince shall possesse it, that Prince shall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great Cities, townes, temples and treasures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieça, Francisco Lopez, and others haue written large discourses: for when Francisco Piçarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the said Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa sonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to bee slaine, one of the yonger sonnes of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thousands of those souldiers of the Empire called Orejones, and with those and many others which followed him, hee vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate betweene the great riuer of Amazones, and Baraquan, otherwise called Orenoque and Marannon.

The Empire of Guiana is directly East from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or moe great Cities then euer Peru had when it flourished most: it is gouerned by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people obserue the same religion, and the same forme and policies in gouernment as were vsed in Peru, not differing in any part: and I haue bene assured by such of the Spaniards as haue seene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatnesse, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation: it is founded vpon a lake of salt water of 200. leagues long like vnto Mare Caspium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, & but read the report of Francisco Lopez and others, it will seeme more then credible: and because we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. Chapter of Lopez in his generall historie of the Indies, wherein he describeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestour to the Emperour of Guiana, whose very wordes are these. Todo el seruicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina, era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamãno de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima, cantitad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco,

The statelines of Manoa.

Pran. Lopez de Gomara hist. gen. cap. 120.

que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espannoles se lo tomauan, y embiauan a Espanna. That is, All the vessels of his house, table and kitchin were of gold and siluer, and the meanest of siluer and copper for strength and hardnesse of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignesse of all the beasts, birds, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth foorth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and siluer, heapes of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they say, The Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreat themselues, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and siluer, an inuention, and magnificence till then neuer seene. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of siluer and golde vnwrought in Cuzco which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. chapter Francisco Piçarro caused the gold and siluer of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth downe in these words following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and two thousand markes of good siluer, and one million, and three hundred twenty and sixe thousand and fiue hundred pezos of golde.

Now although these reports may seeme strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may easily beleeue the same: for we finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely euery day to increase, if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now indanger vs, hee will then be vnresistable. Such of the Spanyards as afterward endeuoured the conquest thereof (whereof there haue bene many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now liuing is descended) tooke his way by the riuer of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the cõmandement of Gonzalo Piçarro, in the yere 1542) whose name the riuer also beareth this day, which is also by others called Marannon, although Andrew Theuet doeth affirme that betweene Marannon and Amazones there are 120 leagnes: but sure it is that those riuers haue one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Theuet describeth, is but a branch of Amazones or Orellana, of which I will speake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little lesse then 70 yeres since that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the same: and it was in the yeere 1542 that Orellana discouered the riuer of Amazones; but the first that euer saw Manoa was Iuan Martinez master of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ship; and this port is some 300 miles within the land, vpon the great riuer of Orenoque.

Iuan Martinez the first that euer saw Manoa.

I rested at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the first that discouered Manoa) his successe and ende are to bee seene in the Chancery of Saint Iuan de Puerto rico, wherof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest incouragement aswell to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discouery and conquest. Orellana after he failed of the discouery of Guiana by the sayd riuer of Amazones, passed into Spaine, and there obteined a patent of the king for the inuasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Islands, and his fleet seuered by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterprise, and departed Spaine with 600 souldiers, and 30 horse, who arriuing on the coast of Guiana, was slaine in a mutiny, with the most part of such as fauoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the sayd Ordas, vntill Berreo found the anker of his ship in the riuer of Orenoque;

Diego de Ordas went foorth with 600 souldiers 1532.

que; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diuersly conceiued and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred so farre within the land, and arriued at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana) by some negligence, the whole store of powder prouided for the seruice was set on fire; and Martinez hauing the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed foorthwith: Martinez being much fauoured by the souldiers, had all the meanes possible procured for his life; but it could not be obtened in other sort then this: That he should be set into a canoa alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and so turned loose into the great riuer: but it pleased God that the canoa was caried downe the streame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the same euening; and hauing not at any time seene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be woondred at, and so from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guascar and Atabalipa were vanquished by the Spanyards in Peru) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well enterteined. Hee liued seuen moneths in Manoa, but was not suffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, vntill he came to the entrance of Manoa it selfe, and was foureteene or fifteene dayes in the passage. He auowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they vncouered his face, and that he trauelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun rising to Sun setting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had liued seuen moneths in Manoa, and began to vnderstand the language of the countrey, Inga asked him whether he desired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly abide with him. But Martinez not desirous to stay, obteined the fauour of Inga to depart: with whom he sent diuers Guianians to conduct him to the riuer of Orenoque, all loden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gaue to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arriued neere the riuers side, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) saue only of two great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiously wrought, which those Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to passe: and so in canoas hee fell downe from the riuer of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and also to Saint Iuan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for passage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the Sacrament at the hands of his Confessor, he deliuered these things, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his calabaças or gourds of the golde beads which he gaue to the church and friers to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that Christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorada, and as Berreo informed mee, vpon this occasion: Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue seene, are maruellous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemne feasts, when the emperour carowseth with his captaines, tributaries, and gouernours, the maner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all ouer with a kind of white balsamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof wee haue had good experience: when they are anointed all ouer, certeine seruants of the emperour, hauing prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes vpon their naked bodies, vntill they be all shining from the foot to the head; and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties, and hundreds, and continue in drunkennesse sometimes sixe or seuen dayes together. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had seene. Vpon this sight, and for the abundance of golde which he saw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they vse in the warres, he called

Fern. Lopez hist. gen. de las Ind. cap. 87.

The great city of Manoa or El Dorado.

The author of the name of El Dorado.

The substance of this report is in the end of the nauigation of the great riuer of Marannon, written by Gonzalo Fernando de Oniedo to cardinall Bembo. Ramusio. Vol. 3. fol. 416.

Sir Robert Duddeley.

ed it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Piçarro, one Pedro de Osua a knight of Nauarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called Oia, which riseth to the Southward of Quito, and is very great. This riuer falleth into Amazones, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that prouince which is called Mutylonez: and it seemeth to mee that this empire is reserued for her Maiesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other Spanyards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speake briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troups a Biscain, called Agiri, a man meanly borne, who bare no other office then a sergeant or alferez: but after certeine moneths, when the souldiers were grieued with trauels, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so preuailed, as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpose not onely to make himselfe emperour of Guiana, but also of Peru, & of all that side of the West Indies: he had of his party seuen hundred souldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captaines and companies, to deliuer vp townes and forts in Peru: but neither finding by ỹ sayd riuer any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to returne towards Peru by the same Amazones, by reason that ỹ descent of the riuer made so great a current, he was inforced to disemboque at the mouth of the sayd Amazones, which can not be lesse then a thousand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arriued at Margarita to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Iuan de villa Andreda, gouernour of Margarita, who was father to Don Iuan Sarmiento, gouernor of Margarita when sir Iohn Burgh landed there, and attempted the Island. Agiri put to the sword all other in the Island that refused to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the gouernour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the prouince of Venezuela, and of Rio de la hacha; and as I remember, it was the same yere that sir Iohn Hawkins sailed to Saint Iuan de Vllua in the Iesus of Lubeck: for himselfe tolde me that he met with such a one vpon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the riuer of Amazones. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to inuade Nueuo reyno de Granada, and to sacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the rest of the cities of Nueuo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the sayd Nueuo reyno he was ouerthrowen, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his owne children, foretelling them that they should not liue to be defamed or vpbraided by the Spanyards after his death, who would haue termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that sithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliuer them from shame and reproch. These were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana; Ozua, and Agiri.

Reade Iosephus Acosta.

The voyage of sir Iohn Burgh to the West Indies.

1534. Also soone after Ordas followed Ieronimo Ortal de Saragosa with 130 souldiers, who failGomar. cap. 84. & 86. ing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, & peopled about S. Miguel de Neueri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silua, a Portugues of the family Don Pedro de Silua. of Ruigomes de Silua, and by the fauour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleet, he entered by Marannon and Amazones, where by the nations of the riuer, and by the Amazones hee was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himselfe and all his armie defeated, onely seuen escaped, and of those but two returned.

Pedro Hernandez de Serpa. After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the West Indies, taking his iourney by land towards Orenoque, which may be some 120 leagues: but yer he came to the borders of the sayd riuer, hee was set vpon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and ouerthrowen in such sort, that of 300 souldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first ciuill towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preston in taking

taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spanyards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spanyard was brought aboord me by captaine Preston, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campe-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he caried to the Spanish king.

Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was vndertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nueuo reino, whose daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo maried. Gonzales sought the passage also by the riuer called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, & runneth Southeast 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost. I tooke one captaine George a Spanyard that followed Gonzales in this enterprise. Gonzales gaue his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth & honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworne to me, hath spent 300000 ducats in the same, & yet neuer could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, souldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, & of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed vndertakers, nor Berreo himselfe, discouer the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yer he vnderstood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al these forenamed, and diuers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the riuer Cassamar, which falleth into a great riuer called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orenoque.

Antonio Berreo.

He tooke his iourney from Nueuo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in those parts: he was followed with 700 horse, he draue with him 1000 head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and slaues. How all these riuers crosse and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the passage of Ximenes and Berreo, mine owne discouery, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and riuers, your lordship shall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be preuented by other nations: for I know it is this very yeere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also tolde me yer I departed England, that Villiers the Admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I spake with a captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth the same yere that my ships came first from Virginia.

A new & rich trade of the French to the riuer of Amazones.

There was another this yeere in Helford that also came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazones, which were both very rich. Although, as I am perswaded, Guiana cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of Amazones, and so it doth on euery hand far from the countrey it selfe; for those Indians of Trinidad haue plates of golde from Guiana, and those canibals of Dominica which dwell in the Islands by which our ships passe yerely to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from Paria thorow the prouince of Venesuela, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Alai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) haue plates of golde of Guiana. And vpon the riuer of Amazones, Theuet writeth that the people weare croissants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazones, which is aboue 250 leagues, all

all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of those plates of Guiana. Vndoubtedly those that trade Amazones returne much golde, which (as is aforesayd) commeth by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into Amazones, and either it is by the riuer which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best trauelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the riuers betweene Orenoque & Amazones, and was very desirous to vnderstand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is beleeued, of others not. And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe that which hath bene deliuered me for trueth of those women, & I spake with a casique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the riuer, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the South side of the riuer in the prouinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retracts are in the Islands situate on the South side of the entrance some 60 leagues within the mouth of the sayd riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient aswell in Africa as in Asia: In Africa those that had Medusa for queene: others in Scithia nere the riuers of Tanais and Thermodon: we finde also that Lampedo & Marthesia were queenes of the Amazones: in many histories they are verified to haue bene, and in diuers ages and prouinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes haue chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feast, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a sonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it: and as many as haue daughters send vnto the begetters a present; all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the brest, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in these warres they tooke any prisoners that they vsed to accompany with those also at what time soeuer, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are sayd to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories. These Amazones haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spanyards call Piedras hijadas, & we vse for spleene stones: and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them. Of these I saw diuers in Guiana: and commonly euery king or casique hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare; and they esteeme them as great iewels.

The seat of the Amazones.

But to returne to the enterprise of Bereo, who (as I haue sayd) departed from Nueuo reyno with 700 horse, besides the prouisions aboue rehearsed, he descended by the riuer called Cassanar, which riseth in Nueuo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuuia, from which mountaine also springeth Pato; both which fall into the great riuer of Meta: and Meta riseth from a mountaine ioyning to Pamplon in the same Nueuo reyno de Granada. These, as also Guaiare, which issueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they lose their names; and Baraquan farther downe is also rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other side of the city and hilles of Timana riseth Rio grande, which falleth in the sea by Sancta Marta. By Cassonar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the countrey serued them for to march, and where otherwise, he was driuen to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current downe the riuer of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entred that great & mighty riuer, he began dayly to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and diuers Islands sharpe pointed with rocks: but after one whole yeere, iourneying for the most part by riuer, and the rest by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by sicknesse, and by encountring with the people of those regions, thorow which he trauelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by diuers encounters with the Amapaians: and in all this time hee neuer could learne of any passage into Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to a further border of the sayd Amapaia,

paia, eight dayes iourney from the riuer Caroli, which was the furthest riuer that he entred. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three moneths of the six, which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also maruellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confessed and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference) and is situate vpon Orenoque also. In this countrey Berreo lost 60 of his best souldiers, and most of all his horse that remained in his former yeeres trauell: but in the end, after diuers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace; and they presented Berreo with tenne images of fine golde among diuers other plates and croissants, which, as he sware to me & diuers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countreys: & he was resolued, that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his campmaster, they would appeare very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no yron instruments at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gaue him these pieces, are called Anebas, and the riuer of Orenoque at that place is aboue 12 English miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This prouince of Amapaia is a very low and a marish ground nere the riuer; and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorow the fenny and boggy ground, there breed diuers poisonfull wormes and serpents; and the Spanyards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grieuous kinde of fluxe by drinking thereof; and euen the very horses poisoned therwith: insomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode there, of all their troups, there were not left aboue 120 souldiers, & neither horse nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to haue found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they susteined much want and much hunger, oppressed with grieuous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had trauelled Amapaia, how they liued with that tawny or red water when they trauelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the skie, they vsed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of diuers other riuers of that nature among them, which were also (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very safe to drinke, and in the morning, euening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this prouince Berreo hasted away assoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march ouer them, continuing from the East sea into which Orenoque falleth, euen to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition ouer those craggie, high, and fast hilles, being all woody, & those so thicke and spiny, & so full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: hee had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them: and more, to his disaduantage, the casiques and kings of Amapaia had giuen knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of golde: he passed by the mouthes of many great riuers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbeare to name for tediousnesse, and because they are more pleasing in describing then reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the least was as big as Rio grande, that passed betweene Popayan and Nueuo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being esteemed one of the renowmed riuers in all the West Indies, and numbred among the great riuers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of these, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they descended, neither to what prouinces they led; for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time; neither was he curious in these things, being vtterly vnlearned, and not knowing the East from the West. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne trauell, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, hauing with me an

Many great riuers falling into Orenoque.

Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest trauellers, and by the one and the other I came to vnderstand the situations, the riuers, the kingdomes from the East sea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazones or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, & of all the kings of prouinces, and captaines of townes and villages, how they stood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elswhere: for by the dissention betweene Guascar and Atabalipa, Piçarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious ouer Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they atteined vnto.

The prouince of Emeria inhabited by gentle Indians. Carapana.

Now Berreo began to grow into dispaire, and looked for no other successe then his predecessor in this enterprise, vntill such time as hee arriued at the prouince of Emeria towards the East sea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauourable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wise, subtill, and of great experience, being little lesse then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was sent by his father into the Island of Trinidad, by reason of ciuill warre among themselues, and was bred at a village in that island, called Parico: at that place in his youth hee had seene many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went diuers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumaná in the West Indies (for both those places haue euer beene relieued with victuall from Trinidad) by reason whereof he grew of more vnderstanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his countrey with those of the Christians, and euer after temporized so, as whosoeuer els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himselfe and his countrey in quiet & plenty: he also held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoeuer els had warre.

Berreo soiourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana sixe weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then vtterly disable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his prouisions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for as well out of Spaine as from Nueuo reyno, where hee had left his sonne Don Antonio Ximenes to second him vpon the first notice giuen of his entrance, and so for the present imbarked himselfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arriued at Trinidad, hauing from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted Paria, and so recouered Margarita: and hauing made relation to Don Iuan Sermiento the gouernour, of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obteined from thence fifty souldiers, promising presently to returne to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing lesse at that time; for he wanted many prouisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departed from Margarita, seated himselfe in Trinidad, and from thence sent his camp-master, and his sergeant-maior backe to the borders to discouer the neerest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and loue; without which, he knew he could neither passe safely, nor in any sort be relieued with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliuer so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but fiue dayes iourney from Macureguarai, the first ciuill towne of Guiana.

Morequito.

Now your lordship shall vnderstand, that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumaná and at Margarita, in the West Indies, with great store of plates of golde, which he caried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feasted, & presented by the gouernours of those places, and held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one Vides gouernour of Cumaná wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides sent into Spaine for a patent

Vides the gouernour of Cumana competitor with Berreo in the conquest of Guiana.

patent to discouer and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides vnderstood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and forgone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter thorow his signorie, nor any of his companies: neither to victuall, nor guide them in any sort: for Vides gouernour of Cumaná, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, aswell for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo preuented in the iourney of Guiana it selfe: howsoeuer it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had sent to discouer Manoa) to trauell thorow his countrey, gaue them a guide for Macureguaray, the first towne of ciuill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleuen dayes arriued at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certaine: although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now gouerneth the prouince of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he sayd) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

Macureguaray.

Ten Spanyards arriue at Manoa.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaia, the people of Morequito set vpon them, and slew them all but one that swam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of forty thousand pezos of golde: and one of them onely liued to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine souldiers and holy father were benighted in the said prouince. I my selfe spake with the captaines of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo inraged heerewithall, sent all the strength he could make into Aromaia, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito suspecting the same, fled ouer Orenoque, and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recouered Cumaná, where hee thought himselfe very safe, with Vides the gouernour. But Berreo sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden yer he was suspected, so as he could not then be conueyed away, Vides durst not deny him, aswell to auoid the suspition of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him escape: but the poore Guianian, betrayed on all sides, was deliuered to the campe-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

Aromaia.

Saima and Wikiri.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the souldiers of Berreo spoiled his territorie, and tooke diuers prisoners, among others they tooke the vncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaia (whose sonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great vnderstanding and policy: he is aboue an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine seuenteene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & Emeria, the prouince of Carapana aforesayd, and he was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and diuers stones called Piedras Hijadas, or Spleene-stones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in Aromaia, hath lost the loue of the Orenoqueponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his souldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapanas towne, by whose fauour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts, aswell for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana is the port of Guiana.

They also haue gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they haue Christened, and named Don Iuan, of whom they haue great hope, endeuouring by all meanes to establish him in the sayd prouince. Among many other trades, those Spaniards vsed canoas to passe to the riuers of Barema, Pawroma, & Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren

Some fewe Spaniards are now rested in Dissequebe.

brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more, euen their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelue or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they sell them againe at Margarita in the West Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is so many crownes.

The master of my shippe, Iohn Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be solde, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well shaped as euer I saw any in England, and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those riuers for bread of Cassaui, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They also recouer great store of Cotton, Brasill wood, and those beds which they call Hamacas or Brasill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards vse to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our selues while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ransome of diuers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, Berreo recouered some store of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and diuers birdes, and dispatched his campemaster for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to leuie souldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the loue of the enterprise. And hauing sent diuers images aswell of men as beasts, birds & fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, he doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especially for that this land hath neuer beene sacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the golde drawen out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his sonne in Nueuo reyno to leuie all the forces he could, & to come downe the riuer Orenoque to Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, to meet him: he had also sent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coast of the Caracas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolued to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my iourney, and the cause of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent Iacob Whiddon the yeere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himselfe had speech at that time, and remembred how inquisitiue Iacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadnesse, and vsed all the arguments he could to disswade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with any barke or pinnesse, or hardly with any ships boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelue inches water. Hee further sayde, that none of the countrey would come to speake with vs, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and besides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for golde, because the same would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resoluing to make triall of all whatsoeuer happened, directed Captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eastward, against the mouth of a riuer called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captaine Whiddon, and Iohn Dowglas the master, to discouer, who found some nine foot water or better vpon the flood, and fiue at low water, to whom I had giuen instructions that they should anker at the edge of the shoald, and vpon the best of the flood to thrust ouer, which shoald Iohn Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it vp altogether so farre to the East, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell yer they could haue passed the sands; as wee after found by a second experience: so as now

The riuer of Capuri.

wee

wee must either giue ouer our enterprise, or leauing our ships at aduenture foure hundred mile behinde vs, must run vp in our ships boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for so long a time in such bables, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured vs that his sonne must be by that time come downe with many souldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lions whelpe, with his shipboat, to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discouer it thorowly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would assaile them with many canoas, and that they shot poisoned arrowes; so as if he hasted not backe, they should all be lost.

In the meane time, fearing the woorst, I caused all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but fiue foot, for so much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I sent Iohn Dowglas againe in my long barge, aswell to relieue him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatsoeuer ship or boat shall fall therein, can neuer disemboque againe, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the sayde bay, as also for that the brize and Easterly winde bloweth directly into the same. Of which opinion I haue heard Iohn Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and diuers other besides that haue traded to Trinidad. John Hampton captaine of the Minion vnder sir John Hawkins in his voiage to S. Iuan de Vlua.

I sent with Iohn Dowglas an olde casique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so returne in foure dayes. Iohn Dowglas searched those riuers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoald, and but sixe foot water: so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolued to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thrust 60 men. In the Lions whelps boat & whery we caried 20. Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge other tenne, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to cary victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him master Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his whery, with all their victuall, weapons, and prouisions. Captaine Calfield had with him my cousin Butshead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my selfe had captaine Thin, my cousin Iohn Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Vpton, captaine Facy, Ierome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and aboue fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so farre to wind-ward, as it was impossible for vs to recouer: for wee had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wheries, as betweene Douer and Calais, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very strong, so as we were driuen to goe in those small boats directly before the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those riuers which Iohn Dowglas had last discouered, and had with vs for pilot an Indian of Barema, a riuer to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazones, whose canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the sayd Barema, laden with Cassaui-bread, to sell at Margarita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great riuer of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres before; at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement: and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of riuers, yer wee had found any way, either out or in, especially after wee were past ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes, for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can

The bay of Guanipa.

Barema.

A wonderfull confluence of streames.

can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compasse, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Islands, and euery Island so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further then the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a riuer, (which because it had no name, wee called the riuer of the Red crosse, our selues being the first Christians that euer came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing vp the same, wee espied a small canoa with three Indians, which (by the swiftnesse of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke yer they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceiued that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then beganne to shew themselues on the banks side, and offered to traffique with vs for such things as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

The riuer of the Red crosse.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and know the lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the iourney: when they came to the village of these people, the lord of the Island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to haue slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoile and destroy them. But the pilot being quicke, and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine: with that we set hands on one of them that was next vs, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This olde man being resolued that he should pay the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to saue Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him vpon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with so maine a crie, that all the woods eckoed with the shout they made: but at the last this poore chased Indian recouered the riuer side, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped downe and swamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we handfasted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of those riuers, we assured our selues hee knew the way better then any stranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had neuer found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ships: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himselfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands, are generally called Tiuitiuas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

Two nations of the Tiuitiuas, called Ciawani, and Waraweete.

The great riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North side of his owne maine mouth: on the South side it hath seuen other fallings into the sea, so it disemboqueth by sixteene armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many lesse. From the first branch on the North to the last of the South, it is at least 100 leagues, so as the riuers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazones. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this riuer vpon the seuerall North branches, are these Tiuitiuas, of which there are two chiefe lords which haue continuall warres one with the other. The Ilands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the riuer by which Iohn Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

A description of the mighty riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan.

These Tiuitiuas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and haue the most manly speech and most deliberate that euer I heard, of what nation soeuer. In the Summer they haue houses on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they

What maner of people the Tiuitiuas are.

they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Vraba: for betweene May & September the riuer of Orenoque riseth thirty foot vpright, and then are those ilands ouerflowen twenty foot high aboue the leuell of the ground, sauing some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are inforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eat of any thing that is set or sowen: and as at home they vse neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad, they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They vse the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deere, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They haue also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

And if to speake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and formes, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I haue either seene or read. Of these people those that dwell vpon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoas, for they make the most and fairest canoas, and sel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tabacco, in the excessiue taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistnesse of the aire in which they liue, the hardnesse of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish and fowle for their liuing; in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I neuer behold a more goodly or better fauoured people or a more manly. They were woont to make warre vpon all nations, and especially on the Canibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those riuers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they vse great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcase againe, and hang it in the caciques house that died, and decke his scull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and doe vse to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their seuerall sorts of drinks.

The Arwacas on the South side of Orenoque.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, wee passed vp the riuer with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entred the riuer, our galley came on ground, and stucke so fast, as we thought that euen there our discouery had ended, and that we must haue left fourescore and ten of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and halling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but soone after the flood of the sea left vs; and being inforced either by maine strength to row against a violent current, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, euery gentleman & others taking their turnes to row, and to spell one the other at the houres end. Euery day we passed by goodly branches of riuers, some falling from the West, others fro the East into Amana, but those I leaue to the description in the Cart of discouery, where euery one shalbe named with his rising and descent. When three dayes more were ouergone, our companies began to despaire, the weather being extreame hote, the riuer bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current against vs euery day stronger then other: but we euermore commanded our pilots to promise an ende the next day, and vsed it so long, as we were driuen to assure them from foure reaches of the riuer to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured, that many dayes were spent, and wee driuen to drawe our selues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the last, and no drinke at all; and our men and our selues so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee should euer performe it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in fiue degrees.

The port of the Ciawani.

A riuer called The great Amana.

They are in fiue degrees.

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The further we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnesse) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had most need of strength and abilitie; for hourely the riuer ranne more violently then other against vs, and the barge, wheries, and shippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had spent all their prouisions; so as we were brought into despaire and discomfort, had wee not perswaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to atteine the land where wee should be relieued of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were sure to starue by the way, and that the world would also laugh vs to scorne. On the banks of these riuers were diuers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety, as were sufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals: we relieued our selues many times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with fowle and fish. Wee saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orenge-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, and it was vnto vs a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces; without which, hauing little or no bread, and lesse drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the riuer, we had beene in a very hard case.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I sayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leaue the galley at anker the while in the great riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the Arwacas, where we should finde store of bread, hennes, fish, and of the countrey wine; and perswaded vs, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne yer night. I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barke, with eight musketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with himselfe and foure musketiers, and Captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many; and so we entred the mouth of this riuer: and because we were perswaded that it was so nere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all. When we had rowed three houres, we maruelled we saw no signe of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the towne was: he tolde vs a little further. After three houres more, the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led vs that way to betray vs; for hee confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were ioyned together in some village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night; and wee demanded where the place was: hee tolde vs but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure, we saw no signe; and our poore water-men, euen heart-broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghost: for wee had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, hee had surely gone; but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuer began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang ouer from side to side, as wee were driuen with arming swords to cut a passage thorow those branches that couered the water. Wee were very desirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feast, because wee made but a short breakefast aboord the galley in the morning and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our stomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was best to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer assured vs that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning: and at the last about one a clocke after midnight wee saw a light; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with diuers canoas aboue foure hundred miles off, vpon a iourney towardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward vnfortunately passed by vs as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came so neere vs, as his canoas grated against our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee vnderstood that hee had brought thirty yoong women, diuers plates of golde, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hennes, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after

we

we had traded with such of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with vs some quantity of bread, fish, and hennes.

On both sides of this riuer, we passed the most beautifull countrey that euer mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seene before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themselues, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene vsed to a keepers call. Vpon this riuer there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it diuers sorts of strange fishes, and of maruellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those vgly serpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The riuer of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper yoong fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all lost, (for wee promised to returne before night) and sent the Lions whelps shippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow vs vp the riuer: but the next day, after we had rowed vp and downe some fourescore miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer; and when we were euen at the last cast for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land vpon the banks to make fire, espied foure canoas comming downe the riuer; & with no small ioy caused his men to trie the vttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the foure gaue ouer, and ranne themselues ashore, euery man betaking himselfe to the fastnesse of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay holde on these; and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither. Those canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spanyards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canaos: one of them was a cauallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde vs, another a souldier, and the third a refiner.

A most beautifull countrey.

The riuer of Lagartos, or Crocodiles.

Two canoas taken.

Three Spanyards escaped.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue bene more welcome to vs, next vnto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoas; for now our men cried, Let vs goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the canoas first ranne themselues ashore, and landed there, sending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I sawe an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket; for I found in it his quick-siluer, salt-peter, and diuers things for the triall of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those canoas which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered fiue hundred pound to what souldier soeuer could take one of those three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themselues into one of the small canoas: and so while the greater canoas were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I vnderstood where and in what countreyes the Spaniards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselues so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had beene perceiued by the company, there would haue beene by this time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selues might haue beene preuented, and all

The Spanish goldeminers basket & other things taken.

The richest mines defended with the white spar.

our care taken for good vsage of the people bene vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath beene often obiected) whosoeuer had seene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it beganne to arise, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our shippes, leauing them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned somewhat sooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde, or rich stones. And to say the trueth, all the branches and small riuers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such speed, as if we waded them ouer the shooes in the morning outward, we were couered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenij: such a quantitie as would haue serued our turnes we could not haue had, but a discouery of the Mines to our infinite disaduantage wee had made, and that could haue bene the best profite of farther search or stay: for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in hast, and I could haue returned a good quantitie of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another marke, then present profit.

The Spaniards Gorlish lies.

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would haue eaten them, or otherwise haue put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with vs, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euery one something or other, which was rare and and strange to them, they beganne to conceiue the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dayly, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Maiestie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleeue, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently fauoured, which came among vs without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got vs more loue amongst them then this vsage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drewe them to admire her Maiestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

A notable course of iustice.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not preuent, I caused my Indian interpreter at euery place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their vttermost demand.

They also much wondered at vs, after they heard that we had slaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolued, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that her Maiesties armie and Fleete had giuen them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent backe in the same Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and prouision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and

They come on ground with their gally.

were

were farre more in despaire at this time to free her then before, because wee had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in mishaps: but we fastened an ancker vpon the lande, and with maine strength drewe her off: and so the fifteenth day wee discouered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a slent of a Northerly winde that blewe very strong, which brought vs in sight of the great Riuer Orenoque; out of which this Riuer discended wherein wee were: wee descried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could descerne them, after whom wee hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the thirde entered vp the great Riuer, on the right hande to the Westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eastward towards the prouince of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vpwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the Canoas thought vs to haue bene those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when wee came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly abord vs: and of such fish and Tortugas egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other seruices they could.

That night we came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Riuers (the one was the Riuer of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the West and ranne to the Sea towardes the East) and landed vpon a faire sand, where wee found thousands of Tortugas egges, which are very wholesome meate, and greatly restoring, so as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenesse of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight. Two branches of the riuer Orenoque.

In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought vs diuers sorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom wee also feasted as wee could, at least wee dranke good Spanish wine (whereof wee had a small quantitie in bottles) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried vs from thence some mile and a halfe to his Towne, where some of our Captaines karoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers hearbes, and fruites digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelue galons very cleane and sweete, and are themselues at their meetings and feastes the greatest karousers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Casiques, whereof one was a stranger that had bene vp the Riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anckered, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call brasill beds, and two women attending them with sixe cuppes and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feastes and meetings. Toparimaca.

That Casique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where wee anckered, and in all my life I haue seldome seene a better fauoured woman: Shee was of good stature, with blacke eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almost as long as her selfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it seemed shee stood not in that awe of her husband, as the rest, for shee spake and discoursed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing her owne comelinesse, and taking great pride therein. I haue seene a Lady in England so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would haue sworne might haue bene the same.

The seat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round aboute it, and two very

The towne of Arowocay.

faire and large ponds of excellent fish adioyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I sawe very aged people, that wee might perceiue all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but euen as a case couered onely with skinne. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traueile, and knew the Riuer most perfectly both by day and night: and it shall bee requisite for any man that passeth it, to haue such a Pilot, for it is foure, fiue, and sixe miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and strong currents, many great ylands, and diuers sholds, and many dangerous rockes, and besides vpon any increase of winde so great a bilowe, as wee were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small boates durst not come from the shoare, but when it was very faire.

The great breadth of the riuer Orenoque.

They enter the riuer Orenoque, which runneth East and West.

The next day we hasted thence, and hauing an Easterly winde to helpe vs, we spared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the Riuer lieth for the most part East and West, euen from the Sea vnto Quito in Peru. This Riuer is nauigable with barkes, litle lesse then a thousand miles, & from the place where we entred, it may be sailed vp in small pinnesses to many of the best parts of Nueuo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day wee sailed vp a branch of that Riuer, hauing on the left hand a great yland which they call Assapana which may conteine some fiue and twentie miles in length, and sixe miles in breadth, the great body of the Riuer running on the other side of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is also another yland in the Riuer called Iwana, which is twise as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ships. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at least thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which deuide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

The yle of Assapana.

The yland of Iwana.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Assapana, a little to the Westward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great Riuer, and beyond it on the same side, wee anckered for that night, by another yland sixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you haue heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, so as we ankered againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bignesse much like the other, which they call Putapayma, ouer against which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Occope: we coueted to ancker rather by these ylands in the Riuer, then by the maine, because of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground serued better for vs to cast our nets for fish, the maine bankes being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like vnto the best steele-ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The yle of Ocaywita.

The yle of Putapayma.

Steele-ore.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increasing, we sailed alwayes West vp the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the countrey appeared to bee champaine; and the bankes shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my cosen Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cosen Butshead Gorges, with some fewe souldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to discouer what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell, brother to the Casique Toparimica tolde mee, that those were called the plaines of the Sayma,

The plaines of Sayma stretching to Cumaná, and the Caracas.

Sayma, and that the same leuell reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the thirde and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as hee passed with three hundred horse from Cumaná towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but haue smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and haue the most strong poyson on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poyson I will speake somewhat being a digression not vnnecessary.

Aroras a blacke people vsing venemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of these poysoned arrowes: for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shotte indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most vgly and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, somtimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are presently discoloured as blacke as pitch, and so vnsauory, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard either by gift or torment that could atteine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priestes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serue for the ordinarie poyson, are made of the iuice of a roote called Tupara: the same also quencheth marueilously the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poysons. Some of the Spaniards haue bene cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poysoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall hereafter trauel the Indies where poisoned arrowes are vsed, that they must abstaine from drinke, for if they take any licour into their body, as they shall bee marueilously prouoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drinke before the wound bee dressed, or soone vpon it, there is no way with them but present death.

The iuice of garlike good against ordinary poyson. Speedy drinking to be auoyded of such as are wounded with poysoned arrows.

And so I will returne againe to our iourney which for this thirde day we finished, and cast ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourely least any raine should fall, and then it had bene impossible to haue gone any further vp, notwithstanding that there is euery day a very strong brize, and Easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrey on Guiana-side, till my returne downe the riuer.

The next day we sailed by a great yland in the middle of the riuer called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of vs, there came for vs from the maine a small Canoa with seuen or eight Guianians, to inuite vs to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Casique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with vs from the towne of Toparimaca: and so the fift day we reached as high vp as the prouince of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the West of an yland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and fiue broad: and that night the Casique Aramiary, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the riuer of Amana) passed by vs.

The ile of Manoripano.

The prouince Aromaia.

The ile of Murrecotima.

The next day wee arriued at the port of Morequito, and anckered there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of Aromaia, vncle to Morequito slaine by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noone hee came to vs on foote from his house, which was foureteene English miles (himselfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring vs downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as venison, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow vnder

vnder the Sunne, especially those of Guiana. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gaue mee a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred ouer with smal plates somewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in stead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafenesse.

After this olde King had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to bee set vp, I beganne by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose seruant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should vndertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large, (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Maiesties greatnesse, her iustice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceiue: all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and marueilously admired, I beganne to sound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what strength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adioyning, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same: hee tolde mee that himselfe and his people with all those downe the Riuer towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselues Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and those mountaines in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I discouered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians.

The valley of Amariocapana.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his Countrey and libertie, especially for that his eldest sonne was slaine in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom hee most entirely loued) that hee remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himselfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so farre off as the Sunne slept, (for such were his owne wordes) with so great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimson colour, which colour hee expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people, as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had nowe made themselues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called Curaa, sauing onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest sonne was chosen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there slaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remayning but one sonne: and farther tolde mee that those Epuremei had built a great Towne called Macureguarai at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which haue no ende: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thousande men to defend the borders against them, and withall dayly to inuade and slay them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to inuade his territories, and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, sauing onely the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations vpon the head of the riuer of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discouered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemie.

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop. de Gomar. Hist. gen. cap. 129.

The towne of Macureguarai.

After hee had answered thus farre, he desired leaue to depart, saying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with vs that night, but I could not intreate him, but

but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey aboue, hee would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the best he could, of all that his countrey yeelded: the same night hee returned to Orotcotona his owne towne, so as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being situate betweene foure and fiue degrees of the Equinoctial. Orotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaued himselfe towardes mee in all his answeres at my returne, as I marueiled to finde a man of that grauitie and iudgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed Westward vp to the Riuer, to view the famous Riuer called Caroli, as well because it was marueilous of it selfe, as also for that I vnderstoode it ledde to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subiects to Inga, Emporour of Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we anckered at another yland called Caiama, of some fiue or sixe miles in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great rore and fall of the Riuer, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking to haue gone vp some fourtie miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one stones cast in an houre, and yet the Riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both sides, and the middle, and euery part of the Riuer, so as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and sent off our Orenequepone (which came with vs from Morequito) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the Riuer of our being there, and that wee desired to see the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that Riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this Riuer side that Morequito slewe the Frier, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thousande pezos of golde) so as the next day there came downe a Lord or Casique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of prouisions to entertaine vs, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Casique therewith, and howe I was sent by her Maiestie for the purpose aforesaide, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I founde that those also of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this Riuer were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this Riuer descended, & were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all those either against the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would ioyne with vs, and that if wee entred the land ouer the mountaines of Curaa, we should satisfie our selues with gold and all other good things: he told vs farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the first ciuill towne of Guiana, of the subiects of Inga the Emperour.

The yle of Caiama. They arriue at the mouth of the riuer Caroli. Wanuretona. Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations seated on a lake at the head of the riuer Caroli.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great siluer Mine, and that it was neere the bankes of the side riuer. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the rest of the riuers were risen foure or fiue foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoeuer to rowe into the Riuer against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew John Gylbert, my cosen Butshead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and some thirtie shotte more to coast the Riuer by land, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles ouer the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Casique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefest friend) because this towne and prouince of Capurepana adioyned to Macureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some halfe a dosen shotte marched ouer land to viewe the strange ouerfals of the riuer of Caroli which rored so farre off, and also to see the plaines adioyning, and the

A great siluer Mine. Amnatapoi, a towne.

rest

rest of the prouince of Canuri: I sent also Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shotte with them, to see if they coulde finde any Minerall stone alongst the riuer side. When we were come to the tops of the first hilles of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we beholde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might from that mountaine see the riuer howe it ranne in three parts, aboue twentie miles off, and there appeared some tenne or twelue ouerfals in sight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church-tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seeme, as if it had bene all couered ouer with a great shower of raine: and in some places wee tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen ouer some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the saide strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next valley where we might better discerne the same. I neuer saw a more beautifull countrey, nor more liuely prospects, hils so raised here and there ouer the valleys, the riuer winding into diuers branches, the plaines adioyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easie to march on, either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in euery path, the birdes towards the euening singing on euery tree with a thousand seuerall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation pearching in the riuers side, the aire fresh with a gentle Easterly winde, and euery stone that we stouped to take vp, promised either golde or siluer by his complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot bee bettered vnder the Sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall Sparre aforesaide, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requisite saue onely our desires and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also seuerall sorts of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet such as had no iudgement or experience kept al that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of Marquesite with all, from Trinidad, and haue deliuered of those stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of gold, and that the Mine was farther in the ground.

The strange ouerfals of Caroli.

A most beautifull country.

Abundance of minerall Sparre.

But it shall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my selfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I so farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill sauours, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the Sunne couereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of stones like Saphires, what they may proue I know not. I shewed them to some of the Orenoqueponi, and they promised to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, Bristol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neere.

On the left hand of this riuer Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembred, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adioyning to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther vnderstood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is aboue one dayes iourney for one of their Canoas to crosse, which may bee some fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall diuers riuers, and that great store of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches.

Cassipa a great lake.

There

There is also another goodly riuer beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth thorow the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Orenoque farther West, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewise a most beautifull countrey. Next vnto Arui there are two riuers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whose heads appeare not aboue their shoulders; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolued it is true, because euery childe in the prouinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to haue their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and vse bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the yeere before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeeres slaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one worde of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandeuile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discouered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolued that so many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

The riuer of Arui.

The riuers of Atoica and Caora.

Ewaipanoma a strange headlesse nation.

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and so farre directly West as Caroli, the first question hee asked me was, whether I had seene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, tolde mee that hee had seene many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disaduantage, but hee is well knowen to Monsieur Mucherons sonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemish shippe that was there in trade, who also heard what he auowed to be true of those people.

The fourth riuer to the West of Caroli is Casnero which falleth into Orenoque on this side of Amapaia, and that riuer is greater then Danubius, or any of Europe: it riseth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which deuide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee nauigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeere, to search those riuers for the causes aforesayd, the Winter being come vpon vs, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees euer sensibly lose their leaues, but haue alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them both blossome, leaues, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely consisteth of terrible raines, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with many great stormes and gustes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

The riuer of Casnero.

The Winter of Guiana.

On the North side, the first riuer that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the same side is the riuer of Limo, betweene these two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the West of Limo is the riuer Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great riuer of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nueuo reyno de Granada. To the Westward of Capuri is the prouince of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Aboue Amapaia toward Nueuo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar. To the West of those towards the prouinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the riuers of Beta, Dawney, and Vbarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the pro-

Meta, Pato, Cassanar.

uinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adioyning to Quito in the North side of Peru are the riuers of Guiacar and Genaar: and on the other side of the sayd mountaynes the riuer of Papamene which descendeth into Marannon or Amazones passing thorough the prouince Mútylones where Don Pedro de Osua who was slaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

Papamene.

The Isle of Baraquan.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Island in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for aboue Meta it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible ouerfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al smaller vessels may be drawen euen to Peru it selfe: But to speake of more of these riuers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the rest to the description. This riuer of Orenoque is nauigable for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesayd) Peru, Nueuo reyno, and Popaian, may be inuaded: it also leadeth to the great empire of Inga, & to the prouinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound in gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descended from the middle land & valley, which lieth betweene the easter prouince of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the sea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours shall better perceiue in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nueuo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the prouince of Veneçuela, to the bay of Vraba, behind Cartagena Westward; and to Amazones Southward.

Orenoque a mighty riuer by which Peru, Nueuo reyno, & Popaian may be inuaded.

Canuri.

While we lay at ankor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had found out so many seuerall people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten vs with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day passed, but the riuer began to rage and ouerflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gustes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, euery day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discouering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most materiall.

They returne.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arriued againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then a hundreth miles a day. Assoone as I came to ankor, I sent away one for olde Topiawari, with whom I much desired to haue further conference, and also to deale with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe spent of any longer stay there. Within three houres after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and euery one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regaine the same from them both: and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the ciuill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gaue mee an answere to this effect: first that hee could not perceiue that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere serued, neither could hee perceiue any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did, I was sure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too fewe: besides hee gaue mee this good counsell and aduised mee to holde it in minde (as for himselfe hee knewe, hee could not liue till my returne) that I should not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the strong

The last conference of sir Walter Ralegh with Topiawari, whose sonne he brought into England.

Counsell to be followed in other conquests.

strong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and trauell, vnlesse the borderers gaue them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembred that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were enuironed on all sides, and the people setting the long drie grasse on fire, smoothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discerne their enemies for the great smoke. He told me farther that 4 daies iourney from his towne was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and neerest of the subiects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the sayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that those of the land within were farre finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beastes, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether hee thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioyne with vs? He answered that he would go himselfe with al the borderers, if the riuers did remaine foordable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my return againe fifty souldiers, which hee vndertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, & that I had no prouision to leaue with them of powder, shot, apparell, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should bee in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knewe would vse the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although vpon the motion Captaine Calfield, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert and diuers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolued that they must needes haue perished, for Berreo expected daylie a supply out of Spaine, and looked also hourely for his sonne to come downe from Nueuo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foote, and had also in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horse ready to march, and I could not haue spared aboue fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other prouision, either spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall.

Macureguarai y^ first towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

When I had giuen him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a companie, he then desired mee to forbeare him and his countrey for that time, for he assured mee that I should bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those Epuremei would inuade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee should any way either guide vs or assist vs against them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that prouince, so they had him seuenteene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, vntill hee had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and diuers chaines of Spleen-stones for his ransome: and nowe since he became owner of that prouince, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more vehement, when they should vnderstand of his conference with the English, and because, sayd hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they haue Christened Don Iuan, and his sonne Don Pedro, whom they haue also apparelled and armed, by whom they seeke to make a partie against me in mine owne countrey: hee also had taken to wife one Louiana of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to trauell nor to shifte, as when I was of yoonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it would bee more seasonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeere, wee should not bee able to passe any riuer, the waters were and would bee so growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to inuade Macureguai, and the rest

of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne parts they desired nothing of the golde or treasure, for their labours, but onely to recouer women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very sadly (as it had beene a matter of great consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue tenne or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselues with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys desire many children of their owne bodies, to increase their races and kinreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwards desired mee to make haste againe, that they might sacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of those many of women they more desire the war, then either for gold, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subiects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I receiued this answere of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had bene of better aduice to haue entred Macureguarai, and to haue begun a warre vpon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things else had sorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ships (I thought it were euill counsell to haue attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many obiections: but it would haue bin in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Maiesty attẽpted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Maiesty to relieue them) they would as good cheap haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, whẽ they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile them, but as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of inuasion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Maiestie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselues to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselues and the borderers haue already tasted: and therefore till I had knowen her Maiesties pleasure, I would rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue beene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, & the great good, & rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die euen to the last man against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and returne: whereas otherwise if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or inuaded the subiects of Inga, I know all had beene lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolued Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize against the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himselfe had but a short time to liue, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a seruant of Captaine Gifford, (who was desirous to tarie, and could describe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language. I after asked the maner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of golde, and howe they could melt it out of the stone; hee tolde mee that the most of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not seuered from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as small stones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not worke it, and that they vsed a great earthern pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metall ran, & then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay,

Francis Sparrow.

The lake of Manoa.

clay, and so make those plates and images. I haue sent your Honors of two sortes such as I could by chance recouer, more to shewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold knowen, because I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of gold, then I receiued, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Maiesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her seruants thencefoorth.

I haue also sent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to bee hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarrie and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, barres, ledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee saw all the hilles with stones of the colour of gold and siluer, and we tried them to be no Marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an vndoubted assurance of the generall abundance: and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the same that all couet in this world, and of those, more then I will speake of. Most rich gold ore.

Hauing learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and receiued a faithfull promise of the principallest of those prouinces to become seruants to her Maiestie, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and receiued his sonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforesayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gaue instructions to trauell to Marcureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed ankor, and coasted the riuer on Guiana side, because wee came vpon the North side, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri. The lake of Cassipa. Guiana on the Southside.

There came with vs from Aromaia a Cassique called Putijma, that commanded the prouince of Warapana, (which Putijma slewe the nine Spaniards vpon Caroli before spoken of) who desired vs to rest in the Porte of his countrey, promising to bring vs vnto a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of golde, which hee perfourmed. And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer land towards the said mountaine, marching by a riuers side called Mana, leaning on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, standing in the Prouince of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the sayd valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some sixtie miles in length, East and West, as faire ground, and as beautifull fields, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers copsies scattered here and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deere as any forrest or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord. Mana.

From the riuer of Mana, we crost another riuer in the said beautifull valley called Oiana, & rested our selues by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two stickes, wee stayed a while to drie our shirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heauie on our sholders. Afterwards wee sought the ford to passe ouer towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where Putijma foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being most excellent and holsome meate. But after I perceiued, that to passe the said riuer would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my selfe to indure it, and therefore I sent Captaine Keymis with sixe shot to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march downe the sayd valley, as farre as a riuer called Cumaca, where I promised to meete him againe, Putijma himselfe promising also to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana, and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas house, downe the sayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the same day to the riuers side, saw by the Oiana. Great fishes called Manati most excellent meate.

way

way many rockes, like vnto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the prouince of Parino: As for the branches of riuers which I ouerpasse in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountaines of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the prouinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as farre down as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque deuideth it selfe into three great branches, each of them being most goodly riuers) I sent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greeneuile with the galley, the neerest way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the prouince of Carapana, and towards the East sea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had sent ouer land, as also acquaint my selfe with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the riuer of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and master Porter in the sayd riuer to expect his comming, & the rest of vs rowed downe the streame towards Emeria.

Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly Islands, some of sixe miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunne-set, we entred a branch of a riuer that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Christall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the cuill season of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee saw it afarre off and it appeared like a white Church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth ouer it a mighty riuer which toucheth no part of the side of the mountaine, but rusheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an ouer-fall, nor so wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the sayd mountaine, those people adioyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassable.

Winicapora.

A mighty ouerfall of water.

Diamonds & other precious stones.

Vpon this riuer of Winicapora wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the riuer, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct mee to the top of the sayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in first to the house of the sayd Timitwara, being vpon one of their sayd feast dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a small quantitie satisfied vs, their drinke being very strong and headie, and so rested our selues a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our selues backe to our boats, vpon the riuer and there came to vs all the lordes of the countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other prouisions, and of those stones which wee call Spleenestones.

Wacarima.

Wee vnderstood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, & that he was fled to Cairamo, adioyning to the mountains of Guiana, ouer the valley called Amariocapana, being perswaded by those tenne Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his countrey.

But after these Cassiques of Winicapora & Saporatona his followers perceiued our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne seruants, they assured vs that Carapana would be as ready to serue vs, as any of the lords of the prouinces, which we had passed; and that he durst doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooued, but

but to be acquited of the Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the prouince of Cairoma is situate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any should come in our absence into his townes, hee would slip ouer the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne strong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootlesse to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the riuer of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eastward those foure riuers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those foure are also these branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the East sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the sixt Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 riuers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a wearisome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred first.

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as wee were driuen to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the riuer. By the next morning we recouered the mouth of the riuer of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis ouer land: but when wee entred the same, they had heard no newes of his arriuall, which bred in vs a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, shooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there. And the next morning wee heard them answere vs also with a piece: wee tooke them aboord vs, and tooke our leaue of Putima their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his sonne with vs into England, if we could haue stayed till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, till we had recouered the parting of the three branches aforesayd, that we might put downe the streame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Island of Assapano (which deuideth the riuer from that branch by which we sent downe to Emeria) and there feasted our selues with that beast which is called Armadilla presented vnto vs before at Winicapora, and the day following we recouered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, & the same euening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the best was, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impossible to returne, for that the riuer of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the sea were so forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the sea Eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea after we came to the riuers mouth, as between Grauelyn and Douer, in such boats as your Hon. hath heard. The port of Toparimaca.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the riuers, Islands, or villages of the Tiuitiuas which dwell on trees: we will leaue all those to the generall mappe: and to be short, when we were arriued at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our iourney forepassed, for I protest before God, that we

we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ankored in the mouth of the riuer of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ranne before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine owne part I confesse, I was very doubt full which way to take, either to goe ouer in the Pestred Galley, there being but sixe foote water ouer the sandes, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew fiue: or to aduenture in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we taried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, and my cosen Greeneuile into my barge; and after it cleared vp, about midnight we put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at anker, who durst not aduenture but by day-light: And so being all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shewe courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee descried the Ilande of Trinidad, and stearing for the neerest part of it, wee kept the shore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our shippes at ankor, then which there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull sight.

A rehearsall & description of all the nations and riuers found in this discouerie.

Now that it hath pleased God to sende vs safe to our shippes, it is time to leaue Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worshippe, and steare away towardes the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discouery thereof. Of the seuerall nations which we found vpon this discouery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our first enterance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which inhabite the riuers of Guanipa and Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third riuer which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumaná, and that riuer is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chiefe towne vpon the sayd riuer is Sayma; In this bay there are no more riuers, but these three before rehearsed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken vp fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towardes Guiana (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of Orenoque fashion into Ilands) there are but one sort of people called Tiuitiuas, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and those warre one with another.

On the hithermost part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Vpon the riuer of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Prouince) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked me diuerse questions of her Maiestie, being much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnesse, and wondering at such reports as we truely made of her Highnesse many vertues: And vpon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong Nations of the Cassipagotos. Right South into the land are the Caputepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adioyning to Macureguarai (the first citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the West of Caroli are diuerse nations of Canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly West are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marueilous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the North of Orenoque, betweene it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South side of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazones.

To make mention of the seuerall beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gummes, sweet woods, and of their seuerall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru vsed, which may be read in Cieça,

Cieça, and other Spanish stories, how they beleeue the immortalitie of the soule, worship the Sunne, and burie with them aliue their best beloued wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orenoquepont bury not their wiues with them, but their iewels, hoping to inioy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wiues and friends drinke them in powder. In the graues of the Peruuians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in euery Prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lords fiue-fould to the common sort: their wiues neuer eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by themselues. Those that are past their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all else of seruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres. Pedro de Cieça.

I will enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I haue not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rarenesse most maruellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true, as also the Nations of the borderers, who being but Saluages to those of the in-land, doe cause much treasure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Cassiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arriuall, a chaire of golde most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adioyning, or in Manoa: but if we should haue grieued them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and haue digged vp their graues, we had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her Maiestie should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heapes of golde, whereof those Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted so much therin; no doubt but this which now liueth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the same honour, and I am assured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the West Indies. Great riches.

For the rest, which my selfe haue seene, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discouer and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this riuer, which bringeth foorth so many armes and branches leading to seuerall countries and prouinces, aboue 2000 miles East and West, and 800 miles South and North, and of these, the most eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, or Piçarro in Peru: and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, or the rest, then Guiana doth. It hath so many plaines, cleere riuers, abundance of Phesants, Partriges, Quailes, Railes, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all sorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other sortes of beastes, either for chase, or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an English beefe, and in great plentie. Exceeding circumference of the riuer of Orenoque.

To speake of the seuerall sorts of euery kind, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolued it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West. Moreouer the countrey is so healthfull, as of an hundred persons & more (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were euery day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all The holsome neue of the countrey.

sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open aire euery night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line.

Gold. Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needlesse to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the riuer, great quantities of Brasil-wood, and

Brasil wood. Excellent dyes. diuerse berries that die a most perfect crimson and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yeelde none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen those browne and tawnie women spot themselues,

Cotton, silke, Balsamum, gummes, and pepper. and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of silke, of balsamum, and of those kindes most excellent, and neuer knowen in Europe, of all sortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of riuers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the West Indies haue.

The short, easie, and commodious nauigation to Guiana. The nauigation is short, for it may be sayled with an ordinarie winde in sixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, enemies coast, rockes, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subiect vnto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the West Indies, cannot well be passed in the Winter, & when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearefull place. The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

1595. This very yeere* there were seuenteene sayle of Spanish ships lost in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to haue sunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Iuan de Puerto rico. And so it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeere for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leaue England is best in Iuly, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in Iune, so as they shall neuer be subiect to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or staying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calmes, so much heat, such outragious gustes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and sult of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer bene entered by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue seene, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no ship can passe vp but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient guarde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other seueral kingdomes, lying within the said riuer, euen to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the easinesse of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoeuer shall first possesse it, it shall be found vnaccessible for any enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or else in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke two hundred miles together vpon the riuers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat vnhit from the banke. By lande it is more impossible to approch, for it hath the strongest situation of any region vnder the sunne, and is so enuironed with impassable mountaines on euery side, as it is impossible to victuall any company in the

passage:

passage: which hath bene well prooued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru haue neuer left flue yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or discouering some way into it, and yet of three and twentie seuerall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noble men, there was neuer any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the saide countrie. Orellana, of whom the riuer of Amazones taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether he himselfe or any of his yet know the best way into the sayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or gallies built, and furnished vpon the riuer within: The West Indies haue many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a shippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoeuer hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoeuer companies shall be afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie seuerall Prouinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselues vpon any occasion eyther by the way of one riuer, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the West Indies there are fewe townes or Prouinces that can succour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or sea: By land the countries are either desert, mountaynous, or strong enemies: by sea, if any man inuade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many moneths turne against the brize and Eastern wind, besides the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueua Espanna onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poysoned prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to stay, neither haue any place to friend adioyning) doe serue them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Maiesties grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maiestie by her owne vassall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary subiect, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I haue receiued to abuse her Highnesse, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie discouered, many nations wonne to her Maiesties loue and obedience, and those Spaniardes which haue latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought inuincible. Her Maiestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yeere I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Siuill for the West Indies.

And I am resolued that if there were but a small army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maiestie by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yeerely, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or foure thousand souldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: For he cannot but knowe, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great vncles Guascar and Atabalipa sonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeres and euer since the said conquest, the Spaniards haue sought the passages and entrey of his countrey: and of their cruelties vsed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladnesse, if not, he hath neither shot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Maiestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophesies in Peru (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst diuers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored, and deliuered from the seruitude of the said Conquerours. And I hope, as we with these few hands haue displanted the first garrison, and driuen them out of the said countrey, so her Maiestie will giue order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empresse of the same. For whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the king of Spaine enioy it, he will become vnresistable. Her Maiestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to inuade and conquer so great Empires and so farre remoued.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will iudge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themselues.

An abstract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning Guiana and the countries lying vpon the great riuer Orenoque: with certaine reports also touching the same.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

THose letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spaine in the yeere 1594. by Captaine George Popham: who the next yeere, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discouered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discouerie: he made knowen and deliuered to some of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Councell & others. The which seeing they confirme in some part the substance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they should be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spaniards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before Morequito the Lord of Aromaya, and others thereabouts, which throughly vnderstood them not at that time, whatsoeuer the Spaniards otherwise pretend: yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Cayworaco, the sonne of Topiawary now chiefe Lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowen and heard of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them sent and imployed for a farther discouery, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other maner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the countrey so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they haue had none since. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they protest, to giue them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in these letters the Spaniards seeme to call Guiana and other countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of Orenoque, by the name of Nueua Dorado, because of the great plentie of golde there in most places to be found. Alluding also to the name of El Dorado which was giuen by Martinez to the great citie of Manoa,

Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to aduertise. As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader. W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594.

Alonso his letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

THere haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly discouered called Nueuo Dorado, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discouery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windeward of Margarita.

Alonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant Lucar concerning El Dorado.

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the writing, sauing of a discouery lately made by the Spaniardes in a new land called Nueuo Dorado, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discouerie, vnto their parents here in this citie. I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelue dayes in search of the said Dorado, as I passe in my voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the said discouerie, that was sent to his Maiestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Maiestie, of the discouery of Nueuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of Pato otherwise called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of April 1593 Domingo de Vera master of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marrannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Caranca Register for the sea, commanded all the souldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said vnto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discouered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Iland Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discouer the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Prouinces, and where the campes and armies may best enter the same. By reason wherof I intend so to doe in the name of his Maiestie, and the saide gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towardes the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drewe out his sworde and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Gouernour Antonio de Berreo: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere, that in these our actions was present the Cassique or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said, that

that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoeuer would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe hauing his sword drawen in his hand saide vnto me: Register, that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witnesse the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera, and vnderneath, Before me Rodrigo de Carança, Register of the armie.

ANd in prosecution of the said possession, and the discouerie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpretor, that his Maiestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on end towarde the East, and requested the whole campe to witnesse it, and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done. And vnderneath. Before me Rodrigo Carança, Register of the armie.

THe first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discouerie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the campe passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being fiue leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpretor they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that lande, and that they should yeelde their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token therof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboue fiue leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence that golde was, he answered, From a Prouince not passing a dayes iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shadowe the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselues all ouer therewith to make the brauer shew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: & they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being asked how they gat ỹ same Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women all

all in peace and with much victuall, as Hennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of fiue hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Hennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had so many Hennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would haue any, wee should send them Iewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him fiue hundred Harpes; the Hennes were so many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee sayde wee would goe thither; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill vs. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts; hee sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian sayde vnto vs, if wee would see them, wee should giue him some Hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gaue him one Hatchet (hee would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, who commanded one to be giuen him: hee then tolde vs, those Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about seuen leagues from thence to a Prouince, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill vp those Plaines with Indians to fight with vs; but if wee came in peace, wee should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians: and there they tolde vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maiestie: for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaues of paper would not containe it. Indians with high shoulders.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the sayde Canaries vnto his cousin a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

SIr, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new discouered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discouery that went to his Maiestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Iamaica concerning El Dorado.

HE sayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late discouery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idol vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said Frigat, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

HE saith that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quar- 1591.

Paracoa. a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad: and that within the Riuer of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought prisoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Discouery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nueuo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabben neere a gentleman, one of the Discouerers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the sayd Dorado, being as they sayd within the riuer of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nueuo Dorado.

THey sayd (aduancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that Nueuo Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was discouered a certaine Prouince so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nueuo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the said discouerie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo in the discouerie of El Nueuo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the King was in euery poynt truely sayde, that the riuer Orenoque hath seuen mouths, or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the sayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the sayd Dorado.

A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

To the approved, Right Valorous, and worthy Knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

I Haue here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discouerie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best beseemeth a simple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your selfe, vnto your selfe, that small libertie which I haue therein vsed, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be giuen to the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their euill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoueries, doe so much as in the lieth, wound, deface, & tread vnder foot the thing it selfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to Perfide. these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, Laudes eo vsque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores se quoque facere posse existimant: simaiora proferantur, inuident, non credunt. The feruent zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserued a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endeare the toyle, care and danger that you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publique. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approue it selfe, and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to iustifie, how much more easie, and more materiall, the course for Guiana would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subiect to more doubtfull euents. If vnto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appeare otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence vnto the enemie: the cost and trauaile which you haue bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether

altogether lost, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amends is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all seruice,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earnestly desired, though neuer so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisedome, to discredite most noble and profitable indeuours with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my iealous conceite concerning Guiana, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cause, and in stead of opening it throughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine owne vnsatisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name Guiana vnto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe hoc nomine, to vaile and couer all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vnbeliefe, that either it may haue cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serue the Spaniard his turne so wel as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warne, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly aduertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps proue, & be hereafter taken for worse thē paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hood winke our selues, as who would say, No man shall see vs. Besides, if the action were wholy to bee effected at her Maiesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and neuer be discouered, vntill it were acted. But since it craueth the approbation and purses of many Aduenturers, who cannot be so prodigall both of their possessions and liues, as voluntarily to run themselues out of breath, in pursuing they know not what: great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeelded to perswade & induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, vnsetled, & vncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the trauailes, reports, & substantial proofes of his own men, that haue aboue 60. yeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath vsed in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, & disappoint vs; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse & long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space haue done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our English nation, interessed in so weighty businesse. *His late prouision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable seruice most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth euidently proue, that El Dorado hath vndoubted credit & account in their iudgemēts: so pointeth it at vs, whilst we only to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana newes, & instantly forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a goldē fancy. If we with our selues shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the aduantage wholy resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last yere beaten out, the countrey throughly discouered, & the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Maiesties happy gouernment; they notwithstanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten ỹ start of vs: what may we thinke? *In Iune 1596.

Shal wee iudge that their natiue countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their Peruleri, who going bare & empty out of Spaine, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from Peru, rich and in good estate, doe apparently disproue all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they haue more spare men to be imployed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subiect to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaues to follow their husbandry, & themselues disdaining base idlenes & beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of incouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselues, their substance, & best indeuour to further this cause; that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to loose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way preiudice our aduised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of Negros to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessaries may (by the fauour of God) at our first comming, both store vs w quantities of gold oare, and ease vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we should suppose our selues now to liue in the dayes of King Henry the seuenth of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice vs to beleeue it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the grauity of wise men, lightly to bee carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found Vtopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many wayes subiect to suspition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heauy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we haue the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman: let it be farre from vs to condemne our selues in that, which so worthily we reproue in our predecessors; and to let our idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truely say, that Otium is animæ viuæ sepultura: we beleeue, that perfect wisedome in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we iustly do acknowledge that the Castilians from bare legged mountainers haue atteined to their greatnesse by labour & industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderstanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

De Guiana carmen Epicum.

WHat worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the world t'enuie and vs t'atchieue,
Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne
My limmes and euery sense into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his Eliza-consecrated sworde,
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,
Opens most tenderly her aged throte,
Offring to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,
That flesh of brasse and ribs of steele retaines.

Riches,

Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing,
Riches with honour, Conquest, without blood,
Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,
Like to Ioues Eagle on Elizas hand.
Guiana, whose rich feete are mines of golde,
Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
And euery signe of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore sauage corruption held
In barbarous Chaos; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soueraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth vpon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our yron age,
And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,
That seconding your last, may goe before it
In all successe of profite and renowme:
Doubt not but your election was diuine,
(Aswell by Fate as your high iudgement ordred)
To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
Free from the Presse of squint-eyd Enuies feete,
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
And shroude it with broad leaues of Rule oregrowne
From all blacke tempests of inuasion.

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke
The solid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,
And lesse perswasiue likelihoods then this;
Nor was there euer princely Fount so long
Powr'd forth a sea of Rule with so free course,
And such ascending Maiestie as you:
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,
That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,
Shoues vp the seas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,
And toombes his wastfull brauery in the Euen:
But as a riuer from a mountaine running,
The further he extends, the greater growes,
And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,
Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious sea
Disdayning his repulse, and in despight
Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
Taking on him his titles and commandes:
So let thy soueraigne Empire be encreast,

And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,
Whose Trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,
Directing with discredite of direction,
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.
With whom before you will inherite gold,
You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules;
You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
Placing your faith in Incredulitie.
Sit till you see a wonder, Vertue rich:
Till Honour hauing golde, rob golde of honour,
Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deserues not ought;
And vse you gold-made men as dregges of men;
And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking
In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide
Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride.

O Incredulitie, the wit of Fooles,
That slouenly will spit on all things faire,
The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle
How easie t'is to be an Infidel?

But you Patrician Spirites that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame
On braue indeuours, knowing that in them
The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
(Claiming the rights of your creation)
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;
That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardest y'are most confident:
You that know death liues, where power liues vnusde,
Ioying to shine in waues that burie you,
And so make way for life euen through your graues;
That will not be content like horse to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:
But where the sea in enuie of your reigne,
Closeth her wombe, as fast as t'is disclosde,
That she like Auarice might swallow all,
And let none find right passage through her rage:
There your wise soules as swift as Eurus lead
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,
In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes:
You that herein renounce the course of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,
That liue not for yourselues, but to possesse
Your honour'd countrey of a generall store;
In pitie of the spoyle rude selfe-loue makes,

Of

Of them whose liues and yours one ayre doth feede,
One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine;
You that are blest with sence of all things noble,
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,
(I meane euen *in her most ennobled birth*)
How in excesse of *Sence is Sence bereft her!*
That her most *lightening-like effects of lust*
Wound *through her flesh, her soule, her flesh vnwounded;*
And she must neede *incitements to her good,*
Euen from that part she hurtes! O how most like
Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)
To this wrong'd soule of Nature, that sustainst
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
And she much like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,
Feeles not thy gentle applications
For the health, vse, and honour of her powers!
Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lockt eares
Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intent:
And if it cannot *into act proceed,*
The fault and bitter penance of the fault
Make red some others eyes with penitence,
For thine are cleare; and what more nimble *spirits,*
Apter to byte at such vnhooked baytes,
Gaine by our losse; that must we needs confesse
Thy princely valure would haue purchast vs.
Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,
Though thy contentment in thy graue desires,
Of our aduancement, faile deseru'd effect.
O how I feare thy glory which I loue,
Least it should dearely grow by our decrease.
Natures that sticke in golden-graueld springs,
In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall foorth I know; *Golde is our Fate,*
Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiads bright Propheticke Fount,
Me thinkes I see our Liege rise from her throne,
Her eares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,
At the most rare endeuour of her power.
And now she blesseth with her woonted Graces
Th'industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,
Dismissing him to conuoy of his starres.
And now for loue and honour of his woorth,
Our twise-borne Nobles bring him *Bridegroome-like,*
That is espousde for vertue to his loue
With feasts and musicke, rauishing the aire,
To his Argolian Fleet, where round about
His bating Colours English valure swarmes
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his Fell waters fell vpon our shore.

And

And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast,
Where (as if ech man were an Orpheus)
A world of Sauages fall tame before them,
Storing their theft-free treasuries with golde,
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse bookes,
Nor Valure Estridge-like his yron armes.
There Beautie is no strumpet for her wants,
Nor Gallique humours putrifie her blood:
But all our Youth take Hymens lights in hand,
And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.
There makes Societie Adamantine chaines,
And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disioin'd.
There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,
And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhood.
That here were drown'd in churlish Auarice.
And there do Pallaces and temples rise
Out of the earth, and kisse th'enamored skies,
Where new Britannia humblie kneeles to heauen,
The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,
In whom the circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, & vniuersæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

MOntibus est Regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis:
Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.
Intus habet largos Guaiana recessus:
Hostili gestans libera colla iugo.
Hispanus cliuis illis sudauit, & alsit
Septem annos, nouies: nec tamen inualuit.
Numen, & omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi:
Et nobis virtus sit recidiua, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via est duce & auspice Ralegh
Mense vno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte diéq; datis velis, remisque laborans,
Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,
Communi natus consuluisse bono.
Prouidus excubuit simili discrimine Ioseph:
Sic fratres, fratrem deseruêre suum:
Fama coloratam designet sibona, vestem:
Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus
Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis instar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia nostra licet diues sit, & vndique fœlix:
Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres piscesque ferásq;
Prætereo: haud prosunt, quæ nouitate, placent.

Est

Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiss. L. K.

The second voyage to Guiana.

MVnday the 26. of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Discouerer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands, where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appoyntment, seuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our shippe sterne, steering Southsouthwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set saile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Westsouthwest course. In this passage wee found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East and Northeast poynts. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise & hurtling together, as if it might be two strong currents encountring ech other. The 12 of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about some sixe leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the most part a Southsouthwest course. The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Westermost of the Cape Verde-Islands vnto this Bay I doe estimate the distance to be neere 550. leagues. It seemed to most of our sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoald vpon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull prouidence is most admirable, that vpon a lee-shore subiect vnto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any ieopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the riuers, the vse of a droue sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great riuer. It standeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoaldest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreyes doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth &c. thinking it fittest to reduce these disioyned and scattering remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two islands, but they ioyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these seuerall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hilles, and filled all our caske with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuer it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe aboue thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leauing the ship at anker, I tooke

They fall with the Canary Iles.

Cape Verde.

A notable obseruation.

They anker in the mouth of Arrowari situate in one deg. 40. minutes.

A sea of fresh water.

into

into the boate Iohn Prouost, my Indian Interpreter, Iohn Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these riuers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the riuer falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we ouerpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleeue to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs most friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee possessed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serue and follow the Spanyards. Hee shewed me that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spanyards first began to borrow some of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnited for the most part towards the riuer of Amazones. But the especiall cause of his present remooue was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Dessekebe, is one of this mans subiects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, haue earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or fiue moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards aliue to annoy them; that we now came only to discouer, and trade with them; and that if her Maiestie should haue sent a power of men, where no enemie was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to inuade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesse iustice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in vndertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes possible to assist vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceiued, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without molestation or intrusion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling places, if they forsooke one to liue in another: but stoode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or liuing. He then farther desired, that he with his people might haue our fauour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall slauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserue some part of this friendship, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is vsually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof.

The Iaos a mightie nation.

Ferdinando the Indian pilote of sir Walter Ralegh.

Brasil-wood.

But

But because most of our caske was not yron-bound, and in making stowage-way to remoone it, would haue bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie: thinking it sufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboord our ship, wee were inforced in a darke night to heaue all ouerboord: thinking our selues happy, to haue recouered thither at seuen dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our couertlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without comparison more raine, wind, and gustes, then else where at any time. To bee briefe, my men became weake and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of vs had euer come aboord againe. I afterwards vnderstood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yeere vsuall, neere the Island Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka some sixe leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how this Iland is kept by some euil spirit: for they verily beleeue, that to sleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is present death. The only season wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they diuiding al times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themselues, thereby to bee knowen from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had sometime conuersed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to see our countrey. His sufficiencie, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steed your Lordship in your designes and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then hee assuredly will performe.

Vnseasonable weather about the Ile of Oncaiarie.

How the nation of the Iaos marke themselues, to be knowen from other people.

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads vnder small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and fiue fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Islands, which are the Westermost from the rest and stand in fiue degrees, which haue also store of fish, foule, deere and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on ech side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke, and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flixe and headach. These riuers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuer Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the vtmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arromaiaries countrey.

Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri.

Next adioyning vnto these, are the riuers Cunanamma, Vraeco, Mawara, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwara, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Chopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues next hand Westnorthwest.

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200 leagues.

Westnorthwest. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amonna among the rest powreth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe neuer passe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I haue seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a trueth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue beene, and I hope will still continue fauourers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes iourney: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bignesse, that they know no difference betweene it & the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this riuer, which we now call Deuoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arromaiarie, who wan so great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiuitiuas of Amana, and making free the passage of that riuer (but now againe liueth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom * Santiago forsaking his gouernour Berreo, ioyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, euery day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

Dessekebe called The brother of Orenoque.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado standeth.

In September.

This Spaniard vnderstandeth the Guianian language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.

When Berreo, hauing lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to aduertise their king, that Berreo was vtterly vnable to folow this enterprise, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now soiorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderstanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had giuen you his onely sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certainty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduersarie against your selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might be behoouefull for his maiestie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vse their seruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to vndertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-master, who was sent into Spaine, fiue moneths before your arriuall at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furnish 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore such waight,

waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreo supposing that these gouernours in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good; to approoue his care and constancie, and that he neuer would yeelde vnder the burthen of his aduerse fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduersaries nor himselfe; returned foorthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fifteene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These gouernours followed him, and assuring themselues of present imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towards Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuer from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselues, some in searching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed vp into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plentie of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when vnhappily to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arriued, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recouered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the said ships leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming. Francis Sparrow taken prisoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, seruant to Berreo, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the riuer. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred vp with Berreo. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accord all the nations in one, so to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by driuing these Arwaccas, who serue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuer Raleana, hauing spent twentie and three dayes in discouerie vpon this coast. The chanell of this riuer hath sixe or seuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue fiue foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furnished and prouided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amongst the Iwarawakeri their neighbours, by which occasion hauing lost some of their wiues (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themselues wel and surely blessed, howsoeuer they liue, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recouer this losse vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, & required to be ioyned in league of frindship with vs against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleete will hasten to set forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would now visite They enter within Raleana, or Orenoque. Spanish Pagasinme.

our friendes, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they vse in confirming friendshippe, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee caused to goe vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyers, and sitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselues the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayses and honour, that may bee deuised. Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tabacco some two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanyed vs, and in their way shewed vs, where the shoaldes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguerai the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselues doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa standeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: sixeteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way vnto it, is not by Macureguerai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high vp in Orenoque, knowe most the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderstand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I haue heard of a sorte of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an inland Riuer, named Cawrooma, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of vnmanned horses of the Caracas breed: and they dwell fiue dayes iourney vp the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Cassaui bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Port.

Her Maiestie.

Muchikeri the name of the Prouince where Macuriguerey the first towne of Guiana is situate.

Parime an Inland sea of salt water.

They haue eminent heads like dogs, and liue all the day time in the sea, they speake the Charibes language.

Vpon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselues, shoulde take away their wiues and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolued if it were possible to cut them off: which afterwardes they did perfourme. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassaui, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to aduertize

A sudden assalt of the Spaniards by the Indians.

tize him of our comming. Hee foorthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him knives, and dismissed him.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arriued at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came abourd vs. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire seuered themselues amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniardes haue seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the middest of the Riuer, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their towne, or hauing notice of any practise against them: but now leauing both towne and Island, they ioyned themselues altogether, and returning to the mouth of Riuer Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere: Wee all not without griefe to see ourselues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remooue. As we road at an ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with lean cheekes, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe vs that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small Piunisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the Riuer, and lastly to viewe our shippe well, and our prouision, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with vs.

A Rancheria or village planted by the Spaniardes at a Port of Topiawary.

This informers very countenance gaue him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the trueth. Which hee did, assuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie fiue men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about sixe moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driuen with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campemaster from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his vse, by his fathers appointment, euer since your being in the Riuer. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanà (for so the Spaniardes noysed it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the Riuer.

Topiawarie his sonne.

The contrarie lyes of the Spaniardes.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse: I resolued to seeke Putijma in the mountaines: and turning downe the Riuer with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres: the next morning with ten shot I went ashoare, intending if the Indians should thinke themselues too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniardes: to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and knives to returne vs golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their vsuall abode; wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beliefe) perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white stones neere Winicapora, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him, being but one dayes iourney ouerland, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing measured their pathes neere the same place this last

yeere,

yeere, could not iudge it to bee fifteene miles from vs. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine, making signes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderstood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue shewed mee the ouerfall of the Riuer Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small riuer, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne vnto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life, but vpon better aduise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a meanes to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also: they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most plentifull. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they loue beyond measure) with it will vndertake so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken so good a proofe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came vnto vs: that Don Iuan the cousin of Gualtero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to vsurpe, bee a fast friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes but our selues, to make knowne our discouerie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniardes kept to obserue our doings, foreknowing that if the enemie should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the Riuer, except first wee could remooue them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid euill passages.

Whilest wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a seruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassaui. They had a letter sent from the Gouernour to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian seruant should buy a Canoe, and hire Indians to cary her vp the Riuer towardes Nueuo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to bee sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three yeeres in preparing. If fiue such boates bee sufficient to conuoy him, his men and all their prouision: it may seeme, hee commeth with no great strength.

The small forces of Xinores.

This seruant as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to haue some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these kniues should be hired, were to passe vp so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Iustices and Constables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the riuer side of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these seuerall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serue his turne, and neuer to become strong, or likely to ioyne themselues against

This transplanting of Indians is worthy of consideration.

against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesaide: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer shall bee impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is such scarsitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, haue not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are inforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselues to liue with litle.

In sayling vp the Riuer, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboord the shore. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent fiue or six seuerall Canoas, promising this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with vs. Thus wee lingred sixe or seuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired vs to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, because they refused to furnish them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subiects, excepting onely a choise guarde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to haue enlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongst them, vntill hee had entered into friendshippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and kniues, which are iewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine vs their friendes, or else giue place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discouered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vsing them as their slaues, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherside they could hope for, nor desire no better state and vsage, then her Maiesties gracious gouernment, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure vnto them. For sayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse haue persecuted vs to the vttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ransome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well gouerned companie durst offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when vnknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wisedome, that had framed her subiectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maiestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee also may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth

The Port of Toparimacko.

The porte of Carapana.

Carapana a great Lord humbling vpon Guiana craueth her Maiesties protection.

doeth this, not as a man left vnto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their iniustice, and hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, vtterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to vs seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc iure molesti, quo fortes: To men, I say, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, iustice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetenesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auayleable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their seruice, and promise to prouide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppression and tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and knines bee the onely things of request and vsefull vnto them) they haue agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleene-stones, & others of al sorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwise, haue returned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, which in this case they doe all generally obserue, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their natiue Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe vp to the head of this Riuer: hee declared that the Spaniardes haue no Indians to trust vnto but some of the Arwaccas, which since they were not many, could bee but of small force; That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongst the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what side soeuer the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the Pariagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and inuulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that these Pariagotos become inuulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may procure good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees; which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together many thousandes of the Epueremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes iourney or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolued not to seeke vpon them (for indeede they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or deuided from their strength, by litle and litle to lessen their number.

Wariarimagoto one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines vp in armes against the Spaniardes.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes iourney from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboord the shippe, and to cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered

swered mee that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniardes therof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they haue many times vsed many meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither professing himselfe their enemie, nor in ought shewing them any friendshippe. Nowe (sayde hee) if the Spaniardes shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse old man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content to spend one seuenights more to speake with him) would bee purposelesse. Wherefore hauing assured so many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our speedie returne, promising them plentie of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reserue their Cassaui, and prouide store of their pieces of golde for vs: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might vnderstand of our being in the Riuer and that wee meant to relieue them so soone, as conueniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the Riuer Arawawo, neere Trinidad, vndertooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted least they would take order that no Indian should speake with vs. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to ioyne with vs, and had prouided fifteene Canoas for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a presmomt of Yron to Carapana, and then set sayle.

In turning downe the riuer wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the chanell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is sholdest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this Riuer, because I cannot say ynough, I will speake nothing. Wee haue presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that euer entred the same, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazones, which is best knowen by the name of Orellana, the first discouerer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long away in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently prooue, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinnesse, the Discouerer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with vs. William Downe the Master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure riuers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, vntill the rockes stopped their passage. In Caiane they went vp one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last Riuer they had beene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwardes I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large & good. They meete with their Pinnesse.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an vntraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee assured, that this people, as they no way sought our harme, but vsed our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seeke reuenge. The example of the like practise vpon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his shippe hardly escaped being taken, may serue for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this iniury.

A good caueat.

When wee had taken aboorde vs such victuals as were in the Pinnesse: wee set fire in

her, (for her Rudder could serue her to no longer vse) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, vntill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Riuers mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera the Northeastermost part of Trinidad. But hauing Tabaco-island in sight, wee first went thither. This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not nowe inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Gouernour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnesse to viewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime liued there, noteth it for the best and fruitfullest ground that hee knoweth.

The isle of Tabago.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and ancored in tenne fathome vnder the North side of the Island some fiue or sixe miles from the sayde point. The flood-tyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shoore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue sent Iohn of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with vs: but he was altogether vnwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recouered, by turning vnder the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promising vs store, and delaying vs from day to day, sought onely oportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare to come vnto vs. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shewe curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the Northwest side of the Island, wee wayed ancor to seeke him. Hee discrying vs, stole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remooue, and ioyne with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniardes, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenne Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small Ilands neere the disemboging place. Herehence we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Most dangerous Canibals.

Thus haue I emptied your purse, spending my time and trauell in following your lordships directions for the full discouerie of this coast, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remedilesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not ouerpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather haue aduentured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet because the weightinesse thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speach, which is altogether vnsauorie, season it selfe with some of the leauen of your owne discourse touching this discouerie. The particular relation of some certaine things I haue reserued, as properly belonging to your selfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best vse thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serue to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise in those whome it may concerne, and testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time trueth shall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath maruelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-

treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cicles, whilest others reape and gather in this haruest, it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men liuing in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others; If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princesse, and countrey seruice; and had but perfected his first discouerie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooued, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no deuises and vaine surmises could haue taken place, no illusions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindnesse and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Maiestie doe spend their dayes in seruing the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had beene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely vpon acceptance, to seeke either to foreslowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your seconde discouerie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choyse of fourtie seuerall great riuers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels nauigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in setting forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to aduenture in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd riuers Brasil-wood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites vnto our countrey to any that shall be the first vndertakers hereof, I am gladly content to giue such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

My selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts liue onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe iust, profitable, and necessarie. Iust, because it is intended for the defence of harmelesse people, who fearing thralldome and oppression, desire to protect themselues and their countrey vnder her Maiesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discouerie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and lastly, by the prouision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Necessarie it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treasurie of Nueno Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance to seeke reuenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Inland; whose foundations haue beene layd in the blood of their parents and ancesters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this riuer, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequele of this discouerie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste imployment for his men and shipping, that vpon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco: For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs: No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-master with tenne of these shippes bee compared with precedent aduertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already

gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought that either it was senselesse madnesse in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and liues in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Margarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespasse and offence, howe great soeuer it should bee.

The sundry attemptes and ouerthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three yeeres and vpwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainely shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their liues witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to vs the easinesse of obteining discrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe preuaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those obiections, which haue beene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they haue supposed, are best answered by the vnreprooued witnesse of those mens actions. Some haue termed these discoueries fables, and fantasies, as if there had beene no such land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discouered, make conclusion, that if it had beene so rich as wee haue supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well answere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath beene by all those seuerall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times vndertaken, and neuer perfourmed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairefull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterued nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selues, as vnfit and powerlesse to possesse one prouince already discouered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the peoples loue, and that all the Chieftaines and principals haue vowed their obedience to her Maiestie; the nauigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sickenesse. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once mooued with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their trauels: it may easily bee perceiued, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch vs, doe deepely and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a maner violently withold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilest wee out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie seare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shewe vnto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence, be alwayes full of stirs, tumults and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue so faithfull and incorrupt counsellers, as bee the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spanish affaires should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are setled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselues, and hate

hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not vnlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that haue beene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subiects, after many yeeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discerne, that his spacious empires and kingdomes being so many, and so farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of vnnecessarie commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselues able to maintaine themselues without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides enuironed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and aduenturous without meanes sufficient; may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe, may euen there shake the foundation of his long contriued deuises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humor, and breake the bandes in sunder that import seruitude, and subuersion to all the dominions of Christendome. Againe, his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the English: his contempt towardes vs would seeme so intollerable and despightfull, as might bee sufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwise wee had no such inclination; if hee vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promiseth vs so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leaue no other succour or safetie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giuing out false intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machauellian vnder hande by secret conueyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine stay to vpholde his estate by. And yet setting such like driftes aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disaduantage is to bee encombred with the selfe same, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or diuorce vs frō so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdome; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, bee resolued, whatsoeuer shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one vron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disdaine of preuention: If hee appeare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselues, Viis & modis to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleeue any thing, that may disswade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce those obiections against our selues, which hee with lesse reason reiecteth as friuolous; since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for breuities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfulnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to proue this neede no rationall discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange

weakenes

weakenes in our selues, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, aboue vs; as to bee able to seate himselfe amongst the many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subiection The Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the nauigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selues to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanish king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, & ill guarded empires and prouinces in the West: It might very well bee alleaged to the sayde Spanish king, that it were more wisedome for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuously bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in vs, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriuing a cauilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres:

If wee doe but consider, howe vnhappily Berreo his affaires, with his assistants haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of euerlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, & sheeplike creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie vnto themselues, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workemanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his iudgements in a day of visitation by the ministerie of his chosen seruant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper iusta sunt Dei iudicia. Her Maiestie.

To leaue this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soueraigne power, authoritie, and commaundement. The riuer of Raleana giueth open and free passage, any prouision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause yeelde to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the second time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leisure well aduised my selfe vpon all circumstances to bee thought on; I can discerne no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maiestie may to her and her successours enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer, (by the fauour of God) holde and keepe it. Contra Indæos & Gentes. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maiesties gracious sufferance, ioyning their strength together, inuade, spoyle, and ouerrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a priuate and present benefite; considering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruitie, howe, and wheresoeuer the charge shall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate

priuate estate: no question, they will rather prooue sufficient to crosse and counteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing vrge vs, because in some case better a mischiefe, then an inconuenience: let the conueniencie thereof somewat moone vs, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulnesse; are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and vnlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handycraftsmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleannesse of teeth and pouertie. To sacrifice the children of Belial vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not prohibite it, and the execution of iustice requireth it to bee so: but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the iuice, and nourishment that the fruitefull branches should liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase, and growe to good: thrise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discouerie and search, both in your owne person, and since by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maiestie, to set on her seale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Maiestie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee haue more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lorde of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuasion: yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not beene by my Lordes her Maiestics Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde: The time serueth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all ioyntly together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our selues rich, our posteritie happie, our Prince euery way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our Countrey in a state flourishing and peaceable. O let not then such an indignitie rest on vs, as to depraue so notable an enterprise with false rumors, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and soueraignitie of so famous a conquest, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

A Table of the names of the Riuers, Nations, Townes, and Casiques or Captaines that in this second voyage were discouered.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.	
1	Arowari great.	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.			1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Tiuitiuas language: so likewise doe the nation of the Arricari, who haue greater store of those moneyes then any others.
2	Iwaripoco very great.	Mapurwanas, Iaos.			2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of these two riuers certain Frenchmē
3	Maipari great.	Arricari.			
4	Caipurogh great.	Arricurri.			

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.	
5	Arcoa great.	Marowanas, Charibes.			Frenchmē that suffred shipwrack some 2. or 3. yeres since, doe liue.
6	Wiapoco great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco.			3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great riuer of Amazones. When wee first fell with land, wee were, by ỹ Indians report, but 1. dayes iourney from the greatest riuer, that is on that coast.
7	Wanari.	Charibes.			
8	Capurwacka great.	Charibes.			
9	Cawo great.	Iaos.	Icomana.	Wareo.	
10	Wia great.	Maworia, Charib. Wiaco, Ch.	Parammona, great.	Mashwipo.	6 The first mountaines ỹ appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side
11	Caiane g. Gowateri a great iland.	Wiaco. Ch. Shebaios.	Canawi. g. Orinikero.	Parawatteo.	of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoas in 20. dayes
12	Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.			to the salte lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many Cataracts
13	Cawroora.	Arawaccos Charib.			like Caroli, but that they
14	Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch.			are of greater distance one frō another: where it falles into the sea, hils
15	Cureey.	Shebaios.			do inclose it on both sides.
16	Curassiwini.	Shebaios.	Musswara. great.	Ocapanio.	10 The freshet shoots out into the sea, with
17	Cunanama.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	Waritappi. great.	Carinamari. Curipotoore.	great force: the sea doth here sometimes campe
18	Vracco. Moruga.	Arwaccas. Arwaccas.		Marwabo. Eramacoa.	high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks: but in proofe it is nothing
19	Mawari.	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	Iwanama.	Aranacoa.	els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this
20	Mawarpari.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana.	Mahahonero.	bay, & round about, so far as the mountaines do
21	Amonna very great. Capellepo. g.	Charibes.	Iaremappo. very great.		extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing farre darker colour then other
22	Marawini. g.	Paracuttos.			some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.
23	Owcowi.				14 These speake the language of the Indiās of
24	Wiawiami.				Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to
25	Aramatappo.				their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue
26	Wiapo.				peecemeale. This torment is not cōparable to the

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.	
27	Macuruma.				the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or woundes, made by those arrowes that are inuenomed w̃ the iuice of ỹ herbe Wapototo. These Indiãs because they eate them whome they kill, vse no poyson. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they haue much wasted themselues, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they liue in league and peace.
28	Carapi.				
29	Vraca.				
30	Chaimawimini great.	Carepini. Charib.		Caponaiarie.	
31	Ecrowto.	Vpotommas.			
32	Pawro.	Arwaccas.	Maripomma.		
33	Shurinama. g.	Carepini. Chari.			
34	Shurama g.	Carepini.	Cupari.		
35	Northũbria or Cupanama very g.	Char. Arwaccas.			
36	Wioma.				
37	Cushwini.	Neekeari.	Tawrooromene.	Neperwari.	21. Neere the head of this riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer.
38	Inana. g.	Carepini.	Owaripoore.		
39	Curitini. g.	Arwaccas. Parawianni.	Mawronama.		
40	Winitwari g.		Maiapoore. Cariwacka.		39. This riuer, as also most of the rest, is not nauigable aboue sixe dayes iourney by reason of rockes. It is tenne dayes iourney to the head, where the Guianians do dwel: hony, yarne or cotton, silke, Balsamum, and Brasil beds are here to bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alongst Eastward. Some images of golde, spleenestones, and others may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of them, because euery where they are current money. They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas
41	Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Aneta. Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos. Lupulee.	Warawaroco.	
42	Wapari.	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	Madewini.	Benmurwagh.	
43	Maicawini.	Panapi. Arwaccas.	Itewee.	Caporaco. great Cap.	
44	Mahawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburesa. g.		
45	Lemerare. g.	Wacawaios.	Maburesa. g.		
46	*Deuoritia or Dessekebe very g.	Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas.			
	Matorooni.	Charibes.			
	Coowini.	Maripai.			
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.			
	Arawanna.	Parawianni.			
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	Caiaremappo.		
47	Pawrooma. g.	Iaos.	Waroopana. Maripa.	Macapowa.	
	Aripacoro.		Chipariparo.		

* So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Essex.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.	
	Ecawini. Manurawini.	Panipi.	Towtwi. Sarinbugh. Wariwagh.	Shuracoima.	Canoas, they receiue pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers sorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.
48	Moruga. g. Piara. Chaimera-goro.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	Cooparoore. g. Awiapari. Topoo.	Manare-cowa. Iarwarema.	
49	Waini. g.	Charibes.	Tocoopoima. g.	Parana.	
50	Barima. g. Caitooma. Arooca.	Charibes. Arwaccas.	Pekwa. g. Arwakima.	Anawra. Aparwa. Arracurri.	
51	Amacur. g.				Names of poysoned hearbes.
52	Aratoori. g. Cawrooma. g. Raleana, or Orenoque.				Ourari. Apareepo. Carassi. Parapara.
	Maipar Ita caponea Owarecapa-ter. Waruca-nasso.	Ilands in the mouth of Rale-cana.			Hearbes good against poyson. Turara. Wapo. Cutarapama. Macatto.

The 29. day of Iune we arriued in Portland roade, hauing spent fiue moneths in going, staying, and returning.

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that haue sought to discouer and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of Iuan de Castellanos clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias.

THe enterprise of Guiana was vndertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the riuer of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the riuer of Orenoque, which we past in fifteene. Hee named the riuer by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some fiue leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

The riuer of Amana by which Sir Walter Ralegh first entred, called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Casas Iaia Pari.

2 Iuan Corteso arriued at the riuer of Amazones or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylua, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the riuer of Amazones: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discouer Guiana. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Vpon such proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others aduentured to follow his steps.

5. 6 Philip de Vren, & after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successiuely commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.

7 Ieronimo

7 Ieronimo de Ortal vndertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great trauell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the prouinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to passe in like maner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also vndertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Iuan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres vndertooke this discouery from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two seuerall times. Hee endured great miserie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. Hee sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also vndertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado ioyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discouer El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this iourney hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom hee manacled in yrons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselues from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the riuer Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, serued well for his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre, vntill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gaue him for a present some rich iewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, tenne young slaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guauba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These prouinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and haue an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curtesies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaues. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselues in mutinies: those that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reyneso vndertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gaue it ouer, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. sought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motijones. As they passed downe the riuer, they found Synamom trees. His men murthered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Montesino was in the prouince of Maracapana with 100 souldiers bound for Guiana, whē Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expressed.

In this discouerie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who discouered the riuer of Amazones An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and lost themselues in seeking to finde this countrey.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

IN this Breuiarie, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of Guiana, haue indeuoured to discouer and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many caualleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time haue performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes: I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to haue beene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of Rendeuous, from El Dorado: which appeare to be foure, Nueuo reyno, the mouth of Amazones or Orellana, Cubagua or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1 From Moiobamba, where Orellana hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. Raleana riseth neere the said mountaines in Moiobamba, & tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: Guiana is enuironed with these 2 freshwaterseas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting Topiawaries countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of those Spaniards, who sought it frō Nueuo Reyno, were allayed & spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate & vncomfortable wayes.

2 From Cubagua to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from Spaine. And to passe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards trauelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driuing those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of Orellana to seeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, haue at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable iourneys.

4 From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelyhood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuer of Raleana.

The second, The Spaniards haue bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the Guiana-cause, that amongst so many attemptes, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to preuaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murthers amongst themselues.

Thirdly. The Spaniardes in this place haue mist that aduantage, which elsewhere hath steeded themselues in all their conquestes: namely, the dissentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one prouince conteining in circuit not aboue 20. leagues, haue maintained warres aboue these 30. yeeres against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemie vnto them. And howsoeuer the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the Indies: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themselues, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had neuer beene Spanish.

Lastly. I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediatly to the diuine prouidence: for by him

him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heauen) wee neede no further assurances, then wee already haue to perswade our selues, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this empire for vs.

The third voyage set forth by sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana, with a pinnesse called The Watte, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. Thomas Masham a gentleman of the companie.

VPon Thursday the 14. of October 1596. we set saile from Limehouse vpon the riuer of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Ianuarie in the morning we came to the North side of the Island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to serue vs vpon the coast of Guiana, but the winde was so great, that we could not lanch our shalope: so we past along by the roade and the towne, and at length saw a boate lying on shoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped vp, and wooded our selues with her. That day wee descryed a saile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Island of Mayo for salte. Wee fell in consort with her, and that night stoode for the Southermost part of the Island there to water, where wee stayed all the next day, and watered at the Southsouthwest part thereof. That night wee weyed and stoode away together Southsoutheast, and South and by East, purposing by their perswasion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Ianuarie wee made the furthermost part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Beniamin Wood with his fleete of 3 sailes bound for the straights of Magellan & China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Beniamin: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Munday morning the first of Februarie, we saw two ships in a sandie bay: so wee stirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indiés, and put all into the bay, where wee refreshed our selues with fish, in which there was infinite store, and stayed there vntill Thursday the 5. at which time wee stood vp with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnesse, who put foorth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his caruel well manned: So all we 5. English came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many shots out of euery ship both English and French, all our captaines were inuited to a feast aboord the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

M. Beniamin Wood bound for The South sea.

Cape Blanco.

The same day we all weyed and stoode along for the Isle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the West part thereof: in which Island wee had good store of goates and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling vpon the Island that we could see. Wee could finde no fresh water vpon it, but one standing puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being ouercome with drinke, hauing bene aboord our Generall at a feast) being on shoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was slaine, and their chiefe captaine sorely wounded: by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnesse which they were about, the French admiral and the caruel stayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ships weyed the 10. of Februarie, and stood away for the isle of Maio. This night the other two French shippes that came from Sal with vs (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consorts were not with them) lost vs. The next morning wee sawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compassed the Northermost part of the Island, and master Beniamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermost, and came all to an anker together at the Southwest part thereof: where rode sixe sayles of Flemmings lading salte; who had brought their horses and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and plankes for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of salte in this Island made by Gods hande without mans labour. These tolde vs that there were thirtie sayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it vp with much adoe, & came thither also for salte. This trade may bee very beneficiall

The Island of Sal.

36 sailes of Flemmings at Maio for salt.

beneficiall to England, considering the dearnesse of salte. Of goates on this Island there is such store, as is incredible, but to those that haue seene them: and it is a wonder howe they liue one by the other, the ground being stonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men stragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they sawe him no more. This Island is somewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading salte, and the China-fleete to refresh themselues with goates, who as I haue heard since had at the village (from whence the Mountainiers were fledde into the furthest partes of the Island and rocks) great store of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set saile and stood for the coast of Wiana, which wee wore bound for.

Vpon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that setteth from the Cape of Buena Esperança along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away Northwest.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was Westsouthwest, wee stoode away West and by South: by reason whereof, and of the current that set vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then wee lay away Southwest, because wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee should bee put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recouer it.

By Thursday wee were within one degree $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee hailed away West and by South, and West among. This night wee sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, so wee made another sound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but saw no lande, and in the afternoone wee hailed away Westnorthwest, Northwest, and Northnorthwest. In the night wee sounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday wee had a thick red water, and had seuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the seuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended necrest as wee fell with it, South and by East, North and by West about two degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or head land, so that had wee beene shot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee should hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and stopping euery tyde, it was the Tuesday following before wee cleered our selues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the land trended Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. And still wee were faine to anker euery tyde sometimes in foure fathoms, and sometimes in three, as farre as wee could see land. So about night wee sawe Cape Cecill: and after some two houres came to an anker. Betweene these two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euen.

Cape Cecill in 3 degrees and a halfe.

Vpon Wednesday morning, hauing the winde large at Eastnortheast, wee layd it away vpon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote, and lesse in many places. And this riuer of Wiapoucou standeth almost in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The riuer of Wiapoucou almost in 4 degrees North.

The next morning wee weyed, and standing in with our pinnesse by night, wee got some eight leagues vp the riuer. This day sometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being soft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker, wee were on ground vpon a rocke, but with some trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Vpon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Master, my selfe and some 5 more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee passed by many, yet were there more still one aboue the other. So that finding no Indians

dians in this riuer to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to so short allowance, as wee must haue done, if wee had spent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to passe the falles, wee fell downe the riuer againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our selues of the riuer and bay. This riuer from the mouth to the falles is some 16 leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the most part halfe a mile. There are many Islands in it: as are also in most of the riuers vpon the coast. This night wee ankered against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinnesse: but found the water so shoald, and the sea so growen, that neither with our shippe nor shallope wee durst goe in. Cawo.

On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of the 7 Islands: vpon which going on shoare wee found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plumbes which are good to eate. The 7 Ilands.

Vpon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboord all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on shoare to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seuen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the riuer of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that because wee coulde not come to him, wee would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thursday the 17 wee stoode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselues very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on shoare by vs vntill Ritimo came: at whose comming they returned all vp to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tabacco. Aramatto a great towne. The Caribes of Wias tractable people. Chiana a riuer and bay.

After that they had made knowen their mindes of the desire that they had to haue the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the shoare watered, because the riuers mouth was salte, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, & passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoalds, rockes, and great windes, beeing a lee shoare; and for want of a good shalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in fiue fathoms neere The Triangle Islands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday standing to the Westward, wee stopped against the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Westward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are some 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with such things as they had themselues in vse, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed vpon Munday following the 28 of March 1597. The Careres. Maware.

And passing by the riuers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small riuer, and is shoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and fiue fathoms, wee stood into the riuer: and the same day came to an anker some 2 leagues in against the mouth of Cooshepwinne, which riuer goeth into Amana. Into which, (vnderstanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people something pleasant, hauing drunke much that day, being as it seemed a festiuall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the first sight of vs, hauing seldome seene any Christian before. But assoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and vsed vs kindely, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diuers canoas, & traded with vs, and wee went in againe to them on shore, who made very much of vs, and carried Marawinne a riuer. Marrac, a towne.

vs

vs from house to house, and made vs eate and drinke in euery house which wee came in. And the next day following being the last of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and stoode into the riuer, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker some eight leagues within the riuer, a little short of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they sawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, vntill the captaine of Marrac which was with vs in the boate, leaped ouerboord and swamme on shoare vnto them, and told them that wee were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Quiparia a towne of the Caribes.

Vpon whose report they came before night sixe or seuen canoas aboord vs, yet very feare-full, because there was neuer either shippe or Christian seene in that riuer before. The first of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and stood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amano to vs, with great store of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and because wee mette with some sholds, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinnesse: so there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleuen of vs (Master Monax hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the riuer farther to search it so farre as wee could, and that night gatte some fiue leagues from our shippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Mapeributto, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our course still vnto the riuer, and in the afternoone came to one house where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beastes.

Macirria a towne.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuer about two in the afternoone: and hauing shotte vp some of the rockes, wee went on shore vpon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the last house, whether the falles were passable or not: their first answere was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to loose so much labour, and the sight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee desired, told them that they should haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our selues) who seeing vs so importunate, sayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canoas: which they sayde because indeed they had no victuals: which by some was taken for sufficient to proceede no farther, and so wee left off, and onely stayed some two houres vpon the island, and with the swiftnesse of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that small canoa that I was in, being so leake, that my selfe did nothing but laue out the water, to lead them the way, and if they sawe any danger to mee, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselues.

A rich countrey.

For seeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie stature for talnes) wee should haue taken the more paines, and haue fared the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee sawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any sort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might haue made shift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreshed with victuals, and also haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

Bowes handled with golde.

But to returne to the rest of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our shippe, which wes the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wednesday wee fell with our Pinnesse to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on shore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindely vsed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

Pitch to trim shippes.

And so taking our leaue on Tuesday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of

of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had prouided and brought to vs such infinite store of potatoes, and Guiney wheate, that the stewarde sayd wee had no stowage for them; and so they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to shorter allowance home ward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done. The riuer of Cusse-winne.

On Fryday the fifteeneth of Aprill, wee put foorth of Marawinne, which is some foure leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the most part broad; full of islands, and diuers small riuers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the most part South Southwest vp, altering some 3 poynts, being almost streight. And standing along to the Westward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarse and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppanamo: but sending off our boat & finding vncertaine sounding, sometime 3 fathomes and presently 9 foote, we stood along to Coritine and came into it vpon the Munday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker against Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, shee tooke soyle & came neer our ship, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our deere in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this riuer we met a Barke called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within some fiue leagues of the mouth of the riuer, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs, namely that the riuer Desekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead) doeth lead so farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes iourney of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this riuer of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe vp in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vp into the countrey, and to haue discouered a passage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both shippes, we stood vp into the riuer againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of Aprill there our shippes roade vntill we went vp to Mawranamo to speake with Marracon, to know the trueth of these things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had spoken: Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vp with Antonie Berreo could speak some Spanish and Marracons language also. And besides wee our selues by signes, and drawing the two riuers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming downe with our boates the sixe and twentieth of Aprill we went vp with our ships to Mawranama, where wee morred them, and taking some twentie out of both, vpon Thursday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two shallops and two Canoas, in one of which Henry the Indian was and some twentie Indians more, wee went vp the riuer; and by night getting some three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a small riuer called Tapuere, to a towne called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Casaui and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reason that they make no more ready then serueth themselues from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the most part by fish. By meanes of going into this riuer, though wee rowed very hard it was noone before wee ouertooke the bigger shallop wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee stayed all Saturday and the night following, for Casaui: whereof they baked good store for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell aboue the falles came downe to the towne, and slewe some tenne of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that wee found most of the houses emptie. Vpon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte some twelue leagues beyond and being past all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the riuer; vp some of which falles we shotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came some nine canoas vp the riuer to vs, and would haue gone vp with vs to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the Marawinne. Sewramo. Coritine riuer. The great lake Perima. They being their shippes vp to the Mawranamo.

Captaines and Master Monax tooke aduise: and because nowe they had learned, as they sayde, that fiue dayes iourney farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this meanes they should make the Wacchawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Ralegh should come thither, hauing occasion to vse this riuer, where wee were informed was good store of golde, they resolued to returne, though I yeelded diuers reasons to the contrary. So vpon Tuseday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And vpon Wednesday the fourth of May, wee came to our shippes: where it was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Desekebe, which was not so: but as it seemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men that wee left in our shippes more carelesse, that they might the easier haue surprised them in our absence. The next night wee had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to preuent them of their purpose; who, as it was afterwarde tolde vs, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Vpon Fryday the sixth of May we weighed and made downe the riuer, and vpon Sunday the eighth we gat cleare of it.

This riuer is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the first falles, full of Islandes as the other: in which three riuers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi: with sixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohóron, and Vapéron. And so clering our selues of this coast, wee tooke our course to the Islands of the West Indies.

Now I thinke it not amisse to speak something of this countrey. And first touching the climate; though it stand within the Tropick, and something neere to the Equinoctial, so that the Sunne is twise a yeere ouer their heads & neuer far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in those partes. For besides that wee lost not a man vpon the coast, one that was sicke before hee came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company: for indeed it is not so extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of seuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Englishmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe apparelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more ciuill disposition, hauing great store of golde, as we are certeinely informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some golde, which they brought and bought in the high countrey of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their warres. For bread there is infinite store of casaui, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can cary any thither. We spent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coast. It is made of a root so called; which they take and scrape, and crush all the iuyce out, being poison; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which dry as it is, without any moisture, they strew vpon a round stone, hauing a still fire vnder it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Besides there is great store of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make passing good drinke) which after it is once sowed, if you cut off the eare, on the same stalke groweth another.

Great store of golde in Wiana.

Passing good drinke made of maiz.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at least needed not to haue spent any of our owne: for there is great store of as good fish in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowle, of diuers sorts. Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoises egges innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more then wee could spend. Besides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their handes, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though wee had but small time to search, because

The commodities of Wiana.

wee

wee spent so much time in searching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of some, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like vnto steele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great store of; and wherewith the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good fustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, diuers sorts of sweet gummes, & West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots and monkies. Besides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained litle.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, passing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the thirteenth of May, hauing lost the barke that came out with vs the Wednesday before. Vpon Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the Souther part of the Island, and hauing done by night, we set saile, and stood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and vntill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at East, and after at Southeast, wee passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Vpon the ninth of Iune, being Thursday, we made the Islands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of Iune we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymmouth, blessed be God.

They lost captaine Leigh in ye lohn of London.

Betweene the Isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty stormes, many calmes, and some contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of Iune 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinnesse, one of them crossed our stemme, and going vnder, rubbed her backe against our keele: but by none of all these we susteined any losse. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Master
Thomas Masham.

CERTAINE BRIEFE TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING THE MIGHTIE RIUER OF AMAZONES OR ORELLANA, AND OF THE MOST WONDERFULL DOWNEFALL OR CATARACT OF WATERS AT THE HEAD THEREOF, NAMED BY THE SPANIARDS EL PONGO: TOGETHER WITH SOME MENTION OF THE RICH AND STATELY EMPIRE OF DORADO, CALLED BY SIR WALTER RALEGH AND THE NATURAL INHABITANTS GUIANA, AND OF THE GOLDEN COUNTREY OF PAYTITY NEERE ADIOYNING, WITH OTHER MEMORABLE MATTERS: TAKEN OUT OF IOSEPHUS DE ACOSTA HIS NATURALL AND MORALL HISTORIE OF THE WEST INDIES.

The first Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 2. cap. 6.

BVt when we intreat of Riuers, that which some men call the riuer of Amazones, others Marannon, others the riuer of Orellana, doeth iustly put to silence all the rest, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and sayled. And I stand in doubt, whether I may cal it a riuer or a sea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite store of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it selfe together, and passing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean sea, and entreth into it almost ouer against the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth so broad, especially towardes the mouth, that it

maketh in the middest many and great Iales: and that which seemeth incredible, sayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can see nothing but the skie and the riuer, although men say that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatnesse of the Riuer. Wee vnderstood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largenesse of this Riuer, which iustly may bee called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, & sayled it wholy through, being personally present in all the successes of that strange enterance, which Pedro de Orsua made, and in the mutinies and perilous conspiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our societie.

The second Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 20.

AMong all the riuers not onely of the West Indies but also of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of Marannon or of the Amazones, whereof I haue spoken in the second booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times sayled along this riuer, with determination to discouer countries, which, according to report, are of great riches, especially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Iuan de Salinas made a very notable entrance, although to small profite. It hath a salt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the most dangerous places in the world: for being restrained betweene two exceeding hie deuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great descent maketh such whirlepooles that it seemeth impossible but that it should sinke it self there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to passe the said El Pongo for the greedines to come to that so famous renowmed Dorado. They suffered themselues to bee caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and sitting fast in their Canoas or boats in which they sayled, although they were ouerturned in the fal, and they and their Canoas suncke downe to the bottome, yet they rose vp againe aboue the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlepooles. The whole army in a maner escaped, sauing a very fewe which were drowned: and which I most maruel at, they handled the matter so well, that they lost not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of those aforesaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their hands and feete.

El Pongo.

Captaine Pedro de Orsua made another enterance by the selfe same riuer, and after hee was slaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the discouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a secular man was in al that expedition) that they entred vp the Riuer almost an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the fresh water & the salt meeteth, which is either almost vnder or very neere the Equinoctial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the bredth of the Mediterran sea. Howbeit other in their descriptions make it not past 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The third Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 25.

IN that part of America, whereof the coasts be throughly known, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Brasil, and there are diuers opinions of some, which say, that it is all sunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and florishing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and say, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my selfe, a man of credite, that hee had seene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance or discouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazones or Marannon by Pedro de Orsua, and afterwardes by others that succeded him: and they supposing that Dorado which they sought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without discouering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

A short

A short description of the riuer of Marannon or Amazones, and the Countries thereabout, as also of the sea of Fresh-water, taken out of an ancient discourse of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the West Indies, Written by Martin Fernandez de Enciça, and dedicated to Charles the Emperour, Anno 1518.

MArannon lyeth in seuen degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fifteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many islands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the sayde riuer a mountaine, whereupon growe trees be of a good height, & the boughs thereof be like to Plumtrees, and the Incense doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a house in the winter season when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a smal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two stones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They sayd that so many dayes iourney going vpward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that stone. Likewise there were taken from them two loaues made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it seemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balsamum. All this coast from the Cape of S. Austine vnto Marannon is a cleare coast & deep, but neer to the riuer are certaine sholds towardes the East part. And by the West part the riuer is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The sea of fresh water, are 25 leagues: this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carieth such abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it selfe with the salt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is deuided into partes, the one going towards the Southeast, and the other towards the Southwest. That which goeth towards the Southeast is very deepe and of much water, and hath a chanel half a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe vp through it: & the tydes be so swift, that the ships haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene some that haue entred 50 leagues within it, & haue seene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey haue their lips made full of small holes in 4 parts, & through those holes be put small rings, and likewise at their eares: & if any man aske of thē where they had their gold, they answere, that going vp by the riuer so many dayes iourney, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from those mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor sell, and amongst them is nothing but change. In this countery they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Batatas, but the Batatas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a smell of Chestnuts: they are to be eaten rosted. These Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doues egge, and being in season is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preserued for a long time. These kinde of people do make their houses with vpper roomes, and they sleepe in them, as also al their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open: and also they vse certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and these they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make fast to one part of the house, and the other ende to the other part of the house: and in these they lye, which bee their beddes, and these kinde of beds bee vsed in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vse to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: & in al other places they make their houses without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houses with the leaues of date-trees, and of grasse. And from this fresh water sea vnto Paria, the coast lyeth West Northwest, and is so ful of sholds that the ships cannot come neer to the land. There are frō this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this fresh water sea, the tydes do ebbe & flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it standeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria standeth on the other side of the Equinoctial toward the North, in seuen degrees: In Paria the sea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the West, the sea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulfe of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the West,

West, are 35 leagues, and frō thence the coast turneth towardes the Northeast other 35 leagues, & from thence the coast turneth toward the West. Before this gulfe standeth the Island of Trinidad, and towards the West doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the fashion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entery in of Paria, & at this entery there is betweene the land and the Island 8 leagues, and on the other side there is but litle space betweene the Iland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this Iland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and standeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder subiection. Here the Indians do vse to shoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially ioyned a piece of wood very strong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fish, in place of an arrow head: these kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euery one of them be three or foure fingers long, & they are taken out of a fish that hath three of these bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euery wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the strongest and the greatest. In this Island the people saith that there groweth golde: and in this Island and in Paria growe reedes so great, that they make staues of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewise there bee Popiniayes very great and gentle, and some of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this sort do quickly learne to speak, and speak much. There be likewise in the gulfe of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

CERTAINE VOYAGES

NAVIGATIONS AND TRAFFIQUES BOTH ANCIENT AND OF LATE, TO DIUERS PLACES VPON THE COAST OF BRASIL: TOGETHER WITH A RUTTIER FOR ALL THAT COAST, AND TWO INTERCEPTED LETTERS WHICH REUEALE MANY SECRETS OF THE STATE OF THAT COUNTERY: THE REST OF OUR VOYAGES TO BRASIL WHICH HAUE BENE EITHER INTENDED OR PERFORMED TO THE RIUER OF PLATE, THE STREIGHT OF MAGELLAN, THE SOUTH SEA, OR FARTHER THAT WAY, BEING RESERUED FOR THE GENERALL HEADES NEXT INSUING.

A briefe relatiō of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to Sir Iohn Haukins knight, late Treasurer of her Maiesties Nauie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532.

OLde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisedome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloued of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Sestos vpon the coast of Guinea, where hee trafficked with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriuing on the coast of Brasil, he vsed there such discretion, and behaued himself so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his second voyage, one of the sauage kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countery as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe,

The second voyage of M. William Haukins to Brasil.

A king of Brasil brought into England.

againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London and presented to K. Henry the 8. lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle maruaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their sauage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behauiour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

Hauing remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Hawkins according to his promise and appointment, purposed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the said Sauage king died at sea, which was feared would turn to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuerthelesse, the Sauages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship fraighted, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witnesse of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within these fewe yeeres.

An ancient voyage of M. Robert Reniger and M. Thomas Borey to Brasil in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I Haue bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worshipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Brasil was ordinarily and vsually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and diuers other substantial and wealthie marchants of Southampton, about 60. yeeres past, that is to say in the yeere 1540.

A voyage of one Pudsey to Baya in Brasil anno 1542.

ALso the worshipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southampton Esquire gaue mee more particularly to vnderstand, how that one Pudsey of Southampton, a man of good skill and resolution in marine causes, made a voyage in like maner 62. yeeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Brasil, and the seate of the Portugal vice-roy and of the bishop, and that he built a fort not farre distant from that place, in the foresaid yeere 1542.

A fort built in Brasil by the English.

A letter written to M. Richard Staper by Iohn Whithal from Santos in Brasil, the 26. of Iune 1578.

WOrshipfull sir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me most heartily commended vnto you, wishing your health euen as mine owne.

These few words may bee to let you vnderstand, that whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes past by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very shortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: so that I am about three dayes agoe consorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signor Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy: his kindred is well knowen amongst the Italians in London: also hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better bestowed vpon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make euery yeere a thousand roues of sugar. This my mariage will be worth to me two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signor Ioffo Dore my father in law doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with sixtie or seuentie slaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thankes for placing me in such honour and plentifulnesse of all things.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Prouedor and the Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue discouered certaine Mines of siluer and gold, and looke euery day for Vincent.

Mines of gold and siluer newly discouered at S.

for Masters to come to open the said Mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South side of the Equinoctial line, & almost vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ship with goods to come from London hither, which haue promised mee to giue mee licence, saying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God sending in safety the profite and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white sugar at foure hundred reis the roue.

The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one outward only.

I meane also to haue a friend in London to sende mee a ship of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall giue aduise for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Master Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in time past. If you haue any stomacke thereto, in the Name of God do you espie out a fine barke of seuentie or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portugall Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Brasil, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write vnto you in what forme and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ship of 70. or 80. tunnes is to be made.

First you must lade in the said ship certaine Hampshire and Deuonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the saide karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordouan skinnes of these colours, to wit, orenge, tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black. I thinke you shall not finde such colours there. Therefore you must cause them that shall go vpon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnes to bee put into the saide colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheads of sweete oyle for this voyage are very necessary, or a hundred & fiftie iarres of oyle. Also in London you may lade in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle sort.
Item, One peece of fine holland.
Foure hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.
Foure dozen of sizzors of all sorts.
Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
Twentie dozen of great knines which be made in fardles, of a low price.
Foure dozen of a small sort.
Sixe peeces of bayes of the lowest sort.
One very fine peece of bayes.
Foure hundred elles of Manchester-cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.
Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypresse.
Sixe dozen of course shirts.
Three dozen of doublets of canuas.
Three dozen of doublets of stitched canuas.
One peece of fine Millan-fustian barred.
Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chests.
Sixe thousand of all maner of fish hooks.
Foure dozen reames of paper.
Two dozen of glasses of diuers sorts.
Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.
Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.

Three

Three dozen of frize gownes.
Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vse of Portugall, most smal dishes and trenchers.
Foure pound of silke of all colours.
Twentie pound of spices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and saffron.
Two kintals of white sope.
Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karsies of diuers colours.
Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.
Sixe Northerne dozens of diuers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine stamell of tenne or twelue pound.
One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.
One fine blacke karsie. One fine stamell karsie.
Sixe yards of blacke velvet.
Three barrels of nailes for chests.
Two barrels of nailes for ships and barks.
Sixe kintals of Occom.
Two dozen of velvet girdles without hangers.
Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and small billes to cut wood.
Foure mases of gitterne strings.
Foure hundred or fiue hundred elles of some linnen cloth that is of a low price to make shirts and sheets.
Foure tunne of yron.

These be such sort of wares as I would you should send. If you meane to deale, or send any ship hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Prouedor doe rule this countrey.

My father in law & I shal (God willing) make a good quantitie of sugar euery yeere, which sugar we intend to ship for London from henceforth, if we can get such a trustie & good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you presently after the receit of this my letter to write mee answere thereof, & send your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone, & he wil conuey it to me out of hand.

Besides the premisses send sixe yards of skarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.
Sixe yards of crimosin velvet.
Sixe yards of crimosin satten.
Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in stead of Iohn Whithall they haue called me Iohn Leitoan: so that they haue vsed this name so long time, that at this present there is no remedie but it must remaine so. When you write vnto me, let the superscription be vnto Iohn Leitoan. Iohn Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghost for euer.

If you send this ship, I would haue you giue order that she touch in no part of the coast of Guinie nor any other coast, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit, Iohn Leitoan.

Also a dozen of shirts for my wearing let be sent, if you send the ship.
Item, sixe or eight pieces of sayes for mantles for women, which is the most necessary thing that can be sent.

By your assured friend Iohn Whithall.

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for Brasill sent to Iohn Whithall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London. Anno 1580. the 24. of October in London.

MAster Whithall, as vnacquainted wee commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderstanding by your friends, M. Iohn Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother Iames Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frō Santos, which wee haue seene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and desire them to send a good ship to Santos, with such wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promise that they should haue good intertainment, but also should sell the saide commodities to make three of one outward at the least in euery thing, and that for to relade their ship backe, they should haue of the best, finest, & whitest drie sugars 32. pound of our weight for a ducket at the most. The premises considered, with the great credit that they and we doe giue to your writing & promise, haue caused vs, whose names be hereunder written, to ioyne our selues in company together, & to be at great charges purposely to send this good ship the Minion of London, not onely with such marchandizes as you wrote for, but also with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleasure you, or profit the country. And we craue of you, that we and our factors may haue so much credite of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleeue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpose, then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by sea and land, so as you shall not onely haue cause to reioyce, and deserue thanks for our comming, but also you wil procure the magistrates there to be bound, as they vse in Galicia, that we may be preserued and defended from all reprisals and imbargments of princes or subiects for any causes or matters whatsoeuer, whereby wee may bee incouraged by them, giuing vs this securitie of good intertainment, to continue the trade yeerely henceforth: and for our parts we promise vpon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other such peaceable marchants as we are, with their ships and goods.

And to the ende that you and others shall know that wee meane as we say, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the seales of this honourable Citie of London, which we wil not discredite by our behauiours for all the treasure that you haue: and so we haue written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you herewith enclosed in English. And if the time should fal out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our said ship in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure Pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in their fauours, and helpe our factours to haue a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amitie, and shew them that the iust cause of our comming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you, if there be any store of waxe, or salt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white sugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commodity of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it care of golde or siluer or whatsoeuer else.

Wee haue sent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other necessaries for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as wee haue at your request bene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let vs haue lawful fauour in like courtesie to further all our causes. And if any of our Mariners or passengers in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwise would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge and office, that then you will bee a meane to the Iustice that such fugitiues should bee sent abord the ship as prisoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot bring home our ship.

Wee

Wee haue giuen order to our factours to vse your counsell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendship shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue sent you a fieldbed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commoditie else that may pleasure you or your friends, wee haue giuen order that they shall haue the refusing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promising to performe all the foresaide things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preserue you with all his blessings.

Your louing friends { Christopher Hodsdon. Anthonie Garrard. Thomas Bramlie. John Bird. William Elkin.

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasill with the Minion of London aforesaid, in the yere 1580. written by Thomas Grigs Purser of the said ship.

M. Stephen Hare was Captaine in this voyage.

THe thirde day of Nouember in the yeere abouesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntil the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vse wee obserued the setting of the Sunne, which was West southwest, we then being vnder the line Equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the winde for the most part Southeast and East southeast. The same day we also obserued the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

The first land that wee fell with vpon the coast of Brasill was the yland of S. Sebastian, where we arriued the 14. day of Ianuary in the yeere 1581. The yle of S. Sebastian.

The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with Iohn Whithall his father and mother in lawe, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came abord, and then we weyed and set saile, and the 28. day wee arriued at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos. The yle of S. Catelina.

Our course from S. Sebastian was Southwest and by West, and betwixt the Southwest and by West, and West southwest.

This yland of Santa Catelina seemeth at the first to be a part of the yland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke osie ground.

Vpon the yland there grow many Palmito trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertained of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people. They arriue at Santos.

The fourth day we tooke into our ship a beefe aliue, which serued for the victualling of the ship, and the refreshing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. Iohn Whithall a bedstead with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came abord our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ships of warre, that had bene at the riuer of Ienero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were driuen from thence by their castles & forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requested vs to lend them some armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie caliuers, and two barrels of powder.

The 19. day our skiffe which we had sent to Alcatrarzas, and had bene away sixe dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde vs that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the booke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito-tree. The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our shippes side, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ship rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Ienero, returned

to Santos, and reported that the foure French ships were past to the southwards, as they thought, for the Straights of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23. day the aforesaide Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerbord two dayes before, was found againe, and taken vp three miles from our ship, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Iustices of Santos wished vs to tary in their road till the last of April, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we should haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernambuck a shippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, and Portugall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both English and Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them against Spaine.

The 25. day wee sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentie day of Aprill our Master and Thomas Babington hauing some talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the Riuer of Ienero) tolde them, that they were sorry for our banishment from the Church, and that the Ministrador had written from Rio de Ienero, that forasmuch as these twentie yeres or more the English nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of vs should come to their Church: the Padres willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Ministrador and to the bishop at Baya, and further requested all our English company to haue no ill opinion of them.

Their lading of sugars.

The 28. of April we laded sugars into our ship.

The 21. of May we tooke in fresh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of Iune wee gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victuals, and intertained him in good sort in our ship, and this day wee were promised to haue a Pilot at Santos to cary vs to Baya.

Leakes in the Minion made by wormes.

The 11. day we went to fish, to make prouision for our ship and men, and from that time till the eighteenth day wee fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ship of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while wee ridde at the yland of S. Sebastian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Master sent his skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had tarried for three dayes: and as the skiffe was going, William Euet being by the Riuers side, called to our pinnesse, and sent a letter to our *Master, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein were no newes, but that the Ministrador was arriued at Santos from the Riuer of Ienero, and would speake with our Master, but he willed that whatsoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be giuen to it. And further he wished vs presently to depart for Sant Sebastian, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to sende backe for Babington and himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come abord.

*Whose name was Stephen Hare.

Their departure from Santos.

As we rid two leagues a sea-bord the barre of Santos, wee broke a cable in the open sea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

We arriued at S. Sebastian the 15. day, and there shifted our balast, and had in stones, and halled our ship a ground to stop our leakes, & caried our caske a shoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better haue bene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our ship, by the 22. of this moneth, at S. Sebastian.

The first day of Iuly Thomas Babington came abord with William Euet, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promise to cary vs to Baya.

The things that we obserued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these.

All

All such wares and marchandizes as owe no custome in Brasill, their vse is, to set a price vpon the same, how they shalbe sold: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all such marchandizes as do owe custome there, the marchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and aduantage that they can.

Concerning the province of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land & water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fiue dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate. Some part of Peru but 12. dayes iourney from Santos.

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they doe trade and trafique by land into Peru by waggons, and horses or mules.

The saide riuer of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the fresh so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portugales here cannot bee suffered to vse their Mines of treasure in these parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie. The Portugales forbidden to vse their mines.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendship with the Portugales, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Those Sauages of Peru haue store of gold and siluer, but they knowe not the vse of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portugales for kniues, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will sell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie duckets to the Portugal.

This people haue also continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of those Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales these seuen yeeres, with his master called Sennor Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrarzas and S. Sebastian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather shewe like the sailes of ships. The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes, dangerous for rocks.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina also fiue leagues to the East and by south into the sea off the yland.

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fadom and a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, litle more or lesse, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fadome water.

A letter of Francis Suares to his brother Diego Suares dwelling in Lisbon, written from the riuer of Ienero in Brasill in Iune 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and Peru, by the way of the riuer of Plate, with small barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

Sir, we set saile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arriued here in this riuer of Ienero the twentie seuenth of Iune next ensuing. And the same day the Visitadores did visit our ship with great ioy, thinking that those commodities which wee brought with vs, had bene for the marchants of this countrey: but it prooued to the contrary.

The pilot brought with him in the sayd shippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and solde by the Iustice for foure and twenty reals euery gallon. But I solde mine for two and thirty and sixe and thirty reals the gallon. If I had brought any great store of wine, I should haue made a great gaine of it: for I should haue gotten eight reals for one. Wine solde at an excessiue rate.

The next day in the morning wee went all on shore, and gaue God thanks for our prosperous voyage, and good successe which he had sent vs. And because the gouernour of this countrey

countrey was gone from this Towne to another house of his, three leagues vp into the riuer beyond the place where we rode at anker, I desired the captaine of our shippe after dinner, that we might take the shippe boat, and goe to the place where the gouernour did lie. And so going vp the riuer, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the riuer, and going aboord our shippe; which canoa was laden with fresh victuals, and in the same was one Portugall, which met vs, and tolde vs that the gouernour of that captaine shippe had sent vs a present, which we receiued very thankefully, and sent it aboord. And we went vp the riuer, to the place where the gouernour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the riuers side, the gouernour came thither and receiued vs very courteously. So we remained at his house two dayes, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the riuer.

A rich trade from the riuer of Ienero by the riuer of Plate into Peru, &c.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-house by my selfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am selling them as fast as I can; and sell them very well, and to great profit: for I haue solde all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reason of the great vtterance of them vp into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the riuer of Plate. For here is passage euery three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with sugars, rice, taffataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried vp the sayd riuer of Plate in the sayd barks, and thence are conueyed vp into Peru. And these barks are but tenne or twelue dayes going vp the sayd riuer to Peru. And within foure and fiue moneths after, the sayd barkes come downe this riuer againe laden with reals of plate, and bring downe from those places no other commodities but treasure. It is a woonderfull thing to beholde the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this riuer and in this countrey. I am ashamed to write it, fearing that I shall not be beleeued. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in Spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelue hundred and fifteene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath beene vsed but within this yeere. For wee can goe vp to the mines of Potosi, which are the best and the richest mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not send nor venture so much merchandise to Cartagena as they doe. For vp this riuer is a great deale the neerer way, and the easier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and riuer of Ienero, and bring with them fifteene thousand and twentie thousand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this riuer in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then these merchants of Peru are constrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good store of silks, and not these kinde of commodities which I did bring. For heere is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with fiue hundred ducats in fiue moneths space a man may get sixe thousand ducats. And this is no fable, but most true, and a great deale more then I can expresse. For a rapier which doeth cost in Spaine foure and twenty and sixe and twenty reals, is solde heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bridle for a horse is solde for fifteene ducats: a locke of a doore and the key is solde for ten ducats: a pound of beniamin is solde for fifteene ducats: a yard of velues is solde for twenty and fiue and twenty ducats: taffataes are solde for sixe and seuen ducats the vare: an ownce of muske is solde for forty ducats: and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one thousand ducats of Spanish commodities will gaine tenne thousand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I haue solde most of my hats for two duckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The rest I will cary to Angola, to helpe to sell the rest of my commodities, which I cannot sell in this riuer. And I haue solde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for fiue hundred and fiue hundred and fifty and sixe hundred reys the cubit. If I would haue solde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and fiue hundred reyes, the merchants would haue bought it all of me: but I would sell no more, because I meant to exchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man shall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The captaine of our ship solde all his cloth for ready money

The shortnesse of the returne of the voyage to Peru.

This rich trade was begunne in the yeere 1595.

The voyage of Angola in Africa.

Gaine of ten thousand ducats for the laying out of one thousand.

A trade of buying Negros in Angola.

money for foure hundred & fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market: but he hath deceiued himselfe. I solde six broad clothes for fiue hundred and fifty reys the cubit: and I was offered thirty thousand reys for a cloth. Vineger is solde for two and thirty, and sixe and thirty, and forty reals a iarre, by reason there is great store of limmons and orenges in the countrey: but in Angola it is more woorth. Oliues are solde for halfe a reall a piece: wherefore I hope to sell the hogshead for twenty thousand reys. In taffatnes and veluets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great store, I could haue solde it all at this rate. I haue already gotten good store of reals of plate: for it is tolde mee that money is a good commodity in Angola. But I must imploy some in meale, which is in the grinding. All the rest of my money I will send you by billes of exchange, and some part I will imploy in sugars: for I haue sent order to Baia for that purpose. For from this place there is no shipping that doth go that way. So these letters I do send by the way of Fernambuc, and haue directed them to my cousin: for I do determine to settle my selfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this riuer of Plate, a merchant called Alonso Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelue thousand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ship to returne into Spaine; and there is come in his company a bishop. And thus Iesus Christ send you long health.

Broad cloth excellently well solde.

Vineger.

Oliues.

Taffatnes.

Veluets.

Your louing brother Francis Suares.

The well gouerned and prosperous voyage of M. Iames Lancaster, begun with three ships and a galley-frigat from London in October 1594, and intended for Fernambuck, the port-towne of Olinda in Brasil. In which voyage (besides the taking of nine and twenty ships and frigats) he surprized the sayd port-towne, being strongly fortified and manned; and held possession thereof thirty dayes together (notwithstanding many bolde assaults of the enemy both by land and water) and also prouidently defeated their dangerous and almost ineuitable fire-works. Heere he found the cargazon or freight of a rich East Indian carack; which together with great abundance of sugars, Brasil-wood, and cotton he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene sailes of tall ships and barks.

IN September 1594 the worshipfull M. Iohn Wats, alderman, M. Paul Banning, alderman, & others of worship in the city of London, victualled three good ships; to wit, The Consent, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout, The Salomon, of 170 tunnes, and The Virgin, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. Iames Lancaster of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. Iohn Audely of Poplar neere London, rereadmirall, hauing in their sayd ships to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furnished with all needfull prouision, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coast, vntill we came into the West countrey, where we met with such gusts and stormes, that the Salomon spending her mast at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour; but by the earnest care and industry of the generall and others hauing charge, she was shortly againe prouided. Which done, hauing a pleasant gale for our purpose, we put foorth from Dartmouth the last of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coast, we lost the Salomon and the Virgin, by a storme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs: yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our course to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our consorts; which greatly grieued vs.

Thence we went, bearing for the isle of Tenerif, where in the morning early we had sight of a saile, which being becalmed vnder the shore, was towing with their boat a head, hauing one other at her sterne. For this saile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need should require. The Spaniards seeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leauing the ship, sought to saue themselues by flight: but our men pursued them so fast, that they boorded them,

A shippe with 80 tunnes of wine taken.

them, and brought them with their shippe to our Generall. This ship was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had sight of one other; to whome in like maner wee sent our boat: but their gunner made a shot at her,

Another prize with 40 tuns of wine taken.

and strooke off a propper yoong mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free passage, and an acquitance for the deliuery of their wines, were all set on shore vpon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the West Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin our rereadmirall, whose men tolde vs for very trueth, that the Salomon was returned for England: inforced so to doe, by spending her mast the second time. Which when our men vnderstood, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and saying among themselues that their force was but small when all our strength were together, and now we had lost the one halfe of our strength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore some of them came to the captain, asking him what he would now do, seeing the Salomon was lost, the one halfe of our strength, giuing him counsell to beare vp for the West Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, because his first plat for want of strength was cleane ouerthrown. The captaine hearing this new nouelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenses of mariners, made them this answere: Sirs, I made knowen to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck, and although at the present we want one of our ships, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the islands of Cape Verde: for I am assured that M. Barker the captaine is so resolute to performe this voyage, that his mast being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, & it were no wisdome for vs to diuert our course, till we haue sought him at those places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courses is the ouerthrow of most of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other course then I haue determined, (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawen vnto. With these reasons and many others shewed, they rested all satisfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praised) we met with the

Foure & twlty sailes of ships & of carracks taken by the Salomon.

Salomon with no small ioy to vs all; and there she had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 saile of ships and caraucls, fisher-men, and had taken out of them such necessaries as she had need of. Of these ships our captaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himselfe, meaning to imploy them as occasion should serue. At this place he vnderstood of one of the pilots of those ships, that one of the caracks that came out of the East Indies, was cast away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arracife which is the lower towne. Of these newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, seeing such a booty before vs.

Of this good company and happy successe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the blessing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and so after some parle & making

Maio.

frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praising God for all) we plied for Maio: where comming to anker, our generall & the rest of the captaines went ashore to view the

A gally-frigot carried out of England in pieces.

place where we might in best safety set our gally-frigat together; which frame wee brought from England of purpose to land men in the country of Brasil. Here we discharged our great prize of wine, and set her on fire: but before our comming thither, you shall vnderstand we had sight of foure sailes, which was captaine Venner in his ship the Peregrine, and a proper Biskaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymmouth & her pinnesse: all which stood with vs. But they seeing our flags, not expecting such good fellowes as we, did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vnkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire, nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but without making any shew of kindnes would so depart. As before I haue said, the choice being made for the place to build

The gally-frigot set vp.

the gally-frigat, ashore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, still cheered vnto it by the generals good gifts bestowed among them, and kind vsage of the rest of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the safety of them all, by keeping

good

good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the countrey, straying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, & very kindly vsed, and brought againe vnto vs: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus busily imployed about the foresayd galley, we descried at sea foure sailes, which we had good hope would haue prooued Indies men, or some to haue brought vs what wee looked for: but they proued captaine Venner with his fleet, as aforesayd, who, seeing vs at anker, ankered also; where spending some time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, consorted with vs, & their bils, according to the maner of the sea, were made and signed on either part, we to haue three parts, & he the fourth, of all that should be taken, wherby our strength was increased, to all our comforts. Three weeks or thereabouts we stayd in this place before the gally was finished; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing foureteene banks on a side, a mast and saile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M. Wats, an honest skilfull mariner.

From thence we put againe to sea, and went for the ile Braua, where we watered: which done, we made no long stay after, but bent our course as directly as we could for the place, making our first fall with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Augustine; from whence wee plied still to our desired port of Fernambuck, and did so much, that about midnight we came before the harbour; where some plied vp and downe, holding that the best policy, to forbeare the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ships being in safety well arriued, God was praised: and the generall in his boat went from ship to ship, willing them to make ready such men as they could spare, with muskets, pikes, billes, bowes, arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himselfe, with 80 men from his owne ship, imbarked himselfe in the gally, which caried in her prow a good sacar, and two murdering pieces. Cape S. Augustine. Fernambuck. The 29 of March.

Our admiral spent all the night in giuing directions to euery ship to haue their men ready shipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, & to leaue his ships without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not aduenture the ships in, till the harborow was gotten. Also he prouided fiue ships, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently saile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ships, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and therefore he gaue order to the men of these fiue small ships, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboord of them, & to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the Northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs: so that before wee could get vp againe, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the sight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ships rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-colouring shot off: in the which time passed many shot betweene the fort and the ships, and especially betweene the admirals ship and them: but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready houering in the gally & the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, seeing our resolution, layd out haulsers, and wound themselues out of the way of vs. Our admiral was very ioyfull, & gaue great incouragement to all his men: for, to passe these three great Hollanders, he held it the greatest danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouerner of the towne sent a Portugall aboord the admirals ship, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this answere: That he wanted the caracks goods, and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he should shortly see. In this processe of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which saw so much shipping, & perceiued vs to be enemies, gathered themselues together, three or foure ensignes of men, esteemed to the number of some sixe hundred at the least. These came to the fort or platforme

forme lying ouer against the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admirall set forward with his boats, he gaue expresse order to all that had charge of gouerning the boats or galley, to run them with such violence against the shore, that they should be all cast away without recouery, and not one man to stay in them, whereby our men might haue no maner of retreat to trust vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall set forward, and entered the harborow with the small galley, and all the rest of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and the boats; and one of their shot tooke away a great piece of our ensigne out of the galley. But our saile being set, it was no time for vs to make any stay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the shore right vnder the fort, within a coits cast of it, with such violence, that we brake her backe; and she suncke presently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the sea, which presently cast her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriuall, those in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being seuen pieces of brasse, to discharge them vpon vs at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the rest following him, off came these pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praised, they in the fort, with feare to see vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance so steepe downewards with their mouthes, that they shot all their shot in the sand, although, as I sayd before, it was not aboue a coits cast at the most betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: so that they only shot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to vs a great blessing of God: for if those ordinances had bene well leuelled, a great number of vs had lost our liues at that instant. Our admirall seeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Vpon them, vpon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Those foure ensignes of men that were set to defend our landing, seeing this resolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine bushes that were by the same fort; and being followed, fledde thorowe a certeine oaze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and so abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriuall was their Good-friday, when by custome they vsually whippe themselues: but God sent vs now for a generall scourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waued to the ships, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all speed, himselfe taking order in leauing certeine men in keeping the sayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee suspected the greatest danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about some foureteene score from the fort: in which towne lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the same, the people imbarking themselues in caruels & boats, with all the expedition they could. The base towne, of aboue an hundred houses, being thus taken, we found in it great store of merchandizes of all sorts: as Brasil-wood, sugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, mase, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe the towne, and placed at the South end of the same captaine Venner and his company, himselfe and his company in the midst of the towne, and captaine Barker and captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giuing great charge, that no man vpon paine of great punishment and losse of his shares, should breake vp or enter into any ware-house, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where so great spoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any disorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-house broken open, or any spoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be obserued in such an action: for common mariners and souldiers are much giuen to pillaging and spoiling, making greater account of the same then of their shares.

The fort of Fernambock taken.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very sure watch this first night, and the morning being come, our admirall and captaine Venner, with the rest of the captaines, went about the

the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: so that within two dayes it was surrounded with posts & planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at least nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found prouision in the towne, sufficient store for it. Now it is to be vnderstood, that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the sea, and on the backside by a riuer that runneth behinde it; so that to come to it by land, you must enter it by a small narrow passage not aboue forty paces ouer at an high water. At this passage we built a fort, and planted in it fiue pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the first fort we wan at our comming into the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in possession, our admirall sent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and sober and discreet of his owne cariage. At his first comming aboord of them, they seemed to stand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and strong ships: but he vsed himselfe so, that they at the last willed him to come into the greatest of their ships, which was aboue 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they should be there as sure from any shew of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houses, and if they should thinke so good, his admirall would fraight the for England, if they would be content with fraight reasonable, and as they should agree, and it should be at their owne choise whether to go or not, he would not force them, vnlesse it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were somewhat stubburne at the first, as that nation is in these causes, yet being satisfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, & after conference had with the admirall, they were so satisfied, that they went thorow with a fraight: and then we ioyned with them, & they with vs, and they serued vs as truely & as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by sea and all other seruices. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noise; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall supposing some such assault, had prouided all our muskets with haile-shot, which did so gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them presently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horse and his rider slaine both with one of these shot. Our men followed them some fiue or sixe score, but no further. We lost in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was lost of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ships & 2 pinnesses, the pinnesses being somewhat nere, discried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinnesse, declaring all the rest to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed should come in: and so they did. These were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchase. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongst whom was one captaine Iohn Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the iland of Mona in the West Indies, where his ship was cast away, comming out of the East Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed it, & was not vngratefull for his former benefit shewed vnto him. This captaine desired of our admirall to bestow vpon him his ships lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him, and also his pinnesse, and more, gaue him a caruel of about 50 tuns, & bid him lade her with wood also; which with other benefits he gratefully receiued. To the other two captaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captain of Diepe confessed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, & being distressed for want of water, gaue him some, & went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and so departed frō him, saying that his men were very weake. The comming in of these ships did much strengthen vs; for our admiral appointed both these French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the riuer by night with their boats, euery boat hauing in her 12 men at the least, and the boats well prouided. This was for feare of fired ships or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and caused our ships to ride by cables and haulsers, at all aduantages to shun them, if by that meanes they should attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires soeuer we

Abraham Cocke going for the riuer of Plate, met withall.

should espy or see, not one man to start from his watch or quarter, vnlesse we were by himselfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and hauing viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking our selues sufficiently fortified, we began to vnlade our ships, which came as full laden in as they went foorth, but not with so good merchandize. And this order was taken about the vnlading of them, and also the lading of goods out of the towne: our men were diuided into halues, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes those that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none stept far off or wandred from his colours, and those that wrought had all their weapons in good order set & placed by them, so that at an instant euery one knew where to go to his furniture: and this was very carefully looked vnto.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off vpon a hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and sayd that from the bishop, themselues, & the rest, they would haue some conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall, he hung downe his head for a small season; and when he had muzed a while, he answered, I must go aboord of the Flemings vpon busines that importeth me, and therefore let them stay if they will: and so he went & sate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this space diuers messengers went to the admirall, to come away, for these gentlemen stayd. To whom he gaue this answere: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better sort of our men maruelled, and thought much, because he would not vouchsafe to come and haue conference with such men of account as they seemed to be. But the admiral made them this answere, Sirs, I haue bene brought vp among this people, I haue liued among them as a gentleman, serued with them as a souldier, and liued among them as a merchant, so that I should haue some vnderstanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot preuaile with the sword by force, then they deale with their deceiueable tongues; for faith and trueth they haue none, neither will vse any, vnlesse it be to their owne aduantage. And this I giue you warning, that if you giue them parle, they will betray vs; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieue me most to be ouertaken by this nation & the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they vnderstand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be satisfied; I hope it is for all our goods: for what shall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we haue gotten already that we came for, should we venture that we haue gotte with our swords, to see if they can take it from vs by words and policy? there were no wisedome in so doing. You know what it hath cost vs, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts: and therefore from henceforth I giue this commission, that if any be taken, he be sent away with this order, although he come as a friend, that if either he or any other approch vs from henceforth, he shalbe hanged out of hand: and other course then this I will not take with them. Which course was followed, for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night: and after that we were neuer troubled with spies; and although diuers slaues came running from their men to vs, by which we vnderstood much of their working & pretences, yet the admirall would enterteine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for seeing vs so busie, about sixe nights after our comming in, they priuily in the night cast vp a trench in the sands about a sacar shot from our ships, minding there to plant ordinance, which would haue offended our ships greatly; & they would not haue bene able to haue rode there to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, about 3 of the clocke in the after noone marshalled our men, and he and all the rest of the captaines marched toward them. The Portugals & Indians perceiuing our comming, began to withdraw themselues within the trench, meaning (as it should appeare) to fight it out there: but we made no stand, neither did it behoue vs, but presently approched the trenches with our muskets & pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finished: so that by

by Gods helpe we entered thē. And the Portugals & Indians left the place, & left vnto vs 4 good peeces of brasse ordinance, with powder and shot & diuers other necessaries, and among the rest 5 smal carts of that countrey, which to vs were more worth then al the rest we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the waters side: for without them we could not haue told what to haue done, much of our goods being so heauie, that without carts we were not able to weyld them: all these things we brought away & destroyed al those platforms that they had made, and then we had rest with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deuiding our marchandize with captaine Venner according to our consort, and went daily lading them abord, euery ships company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three Dutch ships: for the goods being put into their boats their owne companies laded themselues. And this farther good chance or blessing of God we had to helpe vs, that assoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ship with some 60 Negros, 10 Portugall women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the Negros we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our Admirall kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to vs was a very great ease. For the countrey is very hote and ill for our nation to take any great trauell in.

In this towne there is no fresh water to be had, and therefore we were euery 5 or 6 dayes compelled to passe ouer the riuer into the maine land to get fresh water, which after the first or second time the Portugals kept and would haue defended our watering, so that we were driuen to water of force, and at seuerall times some of our men were hurt, and onely two or three slaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they molested vs in our watering, so they slept not in other deuises, but put in practise to burne our ships or remoue them out of the harbour. For within some 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 Carauels and filled them with such things as would best take fire and burne: these they brought within a mile or little more of our ships, and there set them on fire, for neerer they could not well come because of our watch of boates, for, as is abouesaid, the Admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch aboue halfe a mile from the ships for feare of such exploytes as these, which was the cause they could not fire them so neere the ships as they would haue done. But these fired Carauels had the tide with them, and also the little winde that blewe was in their fauour; which caused them to come downe the streame the faster: which our boats perceiuing made to them with as much expedition as conueniently they could, but the tide and wind both seruing them, they approched toward the ships with great expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in some feare of them, yet no man mooued or started frō his quarter more then if there had bene nothing to doe. Also the masters and such as were aboord, were somewhat amased to see 5 so great fires to be comming downe among their ships, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being prouided afore hande & iudging that some such stratagems would be there vsed, the riuer being very fit therefore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with vs & our best defence in this voyage; by whose assistance we performed this so great an attempt with so small forces. Our companie in the boats so played the men when they saw the fires come neere our ships, that casting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as euery boat had one for that purpose, some they towed aground, and some they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, & so we were deliuered by Gods helpe from this fearefull danger. Within some 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in & abode there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driuing downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugest fires that I haue seene. These were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approched thē, thinking to clap their grapnels vpon them, as they had done vpon the Carauels the night before, they were preuented: for there stooke out of the rafts many poles which kept them from the body of the rafts, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into thē: & yet they had this inconuenience worse then al the rest which most troubled vs. There stooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with such prouision of fire-workes that they ceased not still (as the fire came downe to those trunks to set thē on fire) to spout out such sparkles, that our boats hauing

powder

powder in them for our mens vse, durst not for feare of fyring theselues with their owne powder come neere those sparkles of the raftes, but seeing them to driue neerer & neerer our ships, they wet certain clothes and laid vpon their flaskes and bandelers and so ventured vpon them, & with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and so towed them on ground, where they stooke fast & were not burnt out the next day in the morning. Diuerse logs and timbers came driuing along by our ships, and burning, but with our boats we easily defended them. And thus (God be praysed) we escaped the second fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gaue vs to vnderstand, but this we preuented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations; and we were credibly informed of certainetie, that this firing should be such as we should neuer be able to preuent, and assuredly these fires be dangerous things and not to be preuented vpon the sudden, vnlesse it be afore prepared for and foreseene. For when it commeth vpon the sudden and vnlooked for, and vnprouided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits ende. And therefore let all men riding in riuers in their enemies countrey be sure to looke to be prouided before hand, for against fire there is no resistance without preparation.

Also it is a practise in these hot countreys, where there be such expert swimmers, to cut the cables of ships: and one night it was practised to cut the Admirals cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to watch all the night, and the bwoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, seeing then our good watch, they neuer after attempted it.

While all these things passed, our ships (God be thanked) thorow the industry of our gouernours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the best marchandize conueyed aboord our ships, so that our Admirall ment to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or else on the next day at the farthest, and so warning was giuen to all men to make themselues readie. Our Admiral being aboord his ship y same morning, espyed in the sands right against the place where the ships rode, that there was a small banke of sand newly cast vp, vnder which he perceiued now and then some people to be: presently he tooke his boat and went to the towne and called all the Captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about some pretence right against the ships, consulting whether it were best to sally out & see what they were doing, or depart that euening according to the former determination. The Admirall was of opinion to depart that night, saying it was but folly to seeke warres since we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to see what they did, least the winde might be contrarie and the ships not get out, and so our enemies may build vpon vs to our great disaduantage. Well, said the Admiral, the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this sally, for where they worke it is within Falkonshot of the ships, and if any power should come against you, the ships may play vpon them with 40 peeces of ordinance at the least, so that a bird cannot passe there but she must be slaine. I am somewhat vnwilling you should go, for I haue not bene well these two dayes, and I am not strong to march vpon those heauie sands: they answered all at once, you shall not neede to trouble your selfe for this seruice, for you see it is nothing and of no danger, being so neere the ships, doubt you not we will accomplish this seruice well vnough, and returne againe within this houre. The Admirall answered: the danger cannot be great, but yet you shall goe out strong for feare of the worst. And so the Admirall marshalled them 275 men French and English, which were vnder the conduct of Edmund Barker, captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Viceadmirall to captaine Venner, captaine Addy, and the three French captaines all going out together, and they were to march vpon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were sent vnto: in the brodest place betwixt the sea and the water on the other side, it is not aboue a stones cast, for it is a bank of sand lying betweene the riuer & the sea, so they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their sides, and before them could no man come, but he must passe by all the ships which no company of men were able to do without present death. The Admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he sent them to, and so he himselfe went aboord the ships and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worst, not knowing what might insue, although

although he saw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were sent vnto, being right ouer against the ships: out of which place came some dozen shot, which seeing vs come, discharged and ran their wayes with such as were working within the said platforme. So that we came into it and perceiued they had begunne to lay plankes to plant ordinance vpon. Our Admiral commanded, if there were any such thing, to burne the plankes & returne in againe, which we might haue done without hurting of any mans finger: but our leaders were not content to haue performed the seruice committed them in charge, but would needes expresly & against their order march on further to fight with certaine Ensignes almost a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ships, & where lay the strength of the whole countrey. When our men began to draw neere those Ensigns of men, the Ensignes seemed to retire with great speed, which our men followed with such great hast that some outrunning other some, our order was broken, and those ensignes retyred theselues into the force of the whole countrey, so that our formost men were in the midst of their enemies yer they were aware, which were slaine yer the rest could come to succour them. The enemies incouraged by this, came also vpon the rest, which presently began to retire, & the enemies followed them til they came within the reach of the ordinance of our ships, where they were beaten off and left their pursuit. In this conflict were slaine captain Barker captaine of the Salomon, captaine Cotton & Admirals Lieutenant, captaine Iohn Noyer a French captaine of Diepe, and another French captaine of Rochel, with M. Iohn Barker & other to the number of 35: for these were the formost and hottest in the pursuit of the Ensignes aforesaid, and by their forwardnes came all to perish. At our returne into the towne the Admiral came to vs much bewayling the death of so many good men as were lost, wondering what we ment to passe the expresse order that was giuen vs. With this losse our men were much danted, but our Admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was sometimes to win and sometimes to loose. And therewithall he wished euery man to prepare & make himselfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ships were readie and laden, and he would not stay any further fortune. The euening being come, the ships began to wey & go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodnesse toward vs who sent vs a faire wind to go foorth withall, so that by 11 of the clocke in the night we were all forth in safety. The enemies perceiuing our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and shot at vs in the night, but did vs no harme. We were at our comming foorth 15 sailes, that is, 3 sailes of Hollanders, the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, foure sailes of French & one ship which the Admiral gaue the French Captain, 3 sailes of Captain Venners fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 sailes of our Admirals fleete, all these were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We stayed in this harbour to passe all this businesse but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with skirmishes and attempts of the enemie 11. times; in all which skirmishes we had the better, onely this last excepted. To God be the honour and praise of all, &c. The whole fleete being out in safety, the next day in the morning the Admirall gaue order to the whole fleete to saile toward Peraniew a harbour lying some 40 leagues to the Northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in fresh water and to refresh themselues: and to make prouision for refreshing, our Admirall had sent thither some 6 daies before two French men in a smal pinnesse, which Frenchmen he had prouided from Diepe before his comming out of England for that purpose. For both these two spake the Indians language very perfectly: for at this port of Peraniew and an other called Potaju some 6 leagues to the Northward the Frenchmen haue had trade for brasil-wood, and haue laden from thence by the Indians meanes, who haue fet it for them some 20 leagues into the country vpon their backs, 3 or 4 ships euery yere. Thus we all sailed toward Peraniew, at which place we arriued in the night, so that we were forced to lie off & on with a stiffe gale of wind, in which we lost the most part of our fleete, & they not knowing this coast put off to the sea, and so went directly for England. Our Admirall and some 4 saile more with him put into the harborow of Peraniew, and there watered and refreshed himselfe very well, with hens, conies, hares and potatos, with other things, which the

Peraniew 40. leagues northward of Fernambuck.

two

Pernajea a very good harbour.

two Frenchmen had partly prouided before his comming: this is a very good harborow where ships may ride and refresh very well. But, as I am giuen to vnderstand since our comming from thence, the Portugals haue attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and haue put the French from their accustomed trade. Here hauing watered and refreshed our selues, we put to the sea, plying after the rest of our fleete which were gone before, which we neuer heard of till our arriuall in England at The downes in the moneth of Iuly, where we vnderstood the rest of our consorts to be passed vp for London, Captaine Venner & his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ships to be safe arriued at Diepe, which to vs was very great comfort. At our setting sayle from The downes, according as the custome is, finding the Queenes ships there, we saluted them with certaine ordinance. The Gunner being carelesse, as they are many times of their powder, in discharging certain pieces in ỹ gunner roome, set a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in ỹ gunner roome, blew vp the Admirals caben, slew the gunner with 2 others outright, & hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made such a smoke in the ship with the fire that burnt in the gunner roome among all the fire workes, that no man at the first wist what to doe: but recalling backe their feare, they began to cast water into the gunner roome in such abundance (for the Queenes ships now & also the other ships that were in our company came presently to our helpe) that (God be praised) we put out the fire & saued all, & no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be seene that there is no sure safety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came vpon vs, then we suffered all the whole voyage. But the almightie be praysed for euer, which deliuered vs out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in fresh men (God be prayse) we came to Blacke-wall in safety.

A speciall letter written from Feliciano Cieça de Caruahho the Gouernour of Paraiua in the most Northerne part of Brasil, 1597, to Philip the second king of Spaine, answering his desire touching the conquest of Rio Grande, with the relation of the besieging of the castle of Cabodelo by the Frenchmen, and of the discouerie of a rich siluer mine and diuerse other important matters.

The king of Spaines resolution to proceed in the discouerie & conquest of Rio Grande.

I Receiued your Maiesties letter bearing date the ninth of Nouember 1596. whereby I vnderstande that your Maiestie doth determine to proceede in the discouerie and conquest of Rio Grande, according to the relation which was sent your Maiestie by Don Francisco de Sousa, Gouernour generall of this realme of Brasilia: together with a copie of a letter, which your Maiestie sent vnto vs, bearing date the two and twentieth of March 1596. Moreouer I receiued another letter from your Maiestie bearing date the 15 of March 1597. Both which letters were to one effect. It may please your Maiestie to vnderstand that there are diuerse Gentlemen in these countreys of as good abilitie as my selfe, which seeke to liue at home onely for their ease and pleasure, and are not wont to hazard nor venture their bodies, liues, and goods so often times in your Maiesties seruice as I haue done and commonly doe; and can keepe their goods and riches, and not spend nor wast them as I haue done, and dayly doe so wilfully: yet neuerthelesse being spent in your Maiesties seruice, I am very glad thereof. For I and they are alwayes readie at your Maiesties commandement.

The Captainship of Paraiua standeth in site 25. min. of Southerly latitude.

And as concerning your Maiesties commandement in commanding me that I should put to my helping hand in the conquest of Rio Grande: although this Captainesbip of Paraiua and countrey where I doe gouerne doth want abilitie for that purpose, yet neuerthelesse your Maiestie shall alwayes finde me readie to doe your Maiestie the best seruice I can: for it is very well knowen how forward I haue bene alwayes and am in this conquest, and still doe put to my helping hand, as partly your Maiestie doth vnderstand by a letter which I wrote to your Maiesty by my sonne, bearing date the 19 of March 1596 wherein your Maiestie may vnderstand what good seruice I haue alreadie done therein, and alwayes will be readie to my power to doe the like in furthering of the said enterprise.

It may please your Maiestie to vnderstand that the third of Iuly there was brought vnto me a Frenchman a prisoner, who presented himselfe vnto me. And I examining of him, he

tolde

tolde me that he came running away from certaine French ships men of warre, which came vpon this coast: and he tolde me that he had serued your Maiestie in the warres of France. Likewise he told me that he left me seuen great ships Frenchmen of warre riding at an anker in Rio Grande, and that there were 13 French ships of warre more, which had giuen battery to the castle of Cabodelo, and landed 350 soldiers all in white armour, and the battery continued from Friday vntill the Munday following both by sea and land, and great store of Frenchmen were slaine, and two Captaines of the French. On our side the Captaine of the castle was slaine, and other two Portugals hurt: other harme they had none. There were but twentie Portugals in the castle, and fiue pieces of ordinance. They ment to haue kept the castle, and to haue traded with the Indian people. So seeing they could not take the castle, they hoysed sayles, and went from thence to Rio Grande: and being altogether they are in number 20 saile at an anker in Rio Grande. And some of them determine after they be new trimmed and drest, and haue taken in fresh victuals, and stayed there vntill Easter, then to depart from thence to the Honduras, and so to burne and spoyle some townes thereabout.

The castle of Cabodelo besinged by the French.

I certified Manuel Mascarenhas of these informations by my letters, requesting him to send me with all expedition those souldiers which were in garison in Fernambuck to ayde me, and to defende this Captaineship from the enemie. But the Friers of The Couent would not consent thereunto, nor suffer them to be sent vnto me. So I was forced to make shift with those souldiers only which I had in my gouernment and tooke them with me, and marched to the place where the enemies were entrenched, and vpon Whitsunday in the euening about three of the clocke, hauing in my company a Negro of the countrey of Petiguar, which was our guide, he brought vs where the enemies campe was; and presently I did assault them, and slew great store of them, burning the villages and countrey of those rebels, which did ioine with the Frenchmen, and tooke many of them prisoners. So they told me that there were ten great French ships of warre which were at an anker in Rio Grande.

The garison of Fernambuck.

The countrey of Petiguar rebelleth against the Portugals.

Likewise I was informed, that there is a Frenchman called Daurmigas, which hath discouered and found great store of siluer in a place called Copaoba. The siluer hath bene tried and melted, it is very good and fine siluer, and there is great quantitie. The man which told me of this hath beene in the mine, and hath seene it tried and melted. And I haue bene my selfe once in the place: it is but 6 dayes iourney from this Captaineship.

A rich siluer mine found at Copaoba within sixe dayes iourney of Paraiba.

Furthermore this Frenchman told me that one Monsieur Mifa a French Captaine, and a kinsman of the gouernour and Viceadmirall of Diepe in Normandie, had one of his armes stroken off at the siege of the castle of Cabodelo; who is departed from Rio Grande, with determination to come backe hither againe the next yeere in the moneth of Ianuarie following, and to inhabite in this countrey of Paraiba, which is 20 leagues from Fernambuck, because of the great store of siluer, which they haue alreadie found here.

Moreouer I am enformed that a noble man of France called The earle of Villa Dorea doth intend to come vpon this coast with a great fleete from Rochel. It were good that your Maiestie would send into France to knowe the certainetie thereof.

The Frenchman likewise told me that all the Canibals of Petiguar haue ioyned themselues in companie with certaine Frenchmen, which were cast away in two ships vpon this coast. The one of these ships which were cast away was one Rifoles, and the other ship was this mans. And those Frenchmen which came vpon this coast did ioyne themselues with those Canibals which did rebell, and did diuide themselues into two squadrons. So I sent presently to Manuel Mascarenhas that he should send me aide and munition. But he sent me word againe, that he had none to spare, and that he did purpose with all speede to goe himselfe to Rio Grande; and that he was not able to furnish himselfe so well as he could wish, nor to bring his souldiers into the field, for lacke of shot, powder, and other munition, which he did want.

All the Canibals of Petiguar ioyne with the Frenchmen against the Portugals.

Hereupon once more the 29 of Iuly I with my souldiers marched to the enemies campe, and there ioyning battell with the Indian rebels, which were ioyned with the Frenchmen

that were their leaders, I did set vpon them, and slew great store of them, and tooke foureteene of them prisoners. They doe report the very same newes, which the other Frenchmen did tell me as touching the ships which were in the harbour of Rio Grande; and how their pretence was to haue come and haue taken vs, and spoyled the countrey.

But now being put to flight and hauing receiued the ouerthrow, they can get no victuals to victuall their shippes: which hath bene the cause that they are mightily hindered in their intent, and dare not come any more to attempt vs. And the Indians are so dismayed, that in haste they will haue no more helpe nor aide of the Frenchmen. So by these meanes of necessitie the Indians must submit themselues vnto vs, considering they are quite spoyled and ouerthrowen for a long time. Likewise they haue enformed me touching the siluer mines which are found, that it is most true. For those French shippes which were in Rio Grande haue laden great store of the oare. Wherefore I certified Manuel de Mascarenhas of the Frenchmens newes, and howe euery thing did stand; wishing him to make readie foure ships and three hundred souldiers, and so to take the harbour of Rio Grande, being now cleered and voyde of the enemie: and to search out the situation of the place, and where were best to fortifie and to build some fortes for the defence of this riuer, where neede shall require. Hereunto Mascarenhas sent me word, that when he went himselfe, and found it true which hath beene reported touching the siluer mines, that then he would send both men and ships. Therefore your Maiestie must giue order, that the rest of the Gouernours shall ayde and assist me in these warres: otherwise of my selfe I am not able to doe more then I haue alreadie done in defending of this countrey against our enemies which are many.

French ships laden with great store of siluer oare.

It may please your Maiestie to be aduertised, that from time to time I haue written vnto Don Francisco de Sousa Gouernor general of this realme, who is in Baia, as concerning these Frenchmen of warre; but he will not answere me to any purpose, because I do write vnto him for such things as I doe want, which are shot, powder, men, and munition requisite for your Maiesties seruice & safegard of this captaineship. For here are neither shot, powder, nor any thing els to defend vs from our enemies; nor any that wil put to their helping hands for the defence of this countrey, & the seruice of your Maiestie. And therefore it were needful that your Maiesty should commit the charge and gouernment into the hands of Diego Sierua, with expresse charge that all the captaines & commanders vpon paine of death obey him and be readie at all times to aide and assist him in your seruice. Otherwise this countrey cannot be kept and maintained, hauing so great warres continually as we haue, and are troubled withall. For this Diego Sierua is a very good souldier, and hath good experience; and is fit to gouerne this countrey. Your Highnesse is also to send him Commission with expresse comandement to follow these wars; otherwise this countrey cannot be kept, but daily they will rebell. For here are none that will serue your Maiestie so iustly as he will do: who wil haue a great care in any thing which shal cõcerne your Maiesties seruice touching the estate of this countrey. For the Gouernour Sousa doth spend your Maiesties treasure in building his owne Ingenios or sugar-milles.

And those Captaines which your Maiestie intendeth to send hither must bring with them shot, powder, and all kind of weapons, furniture, and munition for the defence and safegarde of this countrey, and for the conquest of Rio Grande. For there is no kind of munition in al this countrey to be had, if occasion should serue. It were also good that your Maiestie should send order for the building of a couple of Forts or Castles at Cabodelo, for they be very needefull for the defence of the enemie, which dayly doth warre against this Captaineship. For that man which shall gouerne this countrey, if he be no more fortunate than I haue bene hitherto, shall not misse one time or another, but he shall loose all the countrey. If Don Erancisco de Sousa had sent mee those two hundred and fiftie souldiers which I did send for, which were in garison in the castle of Arrecife, which doe nothing but spend your Maiesties victuals and treasure, and had not sent them to Baiha, where there was no neede, these warres of Petiguar had bene ended long agone, and had saued your Maiesty a great deale of charges which you had spent in folowing of this conquest of Rio Grande.

The conquest of Rio Grande.

Two Forts to be builded at Cabodelo.

The countrey of Parsiua in danger dayly to be lost.

The warres of Petiguar.

I haue

I haue chosen one Captaine Iohn de Matas Cardoso to be Gouernour of Cabodelo, who is a very sufficient man. A new captain appointed in Cabodelo.

Furthermore, it may please your Maiestie to vnderstand, that the chiefest Friers of this Monasterie of S. Antonie haue complained on me to the lord Gouernour generall, and haue caused great strife and debate betweene him and me touching the gouernment and rule of these Indian townes. For the Friers would command and gouerne both the Indians and their townes as well in Ecclesiasticall as Temporall causes, as touching the punishment of the bodies of such as are offenders. But I haue resisted them in your Maiesties name, and haue alleaged, that none but your Maiestie must rule and gouerne them and their countrey, and that the townes appertaine to your Maiestie, and not vnto the Friers. But the Gouernour hath written a letter vnto me, signifying that he hath pronounced a sentence against me in the Friers behalfe, which is this. The King our master hath sent a decree and certaine statutes touching the good gouernment and orders to be executed and kept in those Indian townes: and that vpon sight hereof I shall presently banish all the Mamalukes and white men which dwell in any of those Indian townes with all speede, and that none of them from hence forward shall enter into the said villages, without commandement and consent of the said Friers. So this sentence was presented vnto me by the Reuerend father Custodio, Prior of Sant Anton of Brasil, with a further postscript of the gouernour importing these words: I doe likewise charge and commaund you the Gouernour of Paraiua, that presently vpon sight hereof you shall restore those villages and houses which you haue burned and destroyed in the last warres, and likewise the towne of S. Augustine, and that you shall build them againe at your owne proper cost and charges: for the Friers alleage that these townes were giuen them, by a decree sent them from Pope Pius Quintus, that the said Friers should gouerne and rule them. A great controuersie touching the gouernment of the Indian townes. The towne of S. Augustine.

On the other side I haue pronounced another sentence against the said Friers in your Maiesties name, and for your Maiestie, alleaging that those townes, villages, and subiects appertaine and belong vnto your Maiestie, and that in temporall causes I am to punish those offenders, which shall rebell against your Maiestie: and as touching ecclesiastical causes that the Vicar of this Cathedrall church shall rule, gouerne and instruct them in the Christian religion. So we both haue appealed vnto your Maiestie herein, and your Maiestie may peruse all our writings, and then determine that which shall be best and most profitable for your Maiesties seruice and enlargement of your crowne. For through these broyles the inhabitants of this Pariaua forsake their houses & dwelling places, and so doe some of the Friers, because they cannot be suffered to rule & gouerne.

Also the Indians haue complayned against me, because I haue burned their villages in this last rebellion. Wherefore if your Maiestie doe not send some order for this countrey and see into these cases, it will breed great dissention and rebellion among vs, and we shall be readie to cut one anothers throat before it be long.

Thus I thought good, according to my humble bounden dutie, and for the seruice of your Maiestie and quietnesse of this realme, to certifie your Maiestie the truth of the whole matter; hoping in short time that your Maiestie will send some good order to qualifie these broyles: for there is great hatred and malice among vs. Iesus Christ preserue and keepe the royall person of your Maiestie with long health, as it pleaseth him. From the Captaineship of Paraiua this present 20 of August. 1597.

Feliciano Cieça de Carualsho.

A special note concerning the currents of the sea betweene the Cape of Buena Esperança and the coast of Brasilia, giuen by a French Pilot to Sir Iohn Yorke knight, before Sebastian Cabote; which Pilot had frequented the coasts of Brasilia eighteene voyages.

MEmorandum, that from Cabo de buena Esperança vnto Brasilia the Sunne hath the like dominion ouer the tides there, as the Moone hath ouer our tides here.

And that whensoeuer the Sunne is in any of these signes he gouerneth the tides as followeth.

The Sunne being in {Taurus, Gemini, Cancer} the tide hath his course Northwest.

The Sunne being in {Leo, Virgo, Libra} no current.

The Sunne being in {Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorne} the tide hath his course Southeast.

The Sunne being in {Aquarius, Pisces, Aries} no current.

A ruttier or course to be kept for him that will sayle from Cabo Verde to the coast of Brasil, and all along the coast of Brasil vnto the riuer of Plate: and namely first from Cabo Verde to Fernambuck.

THe ship that goeth from Cabo Verde to Brasil, must goe Southsoutheast: and when she is within 5 or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial she must go Southeast and by South. And if she haue the ternados, that is thundrings and lightnings, then thou must go altogether South, or that way and by that boord that doth profit thee most. And take this for aduise, that hauing the general winds, & if the wind be at South or Southeast, then go Southwest, or westsouthwest. And if the winde be South, then goe Southwest, and by this way but little, for it is not a way for thy profit, because the more thou goest this way, the more will be thy trouble, because thou mayest not come neerer the coaste of Guinea then 60 or 70 leagues vnto the sholde called Os baixos de Santa Anna. And being this distance from the same, thou shalt cast about the other way towards Brasil, and the wind will be large.

Ye thus will sayle to Brasil, muste not come within 60 or 70 leagues of the coast of Guinea.

Thou shalt vnderstand that the ship that keepeth this course to Fernambuck, and goeth in October or after, and chanceth to goe to windward of the Isle of Fernando de Loronha, when thou commest to 8 degrees, or 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$,* then thou shalt go West and beare with the land. Thou must take this for a warning, that if going West in 8 degrees thou see land, then looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine white cliffes. Then I aduise thee that thou goe well to the Southward. And this is to bee vnderstoode from October forward, for then the time is most subiect to Northeast and Eastnortheast winds. And if thou find thy selfe in the sayd height aboue mentioned, and seest cliffes, and seest a Cape to the Southward, and seest no more land to the South, then make accompt that thou art at Capiguoari: and from thence to Fernambuck thou hast sixe leagues, and hast a good port.

* Of Southerly latitude.

Thou shalt take this for a warning, that if in 8 degrees and a halfe thou see land lying all flat, thou mayest goe neerer it, and be bold till thou come in tenne or twelue fadomes: And then thou shalt see a great grosse land along the sea-coast which is called Capitagua: And being East and West with this land, and, as I haue sayd, in tenne or twelue fadomes water; and the time being from October to Februarie, then thou needest not to feare any thing: but looke to the South and thou shalt see the cape of S. Augustine: and looke to the North and thou shalt see a point, and to the Southeast a point called Punta de Olinda, where Aponiquay standeth. And the land from the cape to the poynt called Punta de Olinda lieth North and South.

I aduise thee that if thou be East and West with the cape of Saint Augustine, thou shalt see within the land an high hill, hauing as it were a saddle vpon it like to a camel: And thou shalt see to the Southwards three hilles along the sea, and then presently thou shalt see the coaste to lie Northeast and Southwest.

Thou

Thou shalt vnderstand that from this cape of Saint Augustine, to the towne of Olinda, thou hast nine leagues to the North. And this cape standeth in eight degrees and two third parts, and Olinda standeth in eight degrees and a quarter, and Fernambuck standeth in eight degrees. And this course is to be vnderstood to be obserued and kept, if thou depart from Lisbon in October or Nouember. The height of ye cape of S. Augustine, of Olinda & Fernambuck.

Take this aduise, that if thou depart in February or March from Lisbone, then thou shalt goe to beare with the land in nine degrees, because that from March forwards raigne most commonly Southeast and Southwest windes. And if by this height and course thou bring thyselfe nigh to the shore, feare not to bring thy ship into 18 or 20 fadomes, for all the coast is cleane: and there are no more dangers, but such as the sea doth breake vpon. In what height they shall seeke land that depart frō Lisbon in February or March.

And if after thy fall with the land thou haue occasion to goe to the Northward, and so going seest certaine sholdes, doubt not to come for the North, and thou shalt see the cape of Saint Augustine, which lyeth as it were sloaping to the seaward, and hath as it were a Whales head, and hath vpon it a round hill, with many hilles round about it. And if thou come along the sea coast much about the depth aboue mentioned, thou shalt see a little Island called Saint Alexio: And from this Island to the cape of Saint Augustine are foure leagues, and it standeth in eight degrees and three quarters. How to know the cape of S. Augustine. Ida de Santo Alexio.

The course that a man must keepe to the bay called A Bahia de Todos os Santos, that is to say, The bay of all Saints, which lieth on the foresayd coast of Brasil.

IF thou goe for Bahia de Todos os Santos, thou must keepe the course which I haue already set downe, and shalt obserue the time from March forwards, as also from October forwards. Thou shalt vnderstand that the Bahia de Todos os Santos standeth in 13 degrees and ⅓: and if thou goe in October or after October, then goe to fall with the land in 12 degrees or 12 and a halfe. The height of Bahia de Todos os Santos in 13 degrees and otte third part.

And take this for a warning, that when thou seest a white land, and long bankes of white sand, which shew much like linnen cloth when it is in whiting, then thou must go along from the North to the South vntill this white land doe end: and thou needest not to feare to goe along the coast, for there are no sholds. Before thou be cleane past the white land or white sands, thou shalt haue sight of an Island that standeth along the bay, I say on the Northside of the bay, which is called Tapaon: and here the land lieth West and by South. The situation of the Isle of Tapoon.

When thou art so farre shot as Tapaon, thou shalt see a certaine great tree which is round, and standeth neere the sea vpon the very point of the entrance into Bahia on the Northside.

And marke well that if thou looke to the Southward, and seest no white grounds such as I wrote of before, but that they be all behind thee to the Northward; then when thou seest none to the Southward, thou mayest bee bold to beare in with Bahia. And if when thou goest into Bahia to the Northwest, and seest the sea to breake, feare nothing: for it is the breach of a certaine banke, whereon thou shalt haue alwayes 5 or 6 fadomes water: and this be sure of. When a man may beare in with Bahia.

Thou shalt vnderstand that if thou come for this place from March to the end of April, I would wish thee not to fall to the Southward of 13 degrees and a halfe. And falling with the land, and not seeing the white sands, thou shalt striue to goe to the Northward. And seeing the land in 13 degrees and a halfe, thou shalt haue sight of an hill along the sea: And if thou be nigh the land, and cannot make it certaine what land it is: thou shalt marke if it bee a round high hill along the sea, that it is O morro de San Paulo, or, The hill of Saint Paul: and it lieth blacke and bare on the top. And from thence to Bahia is tenne leagues. The distance of O morro de San Paulo frō Bahia.

And here along this hill on the Northwest side there is a great riuer called Tinsare: and it is a very good riuer. And in the entrance of Bahia there are sixe or seuen fadomes water in the chanell. And I aduise thee that being in the height of 13 degrees and a halfe, thou come not neere the land, for it hath a bay very dangerous. Rio de Tinsare a very good riuer. A dangerous bay in 13 degrees and a halfe.

And if thou goe from Bahia to Fernambuck, then I aduise thee that thou take good heede

of

of the coast on the Northeast and Southwest, and thou shalt goe East, if the winde will suffer thee to goe East: and so goe thirtie or forty leagues off to the sea.

The height of the bay called A Enseada de Vazabaris.

I aduise thee that thou beare not in with the land of Fernambuck, but in the height of 9 or 10 degrees, because that in 11 degrees thou shalt fall with the bay called A Enseada de Vazabaris. Also if thou come from Portugal and fallest with the land in eleuen degrees, beare not in with it, neither come neere it, for thou mayest hurt thy selfe in so doing: but thou shalt shunne it, and goe to the Southward. For if thou lie to the North thou shalt bring thy selfe into some trouble.

Baia de todos Santos in 13 degrees.

This Bay of All Saints standeth in thirteene degrees. And from thence to Fernambuck thou hast a hundreth leagues: and the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest. And from thence to Rio das Ilhas, that is, the riuer of the Islands the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, I meane taking a quarter of the North and South.

The course for Baia das Ilhas, that is, The bay of the Islands, which lie on the sayd coast of Brasil, & the marks for the finding of them.

Baia das Ilhas lieth in 15 degrees lacking a quarter.

IF thou goe for Baia das Ilhas thou must looke for it in fifteene degrees lacking a quarter. If thou be minded as I sayd to goe for these Isles, if it bee from March forward, thou shalt fall with the land in 15 degrees and a halfe, and though it be in 15 degrees and ¼, it is all the better.

A round hill.

And if thou haue sight of certaine high hilles, that seeme to reach to the skie, these hilles are called As Serras Raiemores. Then hauing sight of these hilles, thou shalt goe along the coast: and feare nothing, for there are no sholdes along to the North. And when thou seest the Islands, thou mayest make accompt they be these which thou seekest, for there are no other on al this coast, and thou shalt see a round hil along the sea. Thou shalt vnderstand that on the North side of this hill is the going in of the riuer. But if it chance that thou finde thy selfe in a time that will not suffer thee to goe in, then goe along the Islands giuing them a bredth off. And thou mayest well come to an anker hard aboord them, for all is cleane ground. And thou shalt finde eight or nine fadomes, and from thence thou mayest goe into the riuer hard aboord the shore. And if it chance that thou goe from the North to the South all along the great Island, thou must keepe thy selfe from the land: and when thou hast brought it Eastnortheast, then thou mayest ankor two cables length from the shore: for all is cleane ground.

In what height a man must fall with this place in time of the Northeast winde Ciemara. Mangues.

If thou chance to arriue on this coast in the time of the Northeast windes, thou shalt seeke to fall with the land in foureteene degrees. And if thou see a lowe land, thou mayest make accompt it is the land called Ciemara, and then thou shalt see Mangues: And also thou shalt come along this coast to the South: and when thou seest an ende of the low land, then thou shalt finde an high land along the sea like the other that I haue made mention of before, that is, all sandie along the sea coast.

The white sugar houses of Lucas Giraldo.

And thou must vnderstand, that where the high land beginneth, there is a little riuer called Rio das Contas, but enter not into it: it bath for a marke to be knowen by as it were a white mouth. And from thence to the Islands thou hast nine leagues. And at the ende of this high land to the Southward of it thou shalt find a great bay within the land, & then thou shalt looke to the Westsouthwest, and shalt see another high land, which lieth as it were in the middest of the bay, and thou shalt there see certaine white houses which are the Ingenios or houses wherein they make sugar of Lucas Giraldo. From thence thou shalt see the Isles being so farre shotte as Rio de Contas. And thou shalt see within the land a round hill which is like Monte de laude, and it hath another cõpple on the South side.

The course to sayle to Porto Seguro, that is to say, The safe hauen, lying on the foresayd coast of Brasil, & the markes to know the same by,

To auoide Os baixos dos Abrolhos.

IF thou goe for Porto Seguro and goest in the time of the Southeast windes, which is from March forwards, I aduise thee that thou fall not in more degrees then sixteen and a halfe, because of the sholdes called Os baixos dos Abrolhos, which are very dangerous, and stretch very

very farre into the sea. And also going West from them, that thou keepe thy lead going and be often sounding. And if thou chance to see the land, and an high hill and long withall, much like to The pike, it is the hill that is called Monte Pasqual. And from thence thou must goe to the North, and when thou hast brought it Southwest of thee, then thou mayest beare with the land, but with great care to looke about thee. Monte Pasqual.

Marke when thou seest the land and commest to see a red cliffe, then looke to the Southward, and thou shalt see a great smooth coast along the sea, and then on the North side thou shalt descrie Porto Seguro. And going along the coast thou shalt see the towne of Porto Seguro standing vpon the toppe of an hill; which hill is a white rocke: and on the North side of the sayd rocke there is a very hie land. I aduise thee that when thou art East and West with the sayd land, I meane with this rocke, that then thou looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine rocks lying two leagues off into the sea, whereon the sea doth breake, and to the Southward of them thou mayest come to an ankor against the towne, and hast a good place to ride in thirteen fadomes in sight of the towne. The place of comming to an ankor before Porto Seguro, which standeth in 16 deg. & one third.

And if it be thy chance to arriue in the time of the Northeast winds, and commest in the height of fifteene degrees and two third parts, and seest not certaine hilles, then thou must goe along the coast being in 16 degrees, and vnder the first hie land that thou shalt descrie, thou shalt see certaine sandie bayes along the sea coast: And if thou haue sight of a riuer in this height, put not thy selfe into it, neither beare with the land, for it hath many sholdes. And off them lie certaine sunken grounds, called Os Baixos de Santo Antonio. And from hence to the Southward lyeth Porto Seguro. 16 degrees. A dangerous riuer in 16 degrees. Baixos de Santo Antonio.

I aduise thee that going along the coast to the Southward, and seeing such sholdes, and the sea to breake vpon them, as the other which I last spake of, thou shalt runne along them a sea boord of them: and when thou art at the end of them, then the towne will beare West of thee: and then thou mayest goe to thine ankoring place as is abouesayd, giuing these sholds a good birth.

The course to the hauen named Baia do Spirito Santo, that is to say, The bay of the holy Ghost, lying on the sayd coast of Brasil, and the markes thereof.

THou shalt vnderstand that the ship that goeth for Spirito Santo, when it hath doubled the sholdes called Os Baixos dos Abrolhos, and hath brought it selfe in 20 or 19 degrees and a halfe, then it may hall with the land in 18 or 19 degrees and a halfe, and in twentie. And the sayd shippe must goe in this height, because on this coast there are no Monçoins. Monzoins are certaine set winds with which the tides set.

If thou chance to come in the height of 19 degrees ½ and seest lowe land to the Northwest off thee, then thou art on the North side of Spirito Santo, and thou mayest make accompt that it is the land lying ouer Criquare, and ouer the riuer called Rio dolce, that is the riuer of sweete or fresh water. If thou come along the land thou shalt find certaine high hilles: but trust not the first that thou seest only. For besides the rest thou shalt see a round hie hill which is at the capes end, which is called la Sierra de mestre Aluaro. Take heede that going for this land thou looke to the North and thou shalt see a riuer called Rio dos Reyes Magos: that is, The riuer of the three kings. And comming to the Southward thou shalt see presently the mouth of the bay to open. At the end of this hill on the South side, thou hast a point of a rocke, which is called A punta do Tubaron. And on the South side of the bay it hath two or three blacke hie hilles, and in the middest of the bay thou shalt goe in westward. Markes on the North side of Spirito Santo. The situation of la Sierra de Mestre Aluaro. Rio dos Reyes magos.

I aduise thee that in going in thou take heede of a sholde which lieth in the mouth of the bay: thou must leaue it to the Southward of thee, and then plie to double a certaine Island which lieth within, and thou must leaue it to the Northward of thee: and when it beareth on the North or Northeast, thou mayest come to an ankor: for all is cleane ground.

And if thou chance to come by this course, and fallest in 20 degrees, and seest many hilles, and one among the rest very high and craggie: it is called A Sierra de Guariparim, that is, the hill of Guaraparim, and seest another hill on the North side, which is called A Sierra de Pero Cam: both these lie on the South side of Spirito Santo. And from these hils thou A Sierra de Guariparim in 20 degrees. A Sierra de Pero Cam.

thou shalt see a little hill named Guaipel. And when thou seest these hilles, thou shalt see three little Islands together, lying to the Southward: And then from these thou shalt see another rockie, bare, and round Island: and to the land off this Island thou shalt see a great bay. If thou wilt thou mayest ankor here safely. And if thou wilt go in, thou shalt bring thy selfe East and West with the hill, and so thou mayest go in. And thou shalt leaue a lowe land to the North of thee, which is called A Ilha de Repouso, that is, the Isle of rest: and this Isle lieth along the coast: and thou mayest be bold to ride betwixt it and the maine, giuing it a breadth off.

A Ilha de Repouso.

From these three Islands to Spirito Santo are 12 leagues: and running Northwards to come to Spirito Santo, thou shalt see another Island, and shalt go a seaboord of it, and by & by the mouth of the bay will open toward thee. And this bay standeth in 20 degrees.

Spirito Santo standeth in 20 degrees.

The course from the bay de Spirito Santo to the bay of S. Vincent, and the markes thereof. Also the course from Saint Vincent to the riuer of Plate.

SAiling from Spirito Santo for Saint Vincent, thou mayest goe along the coast, keeping seuen or eight leagues off, and must goe to seeke Cabo Frio, that is, The cold cape. And as thou commest toward Cabo Frio, thou hast a very great bay called Bahia de Saluador, that is, The bay of our Sauiour. And from thence thou hast twelue leagues to Cabo Frio.

Bais de Saluador 12 leagues North from Cabo frio.

And before thou commest to Cabo Frio, thou hast two small Islands. Thou mayest go safely either a sea boord of them, or else betweene them. Thou shalt vnderstand that Cabo Frio hath as it were an Island in the midst of the face or shew thereof, that doth cut off the cape. Thou mayest ride safely on the West side thereof; for all is cleane ground.

Two small Islands.

Vnderstand that Cabo Frio standeth in 23 degrees: and from it to Rio de Ienero are twelue leagues. And this riuer of Ienero hath in the mouth thereof 3 or 4 Islands. And if thou wilt go into this riuer de Ienero, thou mayest well goe in betweene two Islands which stand in the entrance of the riuer on the South side: neere vnto this riuer there is a great hill seeming to bee a man with long haire.

The height of Cape Frio in 23 degrees. Rio de Ienero. The situation of an hill like a man with long haire by Ienero.

And take this for aduise, that if thou be in the height of this riuer, thou shalt see certaine high hilles within the land, which be like vnto organs. And when thou seest these organs, then make accompt thou art right against the riuer: and comming neere the land thou shalt see a certaine Island very round, which lieth to the Southward, and is hie and bare in the top. Thou must know that the mouth of this riuer standeth in 23 degrees and one third part. And from this riuer to Angra, that is to say, The open hauen, thou hast 15 leagues. Goe not neere the land there, except necessitie compell thee.

The organs certaine high hilles.

Angra.

I aduise thee, that from this riuer that I spake of, I meane from the entrance thereof, thou must goe Westsouthwest, and Southwest, and West and by South. And thou shalt see a great Island called Isla de San Sebastiano, and to the Southward thereof another small Island very high, called the Island of Alcatrarzas, that is to say, The Island of Pellicanes: but come not neere it, for it hath dangerous shoalds. And from hence thou mayest go West, and so thou shalt fall right with the mouth of Saint Vincent, and thou shalt see an Island. And if thou meane to goe into Saint Vincent thou must leaue this Island to the Westward. And vnderstand that Saint Vincent lieth in foure and twentie degrees. And when thou art in the mouth of this bay, or art neere the mouth of it, then thou shalt see many other Islands, and one among the rest to the seaward. And hauing these sights, thou hast the best markes that bee for these Islands, that I haue told thee of: and this Island lieth Northwest and Southeast with the mouth of S. Vincent.

A Ilha de San Sebastiano. The Isle of Alcatrarzas.

Saint Vincent in 24 degrees. Many Islands about ye mouth of S. Vincent, & one out to the seaward.

The course from Saint Vincent to the riuer of Plate.

FRom S. Vincent to Cananea thou hast 40 leagues: and the coast lieth Northeast and by East, and Southwest and by West. From Cananea to the riuer of Saint Francisco are fifteene leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest. There is a little Island, which hath as it were two bayes, and a good rode, and is in 26 degrees and a quarter, and towards the maine it is hie and craggie.

Cananea.

Rio de San Francisco.

From

From San Francisco to Boca de Ouerniron are 26 leagues, and the coast lieth North & South. Also thou must marke that the riuer of San Francisco hath a great entrance, and 3 small Islands, and to seaward it hath a good road; and the maine is high and craggie. Boca de Ouerniron.

From this Boca de Ouerniron to Ilha de Aruoredo thou hast no great markes be obserued: but this Boca is a very great bay, and this bay is deepe within the Island, and is a good road, and hath many Islands, and standeth in 28 degrees. And to the North of this Island vnder the point there is a good road: and there is no other road hereabout but this, and it is vnder the Island. Ilha de Aruoredo.

From hence thou shalt haue sight of the Isle called Santa Catharina, which is a great Island about eight or nine leagues long, and lieth North and South. And hard by euen with this Iland is Porto de Patos, which standeth in 29 degrees. And from Porto de Patos to Porto de Don Roderigo are ten or eleuen leagues: and the coast lieth North and South. And from Porto de Don Roderigo to Laguna are 5 leagues. And this is a good harbour for all winds, except the Northeast wind. Santa Catalina a great Island. Porto de Patos. Porto de Don Roderigo. Laguna.

From the Laguna to the riuer called Rio de Martin de Sousa are 42 leagues. And the coast is somthing high, & lieth Northeast & by North, & Southwest & by South: and it hath an Island 2 leagues into the sea, where ships may ride well. And from the riuer of Martin de Sousa to Rio de San Pedro are 52 leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest. Rio de Martin de Sousa. Rio de S. Pedro.

From this riuer of San Pedro there lieth a point of sand a good league off and more, and it lyeth on the Southwest side of the port. And frō thence to Cabo de Santa Maria are 42 leagues: and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest, and all is lowe land. Cabo de Santa Maria.

Also on the Southeast side of Cabo de Santa Maria there lyeth an Isle two leagues off into the sea, and it hath a good harborough betwixt it and the mayne. And note that the mayne is lowe land.

The cape of Santa Maria standeth in 35 degrees, and at the point thereof it hath an Island a league into the sea.

Hereafter followeth a Ruttier from the sayd riuer of Plate to the Streight of Magelane.

THe cape of Santa Maria is in 35 degrees. Frō thence to the Cape de Santo Antonio, which is on the other side of the riuer, are 30 leagues Northnortheast, & Southsouthwest. And this is the broadest place of the riuer. And this cape is in 36 degrees and a halfe, and it is a blacke grosse land. And thou must marke that 25 leagues a seaboord the mouth of the riuer there lie certaine sands, which he called Baixos de los Castellanos. Baixos de los Castellanos.

He that falleth with the Cape of Santa Maria must take good heede to go Southeast vntill hee be in 36 degrees, and from thence Southsoutheast vntill 36 degrees and a halfe, giuing the sayd sholds de los Castellanos a breadth: and also taking heede of the flats of the cape. And when hee findeth 40 or 45 fadomes, and russet sand, then he must goe Southwest and by South, vntill he be in 40 degrees: where hee shall find great store of weedes, which come from the coast, and a man may go 20 leagues from the shore in this sounding.

From the Cape de Santo Antonio to the Cape de Arenas Gordas are eight & forty leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest, and by East, and by West: and in the first eighteene leagues is the riuer called Rio de Santa Anna, which hath at the entrance certaine flats and sholds, giue them a good breadth, and come not nigh them by much, but keepe thy selfe in forty fadomes to goe surely. Cabo de Arenas Gordas. Rio de S. Anna.

From the cape de Arenas Gordas to the cape of Sant André are one and thirty leagues: it lieth Northeast and by East, and Southwest by West: I meane when thou art in the middest with an equall distance from them both. And between both the capes are many bayes and riuers, but all full of sandie sholdes. Cape de S. André.

From the cape of Sant Andres to the bay called Anegada, that is, The sunken bay, are 30 leagues Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. It standeth in 40 degrees, rather lesse then more. Baia Anegada.

From the bay called Baia Anegada to The point of the plaine land are 25 leagues Northnortheast, Punta de Tierra Llana.

Baia sin fondo.

northeast, and Southsouthwest. This point lyeth in 41 degrees and a halfe. And from this point to Baia sin fondo, that is to say the bottomlesse bay, are 35 leagues Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. This bay standeth in 42 degrees and a halfe, rather lesse then more.

Cabo redondo. Puerto de los leones.

And from Baia sin fondo to Cabo Redondo, & Puerto de los leones, are 37 leagues Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, somewhat to the North and South. And if thou meane to go out from thence with a compasse about after the maner of a halfe circle or an arch, so thou mayest passe through the Baia sin fondo along the shore: for there is water enough.

Note that from the riuer of Plate to this place is neuer a good harbour for great shipping.

Puerto de los leones in 44 degrees & better. Take good heede of these little rocks.

From this place to Puerto de los leones the coast is cleane, and a man may come nigh vnto the land: And it is a lowe land with white cliffes. This harbour is in 44 degrees. And as a man goeth thither, after hee bee in 43 degrees or more, hee must haue a care to looke out for certaine small rockes which lie neere the land, and lie North of the harbour.

Cabo de Matas.

From this harbour to Cabo de Matas, or The cape of shrubs, are 30 leagues North & South, halfe a point to the East and to the West: and betwixt them there is a great bay very long: And to the Northwest 18 leagues from Cabo redondo is a riuer lying East and West: and it is called Rio de Camarones, or, The riuer of shrimps. You shall know when you fall with this riuer, by seeing many white spots vpon the water, and they are small shrimps.

Rio de Camarones.

Cabo redondo in 45 degrees & a halfe large.

From this riuer to Cabo redondo the coast lieth Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. This cape is in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

Cabo Blanco and Barrancas Blancas in 47 degrees.

From this sayd cape to Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas that is to say, to The white cape and white cliffes are 32 leagues lying North and by East and South and by West: and they stand in 47 degrees.

From this Cape the coast lyeth towards the North side Northwest about three leagues all full of white cliffes steepe vp: and the last cliffe is the biggest both in length and height, and sheweth to be the saile of a ship when it is vnder saile. These white cliffes are 6 in number, And this Cape hath in the face thereof a certaine round land that sheweth to bee an Island afarre off: and it hath certaine poynts of rockes hard by it. And two Cables length from the land is 25 fathomes water. Aboue these white cliffes the land is plaine and euen: and it hath certaine woods. There is much people in the countrey: of whom I wish thee to take good heed.

People to be taken heed of.

From this Cape the land lyeth North and South; which is the first fall of the Cape: and in the face thereof it hath a poynt of rocks, which shewe themselues. And on the South side of this Cape is a good harbour and road, and there is a Bay in the middest.

A good harbour.

The port of Saint Iulian.

From Cabo Blanco to Puerto de San Iulian are 37 leagues, and the coast lyeth North and by East and South and by West. This harbour of S. Iulian hath in the entrance certaine high hilles, which afarre off seeme to be towers. On the South part of the entrance the chanell is deepest in the middest: and thou must borrow neerer the North side then to the South. Within the harbour are two Islands: thou must come to an anker hard to them. This hauen lyeth in 49 degrees. And betweene Cabo Blanco and this harbour are The Islands of Ascension, and they be eight. From this said harbour to the hill of S. Yues are 35 leagues; the coast lyeth Northeast & Southwest: it is a low land and euen and hath onely one hill, and it is a plaine from one part to the other, and hath certaine cliffes to seaward, and to the Southward, and to the South side it hath certaine little copples: it standeth in 50 degrees large.

Illes de Ascension. Monte de Santa Yues, in 50 degrees large.

Rio de Cruz.

From the hill of S. Yues to Rio de Cruz are 8 leagues, Northeast and Southwest: and on the Northside of the riuer it hath a very high land, and in the toppe it is plaine and lyeth two leagues broad, layd out along North and South, and the downefall on both sides hath as it were saddles. This Cape hath many poynts of rockes lying 4 leagues into the sea: and when thou hast sight of this land, it is good for thee to keepe from it a good bredth off. And going from thence thou mayest runne in sight of the land in 25 fathoms.

Rio de Galegos and the marks thereof.

From Rio de Cruz to Rio de Galegos are 25 leagues, Northeast and Southwest; and it standeth in 52 degrees and ½ of a degree. It hath a certaine high land: and in the highest of

of the sayd land it is plaine, and to the Northeast it is a pike vp, and hath certaine white cliffes: and on the toppe and something downewarde it is blacke: at the foote of this high land to the Eastward thereof it hath certaine steps like a lather: and to the sea it hath a sharpe poynt that lyeth into this Cape almost halfe a league. To the Southward of this Cape where the lather is, there is a little Bay, which is the entrance of Rio de Galegos, it ebbeth and floweth here 12 fathomes. A man must haue a great care how he goeth in here for the cause aboue-said: but he must keepe himselfe out and not anker in it.

In the mouth of Rio de Galegos it ebbeth and floweth 12 fathomes.

From Rio de Galegos to the Streits of Magelan the coast lyeth Northnorthwest & South-southeast: 8 leagues vnto Cabo de la virgin Maria, which is the entrance into the Streit: and 4 leagues before a man come to this Cape there are white cliffes with certaine blacke spots in them; and they be caused with the falling downe of the water. Here is water inough, and thou mayest come to an anker hard aboord the shore, and hast a good defence for a Southwest wind. And the Cape it selfe is the highest land of all, and is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: and it hath on the east side a ledge of rockes, and a poynt of sand, with diuers sands which shewe themselues at a lowe water: thou must take great heede heere and giue them a good bredth halfe a league or a quarter of a league off, vntil thou bring the Cape Westnorthwest, and then thou mayest stirre away Southwest. And when thou commest to the lower land and into tenne or twelue fathoms, then art thou ouer against la Purificacion. And halfe a league within the land the citie of Nombre de Iesus was builded, East and West with the sayd cape right against a cliffe, which commeth from the sayd Cape, and goeth within the Streits. This Cape standeth in 52 degrees iust.

Cabo de la virgin Maria.

Ciudad de Nombre de Iesus called by M. Candish Port Famine, because he found all the Spaniards famished, and the towne it selfe vtterly abandoned, and ruined. Where Nombre de Iesus stood.

And this is to be taken for a warning, that he that commeth neere this Cape, and passeth by it as I haue said with the wind at Northeast, or any other wind off the sea inclining to the Southeast, must not come to anker, but presently be sure to passe by; because in Sommer this place is much subiect to Southwest winds, which blow right in: and they put a man from his tackle, & make him to loose his voyage. And from March forwards there blow fauourable winds from the sea to goe from this Cape to enter into the Streits, from this said Cape the Streits go in to the Northwest 14 leagues: and the chanell waxeth narrower and narrower vnto the first Streit which runneth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. And comming out of the mouth thereof a man must keepe himselfe a poynt to the Northward, because there be rocks and shoalds. And if you see beds of weeds, take heed of them, and keepe off from them: and after you be past this Streight you must stirre Westsouthwest 8 leagues vnto Cabo de San Gregorio, which is a high white cliffe, and is a good road for any wind from the Northwest to the Southwest. But men must beware and not trust the Indians of this Cape: for they be subtill and will betray a man.

Southwest winds raigne much here in Sommer. From March forward the winds are fauourable for the Streits.

Cabo de San Gregorio a good roade and for any winds from the Northwest to the Southwest. The Indians about Cape de San Gregorio in the Streits are very treacherous.

From this Cape beginneth the second Streit which is called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia, and lyeth Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest 3 leagues. And comming out of this Streit thou shalt see 3 little Islands, lying West off this Streit: thou mayest go betweene them, for there is no danger: prouided alwayes that thou keepe well off from the bayes on both sides, lest thou bee imbayed. And from these Islands thou must keepe forwards in the chanell Westsouthwest two leagues: and then the coast lyeth North and South vnto 53 degrees and a halfe, vnto a place called Punta de Santa Anna: and to the Northwest thereof in a corner or nooke (which is one of the rincones or nookes) was the towne builded called La Ciudad del Don Philippe. Thou must come to an anker to the Northward thereof, after thou art past the castle and a great tree.

The second Streit called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia. Punta de Santa Anna in 53 deg. and a halfe. Rincones. La Ciudad del Don Philippe: which is now vtterly ruined.

TWO VOYAGES

OF CERTAINE ENGLISHMEN TO THE RIUER OF PLATE SITUATE IN 35 DEGREES OF SOUTHERLY LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH AN EXACT RUTTIER AND DESCRIPTION THEREOF, AND OF ALL THE MAINE BRANCHES, SO FARRE AS THEY ARE NAUIGABLE WITH SMALL BARKES. BY WHICH RIUER THE SPANIARDS OF LATE YEERES HAUE FREQUENTED AN EXCEEDING RICH TRADE TO AND FROM PERU, AND THE MINES OF POTOSSI, AS ALSO TO CHILL, AND OTHER PLACES.

A report of a voyage of two Englishmen in the company of Sebastian Cabota, intended for the Malucos by the Streights of Magellan, but perfourmed onely to the riuer of Plate in April 1527. Taken out of the information of M. Robert Thorne to Doctor Ley Ambassadour for King Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, touching the discouery of the Malucos by the North.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526. Two Englishmens went with Cabot in this discouery.

IN a flote of three ships and a caruell that went from this citie of Siuil armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partner haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that wee employed in the sayd fleete, principally for that two Englishmen, friendes of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same ships, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to know especially. Seeing in those quarters are ships and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours: that they should procure to haue the sayd cards, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Islands Northwards and Northeastward.

The Islands of the Malucos. The New found Ilands discouered by the English.

For if from the said Islands the sea doth extend without interposition of land to saile from the North point to the Northeast point one thousand seuen hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to The new found Islands that we discouered, & so we should be neerer to the said Spicerie by almost 200 leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portugall are.

An extract out of the discourse of one Lopez Vaz a Portugal, touching the fight of M. Fenton with the Spanish ships, with a report of the proceeding of M. Iohn Drake after his departing from him to the riuer of Plate.

VPon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the streits of Magellan, that they might be fortified, and for that the king heard, that there were ships in England preparing for the same streits, he commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to passe thither with 23 ships, and 3500 men to stoppe the passage of the Englishmen.

There went in this fleete the gouernour of Chili, with 500 olde souldiers that came out of Flanders: but this was the vnhappiest fleet of ships that euer went out of Spaine: for before they came from the coast of Spaine a storme tooke them, and cast away fiue of the fleete and in them aboue 800 men, and the rest came into Cadiz. But the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so there went out on the vogage 16 of the shippes, for two more of their fleete were much spoyled by the storme which they had.

Fiue ships of this fleete cast away on the coast of Spaine.

In these sixeteene shippes Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee gouernour in the straites, and had assigned vnto him 500 men to stay there with him, and hee carried with him all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other necessaries, with great store of ordinance and other munition.

This fleete wintered in the riuer of Ienero.

This fleete because it was late, did winter on the coast of Brasil, in the riuer of Ienero: and from thence they went when the winter was past, and about the height of 42 degrees they had a sudden storme, so that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22 dayes, in which time hee lost one of the best ships he had, which had in her 300 men and 20 women, that went

went to inhabit the Streits: and in this ship also was most part of the munition which should haue bene left in the Streits, so in the end the storme grew to bee so great, that the ships were not able to endure it any longer, but were put backe vnto an Island called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were some fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which friers told him of two great English ships, and a pinnesse, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships. M. Fenton took these fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores knowing that these English ships would goe for the Streits, determined to goe thither, although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and choosing 10 ships of the 15 that were left, hee left two ships which were not in case to goe to sea at the Island, and into the other three ships which were old, and shaken with the storme hee put all the women, and sicke men in all the fleete, and sent them to the riuer of Ienero, and he with the other 10 returned againe for the Streits.

The three ships in which the sicke men and women were, went to Brasil, and there they found within the port of S. Vincent the two ships before mentioned.

They woulde haue had the English men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and because that these three ships were weake with the storme, and the men that they had were the worst in all the fleete, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might haue sunke another, if the Englishmen would: but they minded not the destruction of any man: for that is the greatest vertue that can be in a man, that when hee may doe hurt, yet he will not doe it. So the Englishmen went from this port to Spirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandise, and so they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the Countrey. A fight betwixt our 2 English ships & three Spanish ships. They victual at Spirito Santo.

The cause why these English shippes vnder the conduct of M. Fenton went not to the streits, I know not: but some say that they were put backe by foule weather: other some say that it was for feare of the kings ships.

But the pinnesse of these two ships went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cause why they parted I know not, but the pinnesse came into the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale Island, not farre from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands shippes did take in fresh water, shee was cast away vpon a ledge of rockes: but the men were saued in their boat, which were in number 18, who went ashore on the Northside, and went a dayes iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages which are no men-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them slaues. Iohn Drake proceedeth on to the riuer of Plate.

But the Englishmen fought with them and the Sauages slew fiue of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15 moneths. But the Master of the pinnesse, whose name was Richard Faireweather being not willing to indure the misery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, he in a night called Iohn Drake, and another yong man which was with them, and tooke a very little Canoa, which had but two oares, & so passed to the other side of the riuer, which is about 19 leagues broade, and were three dayes before they could get ouer without meat: and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towardes the Christians: and seeing the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house where there was corne sowed, and there they met with Indians seruants vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them meate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Englishmen: so the Captaine sent foure horsemen, who brought them to the towne behind them. Richard Faireweather runneth in the riuer of Plate.

This Captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dieted at the Captaines table, and they were all very well intreated, the Captaine purposing to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, sent for them, and so Iohn Drake was sent to him, but the other two were kept there, because they were married in the countrey, so that I know no more of their affaires. Iohn Drake sent to the Viceroy of Peru.

Vpon this comming of the Englishmen, there were prepared 50 horsemen to goe ouer the

the riuer to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and also certaine Spaniards that were among the sauage people, but I am not certaine, whether they went forward or not.

A ruttier which declareth the situation of the coast of Brasil from the Isle of Santa Catelina vnto the mouth of the riuer of Plata, and all along vp within the sayd riuer, and what armes and mouthes it hath to enter into it, as farre as it is nauigable with small barks.

The Isle of Santa Catelina. Rio Grande.

FRom the Isle of Santa Catelina, (which is in 28 degrees of Southerly latitude) vnto Rio Grande is fortie leagues. This riuer by another name is called Ygai. The Island of Santa Catelina is sixe leagues in length: It hath two small Ilands on the North side betweene the maine land and it: and on the South side it hath a shoald of rockes, which lyeth hidden very neere vnto the poynt of the Isle. You are to passe betweene the firme land and the poynt of the Isle.

Puerto de Biaça, or Laguna.

From Santa Catelina to the hauen of Biaça, which by another name is called la Laguna, are twelue leagues: it is a good hauen within: but you must stay the full sea to enter into it, because it hath shoaldes in the mouth, and it may be knowen by a small Island which lyeth a league into the sea which is called La Isla de Raparo, that is The Island of succour or defence, and you must ride there to search the chanell.

Isla de raparo.

Rio Grande.

From this harbour vnto the riuer before named there is no hauen for a ship to harbour it selfe. And Rio Grande hath many shoalds in the mouth thereof. It is a riuer that none but very small shippes can enter into. And this riuer diuideth the countrey of the people called Carios from other nations which are called Guaiaes. And from this riuer vnto the entrance of the mouth of the riuer of Plate it is al a plaine land, and very low: you must saile all along two or three leagues into the sea from the shore, vntill you come to certaine Islands which lye twelue leagues from the mouth of the riuer of Plate.

Certaine Ilands 12 leagues distant from the mouth of the riuer of Plate, which are 3 in number.

From Rio Grande vnto these Islands are 68 leagues. And from these Islands vnto the Cape of Saint Marie the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, somewhat inclining a poynt to the South. The Islands are three, and may be knowen as you come from the sea by two poynts, which shew like the eares of a conie: you may ride betweene them and the maine.

The Cape of S. Marie. An Iland a league an halfe from Cape Saint Marie. Isla de Lobos.

From Rio Grande to the Cape of Saint Marie are 80 leagues: and the Cape may be knowne by one Island which lyeth from it a league and an halfe into the sea. You may sayle betweene the maine and that Island, because there is aboue 8 or 9 fathoms water. The Cape of Saint Mary standeth in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The way to enter into the riuer of Plate. Rio de Solis 10 leagues within the Cape. Los tres Mogotes 3 leagues. Saint Grauiel 8 leagues.

The Cape of Santa Maria vpon the poynt thereof hath a little hill which standeth ouer against the Isle of Seales. From this coast of Santa Maria you must coast along the land alway on the North shore, and along the same are certaine Bayes. From the Cape vnto the riuer of Solis are tenne leagues, the coast runneth East and West. There standeth an Island ouer against the mouth thereof. From this riuer of Solis vnto Los tres Mogotes which are on the maine land is three leagues. And from Los Mogotes vnto the Isles of Saint Grauiel are other 8 or 9 leagues more: all this distance runneth East and West. These are fiue small Islands: to ride here you must keepe somewhat neere the maine within an harquebuze shot halfe a league before you come at the Islands, and straight-way you shall see a crosse + standing on the said land, and there is an harbour for some winds.

Rio de S. Iuan 3 leagues.

From Saint Grauiel vnto the riuer of Sant Iuan going along the same coast, I say on the North shore, are three leagues: it is very well knowen by the broken cliffe which it hath, which is a white hill. The entrance into this riuer is very dangerous; because it is shallow, and none but very small shippes can enter into the same: the entrance thereof is on the West side very neere the land, great Carackes may ride within the harbour. From this riuer vnto the Isle of Martin Garçia are three leagues: it is one Island alone, and you must sayle along the coast on the North shore: and after you be come vnto the Island, I say, ouer against the

The Isle of Martin Garcia 3 leagues.

the same, you shall haue three fathoms water, and on the West side it hath a little creeke where you may ride.

Rio de Buenos Aëres on the south side of the riuer of Plate.

He that desireth to crosse ouer the riuer of Plate vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres from the Isles of Saint Grauiel, must shape his course Southwest: and the cut ouer is sixeteene leagues and vpon his arriuall on the South shore of the riuer, hee must seeke a chanell of three fathomes water, and straite he must goe along the coast vntill hee come to a broken cliffe and a poynt like vnto the firme land, which is distant from this chanell three or foure leagues: and when thou seest this broken cliffe, keepe thee a league from it. Here vpon this riuer of Buenos Aëres was the first Colonie that Don Pedro de Mendoça planted. This riuer lieth very much hidden: because it is not seene, it is very shallow at a low sea, wherefore you must come in with the first of the flood.

The first Spanish colonie was planted in the riuer of Buenos Aëres.

From the Isle of Martin Garçia vnto certaine small Islands which are called the Isles of Saint Lazarus is two leagues, these are shoalds: and to goe thither you must goe hard aboord the maine, for there goeth the chanell: all this is to be passed on the North shore, and with small barkes, and with good heede.

The Isles of San Lazaro.

From the Isle of Martin Garçia to the mouthes of the riuer are eight leagues in passing along on this side to seeke one of the mouthes of the riuer Parana, as it is hereafter described. But you had need first to harbour in a bay, which is in the very cliffe or Barranca, and you must stay for the full sea. And if you fall into the mouth of the riuer which is called Vruay, you must leaue it on the right hand, I say on the North side. And foorthwith leauing the said mouth forward toward the West, you may enter into the first mouth although it seeme narrow; or rather you may enter into any of the mouthes: for all of them meete together in Parana, which is the maine riuer.

Rio Vruay.

Parana is the great riuer. Rio de los Patmas.

And hee that desireth to goe from the Isle of Martin Garçia to the riuer of Palmas, which is the best of all these armes, or mouthes to speake more properly, is to shape his course to the West, and comming ouer to the other shore, and sayling along the coast Northnorthwest hee shall discouer the mouth of this riuer of Palmas: and hee must enter hard by Los Iuncales, which lye on the South side: and afterward within is very deepe sounding. All these mouthes of this riuer which are 5, are full of sholds towards the East aboue the space of two leagues. And if the course of the water were not swift there, you could not enter into them, as I haue already sayd, and you must passe all along with much heede and foresight.

Cape Blanco on the South side of the mouth of the riuer of Plate a very low and euen land. Man-eaters vpon the south shore.

And if peraduenture you haue passed Cape Saint Marie and are come ouer to Cape Blanco, consider it, that it is so euen and smooth a land, that you can scarcely discerne it a league from the maine, vnlesse it be a very cleare day: and after this sort the coast lieth low vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres. And from thence the coast lyeth somewhat high vnto the entrance of the riuer de Palmas: all the coast runneth as I sayd before. And all along this coast are naughty people, which eate those which they kill, and many Tygers.

Saint Saluador an Island ten leagues off. Sebastian Cabota.

From the Isle of Martin Garçia vnto Sant Saluador is nine or tenne leagues. This is an Island which standeth two leagues within the first mouth: where Sebastian Cabota tooke possession. And this countrey is very well peopled by a people called Carios; and you must beware of all these people: for they are your deadly enemies. The most Southerly mouth of Parana called Rio de Palmas is sixteene leagues long, and it hath many turnings, and many palme or date-trees growing neere it, whereupon it is called The riuer of palme trees: and forthwith it entreth into the riuer Parana, as soone as these sixteene leagues are finished. All the other armes containe likewise sixteene leagues in length, sauing one small or narrowe arme, which is called The riuer de los Beguaes; for this containeth fortie leagues in length. From this you must enter by the mouth of the riuer of Palmas vnto Santo Spirito, the way is fiftie leagues: you are to passe still along the cliffes. As you enter on the left hand which is on the West shore vp this riuer there are many Isles, lakes and small riuers, and many Indians which are your enemies.

16. Leagues.

Santo Spirito 50 leagues from Rio de Palmas.

From Santo Spirito vnto a people which are called Los Tenbuis is fifteene leagues. This is by the narrow arme whereby they passe into the riuer Parana: it is the more because it is the longer way. From the Tenbuis by this narrow arme vpward vnto the Quiloacas, which is another nation, are twentie leagues; and all vp this riuer is great store of people.

Los Tenbuis a people. 15. Leagues. The Quiloacas 20. leagues.

From

This towne perhaps may be the towne of Santa Anna, 25. leagues.

From the Quiloacas, to a place where the Spaniards now haue builded a towne, are fifteene leagues. From this towne vnto the people called Los Mequaretas is twentie leagues. Here are many sholds which continue thirtie leagues. All these thirtie leagues are sunken landes: where are many Isles, flats, and nations, which are our enemies.

The Mequaretas a people. 20 leagues.

From the Mequaretas vnto the people called Mepenes are these thirtie leagues. And from hence begin the coasts of the firme land vnto the mouth of the riuer Paraguai; sauing that there are eight leagues more of sunken ground.

The Mepenes 30 leagues. 8. leagues. The riuer Paraguai.

From the Mepenes vnto the mouth of the riuer of Paraguai are thirtie leagues: it is a riuer that cannot be mistaken although it hath many armes and Islands and dangers, it hath a marke two leagues beneath the mouth on the East side, to wit, an high land, where are 7 points, which we call the 7 currents: and immediatly aboue these currents there is an Island as you passe vp the riuer ouer against the poynt aforesaid standeth the mouth of Paraguai. This mouth is very plaine to be found in seeking whereof a man cannot be deceiued. From this mouth the riuer of Parana is diuided, which is a very great riuer: and it goeth vnto the towne of Piquiri, which is an hundred and seuentie leagues: and it runneth all this space North and South, and in the way are many flats and shoalds; and great store of people, which are a bad nation, although they bee diuided. From the place where these two riuers are diuided, that is to say, from the mouth of Paraguai are sixtie leagues vnto the citie of Assumption. This is a good riuer, and better to sayle then all the rest of the riuers, which are in this countrey. And from this towne to Los Xaraes are 200. leagues, very well inhabited with people of diuers nations, which serue the Spanyards.

The 7. currents.

The towne of Piquiri or Picoris 170 leagues vp the riuer of Parana. The citie of Assumption, or Ascension 60. leagues from the mouth of Paraguai. 200. leagues from Assumption subiect to the Spaniard, to the citie of Xaraes.

THE TWO FAMOVS VOYAGES

HAPPILY PERFOURMED ROUND ABOUT THE WORLD, BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, AND M. THOMAS CANDISH ESQUIRE, TOGETHER WITH THE REST OF OUR ENGLISH VOYAGES INTENDED FOR THE SOUTH SEA, THE KINGDOMES OF CHILI, PERU, THE BACKE SIDE OF NUEVA ESPANNA, THE MALUCOS, THE PHILIPPINAS, THE MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF CHINA, THOUGH NOT SO HAPPILY PERFOURMED AS THE TWO FORMER: WHEREUNTO ARE ANNEXED CERTAINE RARE OBSERUATIONS TOUCHING THE PRESENT STATE OF CHINA, AND THE KINGDOME OF CORAY, LATELY INUADED BY QUABACONDONO THE LAST MONARCH OF THE 66. PRINCEDOMES OF IAPAN.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THe 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and saileis, departed from Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie, and to afflict vs onely for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driuen ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, vpon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger. The Ile of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing foorth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our ship, which by signes shewed our General, that the next day they would bring some prouision, as sheepe, capons and hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shooes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer rashly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away: so that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnesse being finished, wee departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gaue chase and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Carauels and tooke them also.

The 17. day of Ianuary we arriued at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our General mustered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions. Ianuarie.

In this place we tooke of the Fishermen such necessaries as wee wanted, and they could yeeld vs, and leauing heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Ianuarie, carying along with vs one of the Portugall Carauels which was bound to the Islands of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The master or Pilot of that Carauel did aduertise our Generall that vpon one of those Islands called Mayo, there was great store of dryed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for such of the kings Ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of Ianuary, but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouision of victuals, about threescore and two men vnder the conduct and gouernment of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing trauailed to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, we arrested our selues to see day before vs, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils. The Ile of Mayo.

Here we gaue our selues a litle refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season being with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, & being so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath Ripe grapes in Winter.

salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

The description of the tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauing taken off the vttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kinde of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely finde it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

* Or goates.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of * Cabritos aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had layde out as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

The Isle of S. Iago.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at vs three peeces, but they all fell short of vs, and did vs no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Island are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who hauing bin slaues to the Portugals, to ease themselues, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

A prize, and Nuno da Silua a Portugall Pilot taken.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships vnder sayle, to the one of which wee gaue chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yeelded vnto vs good store of wine: which prize our General committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnesse, giuing them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The Ile of Fogo.

The same night wee came with the Island called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Island: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Island, because the Portugals haue built, and doe inhabite there.

Vpon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Braua, that is, the braue Island. From the bankes thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subiect to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

April. 33. Degrees.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we saw the fift of April in ȳ height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being discouered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for

a sacrifice

a sacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vse coniurations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoalds in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments.

The seuenth day in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which we called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our Generall called the Cape of Ioy, where euery ship tooke in some water. Heere we found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very faire and pleasant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but trauelling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke we killed for our prouision certaine sea-wolues, commonly called with vs Seales. The Cape of Ioy.

From hence we went our course to 36. degrees, and entred the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 55. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, but we sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Bay wherein were many, and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least haue laden all our Shippes, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Their entrie into the riuer of Plate. Abundance of Seales.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselues vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very actiue.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to haue a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore indeuouring to seeke the Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we slew to the number of 200. or 300. in the space of an houre. May.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie-boate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the Lande, set fire to her, and so burnt her to saue the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, sauing only about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. The Flie-boat cast off and burnt. The people of the countrey.

Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly

diatly vpon our setting foorth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our General had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The cape of Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of Iune, wee harboured our selues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where we found a gibbet standing vpon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

Port S. Iulian.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went ashore to the maine, and in his companie, Iohn Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the Master gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and drone them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of vs all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Maiestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the priuate respect of one man: so that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receiue punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receiue the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers speaches to the whole company, perswading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his businesse.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

August.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Iulian, & the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The streight of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred The streight, which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against vs, so that some of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in some narrow riuer or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subiect) it caricth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their height, yet there are others which in height exc ede them in a straunge maner, reaching themselues aboue their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are couered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight

streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase vnder them.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narowest place hath a league ouer. The bredth of the streights of Magellan.

The 24. of August we arriued at an Island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selues throughly therewith. Abundance of foule in the streight.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore. September.

The seuenth day wee were driuen by a great storme from the entring into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight: in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Ecliptical conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen fold.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of seuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the streights in 57. degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anker among the Islands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seeke their meat, who entered traffique with vs for such things as they had. 57. Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude. Borero writeth that another hath found this place all Islands.

We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible to report.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared. M. Winter seperated and returned.

Thus being come into the height of The streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the generall Maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truely hitherto discouered, or at the least not truely reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, being set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture. The trending of the coast of Chili.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water side with shew of great courtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them. The Ile la Mocha in 38. degrees and 30. minutes.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and set sayle towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and tolde vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, wherof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo. The port of Valparizo in 33. degrees 40. minutes.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to vs: but Wine of Chili.

as soone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spanyards, and sayd vnto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them vnder hatches all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt ouer boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arriuall.

The towne of S. Iago taken.

They of the towne being not aboue 9. housholds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a siluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher his minister.

Wine of Chili.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the Hauen, hauing first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one Iohn Griego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

Iohn Griego a Pilot taken.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiuia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spanish money, and aboue. So going on our course, wee arriued next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horsemen and 200. footemen, and slewe one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

Gold of Baldiuia.

Coquimbo in 29. degrees 30. minutes.

Tarapaca.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaça, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of siluer, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish; we tooke the siluer, and left the man.

Not farre from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driuing 8. Llamas or sheepe of Peru which are as big as asses; euery of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge conteining 50. li. weight of fine siluer: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of siluer.

Arica in 18. deg. 30. min.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of siluer, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

Lima in 12. deg. 30. minutes.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none such as we were. Our generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure: whereupon we staied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the hauen, we let them driue whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speede we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her; but before wee arriued there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke

barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her 80. li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emerauds set in it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoeuer could first descrie her, should haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and strake downe her Misen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirteene chests full of royals of plate, foure score pound weight of golde, and sixe and twentie tunne of siluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama. The xiii. ship called the Cacafuego taken.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: Senior Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needes haue one of them: which the Pilot because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded vnto, and gaue the other to the steward of our Generals ships. Cape de San Francisco in 1. degree to the North.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy sayde thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall bee called the Cacafuego: which pretie speach of the Pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks, of all which things wee tooke as we listed. China-silks, and Porcellan.

The owner himselfe of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great Emeraud in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the ship he tooke also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne-house, where we found a Iudge sitting in iudgement, being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges & prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboord, and caused the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship. Guatulco.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as hee was flying out the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary port of Portugall: and hauing set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and grained her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently. The Portugal Pilot set on land. The Island of Canno.

And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas: wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and renenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey. A ship with a gouernour for the Islands of Philippinas.

He

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, hee being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the streights in the South sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoalds and sands vpon the coast, he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoyde these hazards, to goe forward to the Islandes of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperança.

Vpon this resolution, hee beganne to thinke of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himselfe where he now was becalmed, he saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sayle somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of Iune.

Iune. Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backside of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude. 38. Degrees.

The 5. day of Iune, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre so colde, that our men being grieuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

A description of the people and Country of Noua Albion.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: where one appointed for speaker wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

A long oration.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually

ally after their manner, and as they drew neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked cõmon sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their hands one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents. Chaines like those of Canada.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warre-like shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secrete, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter-bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guarde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, which daunced & kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seueral orations, or rather supplications, that hee would take their prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in ỹ same. The King resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

The common sorte of people leauing the King and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gaue them lotions, plaisters, and oyntments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery third day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntil they vnderstood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but dayly frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked. The like they did in Hochelaga.

Great herdes of Deere.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his company trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being most large, and fat of body.

Abundance of strange coniers.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignesse as be the Barbary Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Golde and siluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken vp, wherein there is not some probable shew of gold or siluer.

At our departure hence our Generall set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our Generall.

Their departure. October.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discouer the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

Certaine Islands in 8. degrees.

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites.

Strange Canoas, like those of Iaua.

Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, hauing a prowe, and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels for a brauerie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse, or bignesse of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Islands.

Leauing this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we lighted vpon diuers others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants.

Wee continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamom.

Nouember.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king seeing vs at sea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboord, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our General resolued to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king with a veluet cloke for a present, and token of his

The Ile of Ternate.

comming

comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffique: whereby the King was mooued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should haue what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreouer that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at present.

The king of Ternate offreth himselfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof three or foure yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of 4. score rowers.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for the most part hauing his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning w great grauitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that ỹ king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

Soone after the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marueilous humilitie. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whom as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloues.

Sagu a kinde of meale.

The King hauing promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offring himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceiued of the breach of his promise, the whole company also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reseruing the Vice-king for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

A castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. graue personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsel. There were besides 4. graue persons, apparelled all in red,

Romanes and Turkes Ligiers in Ternate.

The maiestie of the King.

downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he graciously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the maner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shooes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire iewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counsell.

Ternate the chiefest of the Maluco-iles.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Islands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine new Moones, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

A litle Island to the Southward of Celebes.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the fauour of the king receiued all necessary things that the place could yeeld vs: our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, set out of the Island, and sayled to a certaine litle Island to the Southwards of Celebes, where we grawed our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses 26. dayes. This Island is throughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whose bodies beeing no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if euery twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungry stomacks at a dinner, beeing also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the earth like Conies.

Fiery wormes.

Bats.

Crauithes.

When wee had ended our businesse here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Malucos: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficultie wee recouered to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoalds which lie off, and among the Islands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and liues. For of all other dayes vpon the 9. of Ianuarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly vpon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at *night*, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best indeuour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selues most happily of the danger.

Ianuarie in anno 1579.

Their danger vpon a rocke.

Cloues.

The helpe of a current in the deliuerie.

We lighted our ship vpon the rockes of *S.* tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale droue our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort

of

of all our hearts, for which we gaue God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of Barateue, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry waues, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to releeue our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece. Februarie. Barateue Island.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them. Linen-cloth good marchandize.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull: rich in golde, siluer, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Their fruits be diuers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one fruite, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices: so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing. Nutmegs and long Pepper growing in Barateue. Commendation of the Island of Barateue.

At our departure from Barateue, we set our course for Iaua maior, where arriuing, we found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde. Iaua Maior.

Of these fiue we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of silke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they best like. Red & greene clothes much esteemed.

The Maluccians hate that their women should bee seene of strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the kings themselues. The maners of the people of Iaua.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assembly: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme & good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature. A strange fashion of boyling rice.

The

The French pocks.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselues, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawen out. Not long before our departure, they tolde vs, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

The Cape of Buena Esperanza not so dangerous as the Portugals haue giuen out.

From Iaua Maior we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intolerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of Iune.

Sierra Leona.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of Iuly, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

Oisters-trees.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Iaua at the time of our English mens being there.

Raia Donaw.	Raia Tymbanton.
Raia Rabacapala.	Raia Mawgbange.
Raia Bacabatra.	Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Iaua, learned and obserued by our men there.

Sabuck, silke.	Gula, blacke sugar.
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.	Tadon, a woman.
Larnike, drinke.	Bebeck, a ducke.
Paree, ryce in the huske.	Aniange, a deere.
Braas, sodden ryce.	Popran, oyntment.
Calapa, Cocos.	Coar, the head.
Cricke, a dagger.	Endam, raine.
Catcha, a looking glasse.	Ionge, a shippe.
Arbo, an oxe.	Chay, the sea.
Vados, a goate.	Sapelo, ten in number.
Cabo, golde.	Dopolo, twentie.
Gardange, a plantane.	Treda, no.
Hiam, a henne.	Lau, vnderstand you.
Seuit, linnen cloth.	Bayer, goe.
Doduck, blew cloth.	Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Totopps, one of their caps.	Suda, ynough.

1579. The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called Nuno da Silua for the Vice-roy of new Spaine, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in the citie of Mexico, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the Portugall-Indies: wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake that tooke the aforesayd Nuno da Silua at S. Iago one of the Islands of Cabo Verde, and caried him along with him through the Streights of Magellan, to the Hauen of Guatulco in new Spaine, where he let him goe againe.

NVno da Silua borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of Nouember in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his course to Cabo Verde, or The greene Cape, where he anchored with his Shippe close by the Hauen of the Island of Sant Iago, one of the Islandes of Cabo Verde aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth

nineteenth of Ianuary in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the Admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboord the Admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboord his ship: and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or fiue times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who hauing done, set saile from thence to the Island of Braua, taking with them the ship of the sayd Nuno da Silua: being there, they filled certaine vessels with fresh water: from thence holding their course inward to sea, hauing first with a boat set the men of Nuno da Siluas ship on land, onely keeping Nuno da Silua in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And Nuno da Silua saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to bee a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Braua, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried vpon the first of Aprill, vnder the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in fresh water, they helde on their course to Rio de la Plata, that is, The riuer of siluer, lying vnder fiue and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and prouided themselues of fresh water. Rio de Plata.

From thence they helde on their course till they came vnder nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and beeing there, they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Islas, that is, The Bay of the Ilands, lying vnder nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discouered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of Iune they entred, and there ankered so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot: and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with skinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtill, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they lept on land, foure of the Indians came vnto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey: and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde vpward into the land, and beeing somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes slewe two of the English shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander: the rest came backe againe and saued themselues in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seuenteenth of August, vpon the which day they set saile, running along by the coast about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and fiue and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or fiue dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24 of August before they entred. Bay de las Islas.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some boutes and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land: and there it is lesse then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe: And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of. The issue of the streight lieth West, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come The description of The streit of Magellan.

come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you find the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay couered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a harquebuse-shot in length from off the North side, hauing nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side in some places hauing plaine and euen land: and there they sawe not any great riuers, but some small riuers that issued out of the riffes and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they saw certaine Indian fishermen in their Canoas or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

Being out of the Streight on the other side, vpon the sixt of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeast wind, that by force draue them Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes vp: and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driuing till the last of September.

This was the Elizabeth M. Iohn Winters ship.

The 24 day of the same moneth hauing lost the sight of one of their shippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoysed sayle because the winde came better, holding their course Northeast for the space of seuen dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seuen dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northwest: whereupon they sailed Westsouthwest.

The next day they lost the sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of Nuno da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entered into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were vnder seuen and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a hauen of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small vnhabited Island, where being arriued, they stroke sailes, and hoised out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

They were driuen vnto 57. degrees of southerly latitude.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course Northnortheast, and North, to another Island lying fiue or sixe leagues from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them, where they hoysed out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelue Englishmen entred, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals: and being landed vpon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe vnto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The Isle of Mocha in 38. deg. 30. min.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelue men being harquebusiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell vpon the two Englishmen and tooke them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones & arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the Captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with an other arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast

Sir Francis Drake wounded.

coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes, passing by the hauen called Sant Iago, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a Canoa, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping knives, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboord their shippe called Felippe, and he spake Spanish, he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the hauen of Sant Iago, which they had left sixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd hauen of S. Iago, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seuen hundred and 70 Botijas or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine sackes with meale, with whatsoeuer they could find; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforesayd shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that hauen, which lyeth vnder 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came vnder one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had appointed to meete, and there to stay for eeh other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company. The hauen of S. Iago in 32. degrees and a halfe.

And comming vnder thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer against a riuer, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelue men vpon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen, but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in some fresh water, but because they perceiued certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30. leagues, where they entred into a desert or vnhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people vpon the shore, & there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces wherof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called Iohn the Greeke, (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the hauen of S. Iago,) wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before: and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore: so that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her: which done, they put a small peece of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Hauing sailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a base from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two Canoas who told them that on the firme land they might haue fresh water, but they vnderstanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leauing the fishermen with their Canoas, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were vpon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiuing, presently entred into his pinnesse, and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the said fishermen, taking with him halfe of the fish that lay packed vpon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they saw a barke laden with fish, that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leauing the said Indians within it, who by night vnbound the barke, and secretly made away with barke and fish, and were no more

seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses vpon the shore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leauing the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of siluer, (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight,) and seuen Indian sheepe, and hennes, & tooke al whatsoeuer they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two dayes after they came to the hauen called Arica, where they found two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seuen and thirty barres of siluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said hauen, with about seuen and thirty harquebuses and bowes) they perceiued on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboord.

Arica.

The next day in the morning, they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them, passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship wherof they had intelligence: and hauing in that maner sailed about fiue and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertised of an English pirate or sea-rouer, and had discharged eight hundred barres of siluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which siluer belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which siluer the Englishmen had receiued some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards that stood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water: the ship they tooke with them, and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed vp all her sailes and let her driue, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in Arica, as also the other of Sant Iago, which likewise they let driue, following on their course with their owne ship, and the pinnesse.

Calao de Lima.

Being seuen or eight leagues from the hauen of Calao de Lyma, they espied three ships, and boording one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being scuenteene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the siluer, but when answere was made them, that the siluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the greatest ships, and so left them. At the same time there arriued a ship from Panama laden with wares and merchandise of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. Assoone as the ship of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the shore to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing sent a man on board, who climing vp, light vpon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stept backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, vsed to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it: which the ship of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, shee iudged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables, shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiuing, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned againe into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the shippe perceiuing hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leauing the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sayled on their course.

The next day they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, whereby they presently mistrusted it to be a spie, and not long after they perceiued two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the shippe of Panama driue, therein leauing Iohn the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken

taken the same day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe vpon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of Panama, which the Englishmen let driue. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course: and hauing sailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of siluer, and asked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they vnderstood should be laden with siluer, but the one Pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he saw her about three dayes before. This frigat came not to the ship, but to the pinnesse, wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ranne close by the shore, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Two dayes after, they came to the hauen called Payta, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boorded, and tooke without any resistance: for assoone as the Spaniards perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the sea, none staying in the shippe, but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the ship: but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ship, which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship of Panama, which they presently boorded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and so left it, holding on their course. Payta.

The next day being the first of Februarie, they met another ship that sailed to Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of siluer, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship driue, following on their course.

The first of March towards noone, they espied the ship laden with siluer, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before, whereby it sailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spanish pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the sterne of the ship to make her sayle the better: and the shippe that sayled towardes Panama made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that vsed to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey: and beeing hard by her, the English Captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece hee shotte her mast ouerboord, and hauing wounded the Master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeelded, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could. A prette deuice to make their ship saile more swiftly.

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of siluer, and foureteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the siluer belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboord, being the sixt of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua. Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at fiue fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentie day. Vpon the which day there passed a Frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnesse they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship, which frigat was laden with Salsaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and The Island of Cocos. The first sight of Nueua Espanna.

with other things. The English Captaine went on boord, and cast the Salsaperilla on the land, leauing all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the sayd frigate and her men with them, and hauing sailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnesse, among the which were foure sailers, that meant to sayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, sent to the gouernour of the Philippinas, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselues in their course.

They calke and trimme their ship at the Ile of Cano ouer against Nicaragua.

Sea-charts of the South sea taken.

And so sailing vntill the sixt of Aprill, about euening they discouered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell vpon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ship, among the which was one Don Francisco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewise tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ship and men goe whether they woulde, setting therein the two sayl-ers that should goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one sailer to shewe them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the hauen of Guatulco, where they put in, being vpon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered, they stayed there till the sixe and twentie of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course Westward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silua goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the hauen of Guatulco.

They arriue at Guatulco. April 23. stilo nouo.

Nuno da Silua set on land.

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of Malucos, and from thence they passed by the Cape de Buena Esperança, and so to England, as it is well knowen, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote Nuno da Silua was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by sir Francis Drake (being in the South sea of New Spaine, in his ship called The Pellican or the golden Hinde with the ship of Sant Iohn de Anton, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other shippes that were of his company, and by foule weather separated from him, as I said before: The contents whereof were these:

Master Winter, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with this ship of Sant Iohn de Anton, I pray you vse him well, according to my word and promise giuen vnto them, and if you want any thing that is in this ship of Sant Iohn de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into England I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I haue promised to be: Beseeching God, the Sauiour of all the world, to haue vs in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour, praise and glory. What I haue written, is not only to you M. Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed vs, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe vs in aduersitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preserue you from all danger, and bring vs to our desired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory, and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorowfull Captaine, whose heart is heauy for you:

Francis Drake.

The voyage of M. Iohn Winter into the South sea by the Streight of Magellan, in consort with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight al-

so

so he returned safely into England the second of June 1579. contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards which gaue out, that the said passage was not repasseable: Written by Edward Cliffe Mariner.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1577. the 19. of September there went out of the riuer of Thamis ouer the lands ende one good and newe ship called the Elizabeth, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went also a small pinnesse being 12 tunnes in burthen called the Benedict. The sayd ship with her pinnesse arriued at Plimmouth: in which hauen were three ships more, one called the Pellican in burthen 120. tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary prouision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15 of Nouember, but were put into Falmouth by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to Plimmouth to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest: and at length the 13 of December wee set forward from thence vpon our voyage.

They set forward from Plimmouth the 13. of December.

The fiue and twentie of December we had sight of Cape Cantin: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes vpon the coast of Barbarie, neere to a towne called Asaphi. The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape Southsouthwest about 18 leagues, wee found a little Island called Mogador an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boat to sound the depth, and at the returne thereof we vnderstood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing fiue fathomes of water fast by the rocks entring in vpon the poynt of the Island: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine seeing our ships ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde vs: whom our Generall M. Francis Drake espying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly vnderstoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shore, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting vp their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe vpon the ground, as though they had sworne by heauen and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man stayed on shore for a pledge.

Cape Cantin.

Asaphi.

Mogador an Island on the coast of Barbary.

These two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall went to shore againe, and our man came aboord also. But the craftie slaues hauing deuised to betray vs, came the next day along the sea side with certain camels as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with vs: to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none of them should goe on land. But the boate being neere the shore one of our men more hastie then wise lept to shore; whom the Moores immediatly tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee set vp a Pinnesse in the island, whereof wee brought 4 loose out of England: which being finished, the last of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the island, the same way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doues vpon it.

Foure loose Pinnaces brought out of England.

Mogador in 32 degrees and an halfe.

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Ianuarie 1578. at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course Southsouthwest, till on the 7 of Ianuarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Pinnesse tooke 3 Spanish fisher-boates, called Cantars. From thence wee ran Southwest and Southsouthwest, carying the sayd Cantars along with vs, till the 10 of the sayd moneth, at which time wee found our selues in 27 degrees 4 min. being 10 leagues Westsouthwest from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by West, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinnesse tooke a Portugall caruel. The 15, the Marigold took a caruel about Cape de las Barbas. And thence we ran along

Cape de Guer in 30 degrees.

Cape Bojador in 27 degrees. 4. min.

Cape de las Barbas.

Cape Blanco in 20 degrees 30 min.

along the coast being low sandie land, till wee arriued at Cape Blanco. This Cape sheweth it selfe like the corner of a wall vpright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be 4 starres, representing the forme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly vnder the vppermost; and being so taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so many you are to the Northwards of the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwards of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be iust 30 then you be directly vnder the line.

Within the sayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, saue two. We brought this ship with all the rest which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we washed and trimmed our ships, and went to sea againe the 22 of Ianuarie, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ships, sauing one Cantar, for which our Generall gaue them the Benedict. In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, vntill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole raysed 15 degrees 15 min. hauing the winde Northeast or Eastnortheast, which is common on that coast. For it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore: and we kept the sayd course, vntill wee came neere the island Bonauista, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that wee haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till day light the 27 of Ianuarie: from which time wee ran Southsouthwest, vntill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approched neere the island of Mayo, being high and hilly land, sauing that the North part of the island stretcheth out it selfe, a league into the sea very lowe. Wee came to anker vnder the West part of this island the 28 day of Ianuarie, and stayed there vntill the 30 of the same. During which time, our Generall appointed M. Iohn Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe ouer to the East part of the island with 70 men, to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middest thereof, we found one house hauing a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds, and melons, in the most dead time of our Winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, hauing within the vtter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleauing fast to the shell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleasant water in taste, and as some thinke, marueilous comfortable. As we passed through this island the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could haue no talke with them.

The isle of Mayo.

Ripe grapes in Ianuarie.

The Cocos tree.

But we vnderstood by the Portugals which came with vs, that they were but seruants to those of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none sauing some yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery man aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to Sant Iago the same night, being 10 leagues distant from thence: which seemed to bee a fruitefull island and well peopled. For wee sawe 3 townes on the shore: two of which shot at vs, as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sayling along the shore, at the South part of the island, wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This island hath 15 degrees in latitude.

The isle of Fogo.

Brana.

From hence wee ran Southsouthwest to the isle of Fogo, so called, because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole island being one high mountaine. Two leagues West from the isle of Fogo, is another island called Brana, where the sea is aboue 120 fathoms deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason whereof we were constrained to depart without water. Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giuing vnto them our Pinnesse which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking

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one of their companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silua. The 2 of February wee set off from Braua, and directed our course Southsoutheast, running so vntill the 9 of February, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great showers of raine. Nonnez de Silua.

The 17 day wee were right vnder the line, which is the most feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middest of February we susteined such heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did sweate for the most part continually, as though wee had bene in a stoue, or hote-house. Here we saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espie, immediatly they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, vntill we were so much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine. Flying fishes. Continuall raine at certaine seasons neere the Equinoctial.

From hence wee directed our course towards the Southsouthwest vntill the 5 of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land. The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towarde the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone the same day. This land is very lowe neere the sea; and hie mountaines vp within the countrie. Land in 31 degrees 30 min. to the South of the Equinoctial.

From hence we ran towardes the Southsouthwest, vntill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little island, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the riuer of Plate, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. Frō this island wee ran 7 or 8 leagues along the maine, where we came to an anker vnder a Cape, which our General called Cape Ioy. Here euery ship tooke in fresh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the Westsouthwest, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously vnder the same for Southerly windes. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there vntill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence wee ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of Plate, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southsouthwest and Northnortheast, and is shold 3 or 4 leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night. Cape Sant Marie at the mouth of the River of Plate.

From hence we ran toward the Southwest, hauing much foule weather and contrary windes, vntill the 12 of May: and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about 10 of the clocke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our General went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so tooke vp the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a thicke myst and a Southeast winde, that they were not able to recouer their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other stayed vntill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride. Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

In the meane time while the Marigold rode vnder the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, sauing that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and rowles vpon their heades. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in signe of friendship, who with certaine gestures of their bodies and handes,

handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyse, which our men could not vnderstand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the same place againe: but hee had no sight of the foresaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as Ostriches, and other sea foules, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certaine bagge with litle stones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our General brought aboord, and then weighed, and came to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleet mette with him, saue the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade al that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, & ran without the cape to the Northwardes, & sent the Elizabeth towards the South to looke for the Prize: leauing the Marigold and the Canter to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day being the 14 of May, our Generall met with the fly-boat (which lost vs the 27 of April) and brought her into saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The Elizabeth weighed & put forth again to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General discharged the fly-boat, and ran her vpon the maine, where we broke her vp for fire-wood. In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set themselues in array very orderly casting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bow and arrowes: who (when they had pight a staffe on the ground, with certeine glasses, beads, and other trifles) returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, shewing themselues very pleasant, insomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces spotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine skinne (wherein they wrap themselues) not reaching so low as to couer their priuy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked, sauing that they weare certaine roules vpon their heads, whose ends hang ouer their shoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very strangely & cunningly of a flint stone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are very sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew aboue 200 in the space of one houre vpon a litle island.

Ostriches and sea foules.

The description of certaine Sauages.

The 3 of Iune we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we discharged our Canter and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met with our Prize the 19 of Iune, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a barbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the same day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which Magellan named Port S. Iulian: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conspire against Magellan, and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore vpon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Patagons hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our mē making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force of our bowes, with the which shot his string broke: whereupon the Patagons presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. Gunner, who had a caliuer ready bent

The port of Sant Iulian.

Two of our men slaine by the Patagons.

bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them shot him through the brest, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe starke dead. Also the gentleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buryed in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Patagons had stript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes vnder his head, and so left him vntouched, saying that they had stucke the English arrow in his left eye. These men be of no such stature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of English men: for I haue seene men in England taller then I could see any of them. But peraduenture the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would haue come thither so soone to haue disproued them in this & diuers others of their notorious lies: wherefore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world. The last of Iune M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his answere, was accused, and conuicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of Iuly 1578, whose body was buried in the said island, neer to them which were slaine. We wintered in this port 2 moneths, during which time we had such weather as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed vp our ships, and made prouision of fewell and fresh water, we departed thence with 3 ships the 17 of August about noone. And the 20 of the said moneth we seazed Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South sea, called The streights of Magellan, the first discouerer thereof. Wee found the mouth of the streights to be 52 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ Southward of Equinoctial. In this streight, we found the sea to haue no such current as some do imagine, (following the course of the primum mobile from East to West) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as vpō other coasts, rising 5 fathoms vpright. The flood riseth out of the East ocean, and stretcheth it selfe so far into the streights, that it meeteth the flood of the South sea neere about the midst of the streights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the West-north-west into the South Sea, whereas the East part from the mouth of the streights to this elbow lyeth South-west and by West, or South-west to 53 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. 30 leagues within the streights there be 3 islands. To the greatest our general gaue the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, because we found it on S. Bartholomews day: the 3 he named S. Georges island. Here we staied one day & victualled our selues with a kinde of foule which is plentifull in that isle, and whose flesh is not farre vnlike a fat goose here in England: they haue no wings, but short pineons which serue their turne in swimming. Their colour is somewhat blacke mixt with white spots vnder their belly, and about their necke. They walke so vpright, that a farre off a man would take them to be litle children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the island is full. So that to take them we had staues with hookes fast to the ends, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite so cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of vs was able to handle them aliue. The land on both parts is very high: but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themselues, whose tops be all hoary with snowe, in the moneths of August, September, and October. Notwithstanding the lower partes of the hilles are replenished and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of strange and vnknown trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made prouision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by Cape Deseado into the South sea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-west about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly against vs, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, snow, and thicke fogs which continued so more thē 3 weeks, that we could beare no saile, at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the south pole. The 15 of September the moone was there ecclipsed, & began to be darkened presently after the setting of the sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that countrey. The said ecclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England, which is about sixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of England towards the West. The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas sore growne, we lost the Marigold, the Generals shippe and the Elizabeth running to the East-ward to get the shore,

The execution of M. Thomas Doughtie.

The entrance of the streight of Magellan.

Ordinarie flood and ebbe in the streight.

Abundance of sea foules on S. Georges island in the streight of Magellan.

High hils on both sides of the streight.

Cape Deseado where they entred into the South sea.

They were driuē to 57 degrees Southward.

whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we lost company of M. Drake the same night. The next day very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the space of 2 dayes, and made great fiers on the shore, to the end that if M. Drake should come into the streights, hee might finde vs. After wee went into a sound, where we stayed for the space of 3 weekes and named it The port of Health, for the most part of our men being very sicke with long watching, wet, cold, and euill diet, did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being 20 inches long) very pleasant meate, and many of them full of seed-pearles.

They loose M. Drakes company.

The voyage glorn ouer.

We came out of this harbour the first of Nouember, giuing ouer our voiage by M. Winters compulsion (full sore against the mariners minds) who alleged, he stood in dispaire, as well to haue winds to serue his turne for Peru, as also of M. Drakes safetie. So we came backe againe through the streights to S. Georges Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

They returned out of The streight the 11 of Nouember, hauing entred into The south sea the 6 of September.

And thus wee passed by Cape Victorie out of the streights the 11 of Nouember, directing our course to the North-east, till the last of this moneth. What time wee arriued at an island which lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of Plate. Vpon this island there is such an infinite number of seales, as may seeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, some of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the presence of men: for the most of our men were vpon the island, for the space of 15 dayes to set vp a Pinnesse, during which time the seales would come and slepe by them, and rather resist our men, then giue place, vnlesse mortall blowes forced them to yeelde.

When our Pinnesse was built, we went to another island, where wee did water, and afterward departed the first of Ianuarie 1579, and ran towards the North till the 20 of the said moneth, and then we arriued at an island which lieth on the coast of Brasil, neere to a towne called sant Vincent inhabited by the Portugals. The sayd towne lyeth 24 degrees Southwarde, almost vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne. Here, by reason of fowle weather we lost our Pinnesse, and 8 men in her, and neuer saw them since. Here also our ship was in great danger, by the meanes of a strong current, which had almost cast vs vpon the shore before wee were aware, insomuch that we were constrained to anker in the open sea, and brake our cable and lost an anker, and presently let fal another anker: in weighing whereof our men were sore spoiled. For the capstan ranne about so violently with the rising of the shippe in the sea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were sore hurt. At last wee gote vp our anker and set sayle, and ran into a place called Tanay, where we roade vnder an island and tooke in wood and water.

Sant Vincent in Brasil in 24 degrees.

A dangerous current.

Tanay a place in Brasil.

And while we stayed here, there came 3 Portugals aboord vs in a canoa, to knowe what wee would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made answere: that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marueiled. For they saide that they neuer heard of any English ship to haue bene in that countrey before; and so they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to speake with the Gouernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another canoa aboord vs with one Portugal and al the rest naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two small Oxen, one yong Hogge, with certaine hennes: also Pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them, linnen cloth, combes, knines, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouernour of the towne, sent word that we should haue nothing, vnlesse we would bring our shippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no case consent: for all their practise was to haue gotten vs within their danger, neuertheles we came somewhat neere the towne with our ship, as though wee would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and set the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an

an iland called the isle of Sant Sebastian; where wee tooke fish. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Brasillian one of their slaues had not bene. For he stole from them, & shewed vnto vs by signes, that the Portugals were comming with their canoas to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they shewed themselues with 12 or 16 canoas, some of them hauing 40 men in them. The same night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March: and had sight of the Cape of sant Augustine, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had sight of an island lying within 3 degrees of the Equinoctial, called the isle of Fernando de Loronha. We crossed the Equinoctial the 13 of April, and had sight of the North starre the 19 of the sayd moneth.

The isle of Sant Sebastian about the Tropicke of Capricorne.

Cape Sant Augustine.

The isle of Fernando de Loronha.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee sayled through the sea of Weedes, about the space of 100 leagues, being vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. From whence wee kept our course towards the North-east, vntill wee had the pole raysed 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne Eastnortheast.

The sea of Weedes, neere the Tropicke of Cancer.

The 29 we sounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze; hauing the North pole raysed 51 degrees. The 30 of May wee had sight of S. Iues on the North side of Corne-wall, and the 2 of Iune 1579 we arriued at Ilfoord-combe in Deuon-shire.

Their arriuall at Ilfoord-combe in Deuonshire.

And thus after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing passed The streights of Magellan into the South Sea with our Generall M. Francis Drake, and hauing bene driuen with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward passing backe by the same streights againe, it pleased God to bring vs safe into our owne natiue countrey to enioy the presence of our deare friendes and kinsefolkes, to whom bee prayse, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. Amen.

EDWARD CLIFFE,
Mariner.

Instructions giuen by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counsell, to M. Edward Fenton Esquire, for the order to be obserued in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.

FIrst you shall enter as Captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernment of these shippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the small Frigate or Pinnesse.

2 Item you shall appoint for the furnishing of the vessels in the whole, to the number of 200 able persons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Ministers, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which sayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be sea-men; and shal distribute them into euery vessel, as by aduise here before your going shal be thought meete: Prouided that you shall not receiue vnder your charge and gouernement, any disordered or mutinous person, but that vpon knowledge had, you shall remoone him before your departure hence, or by the way as soone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in his place.

3 Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waightie causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take vnto you for assistants, Captaine Hawkins, captain Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Euans, Randolph Shaw, Matthew Talboys, with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in these instructions touching this seruice now in hand. And in all such matters, so handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke that conuenient alwayes to be executed, which you shall thinke meetest with the assent also of any 4 of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and so assented vnto, in the presence of your said assistants. And in case that such conference and debating the opinions of the aforesaid Assistants be found in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all such matters so argued vpon, shall rest to bee put in execution in such sort as you shal thinke most meetest, hauing the assent of any 4 of them, as aforesaid. And if any of these Assistants

sistants shal die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the General captaine for consent in all things aforesaid.

4 Of all which your assemblies and consultations, for the matters aforesaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note should be kept, for which cause we appoint master Maddox minister, and if he should decease, then the Generall with halfe the Assistants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all such matters as shall bee brought in consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any person, either on the one side, or on the other: what was resolued on, and by whose consent, who dissented there from, and for what causes. In which book he shall in the beginning of the note of euery such assembly, set downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the persons then present, and vpon what occasion the sayd consultation was appointed or holden, and shall haue to euery acte, the handes of the General, and of all, or so many of the said Assistants as will subscribe: which booke the said master Maddox, or the other vpon his decease appointed in his place shall keepe secrete, and in good order to bee exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any person or persons imployed in this seruice, of what calling or condition, hee or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt priuatly or publikely, any treason, mutinie, or other discord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maiesties seruice in this voiage might bee ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iust proofe made of any such treason, mutinie, or any other discord attempted as aforesaid, the same shalbe punished by you, or your Lieuetenant, according to the qualitie and enormitie of the fact. Prouided alwayes, and it shall not bee lawfull neither for you, nor for your Lieuetenant to proceede to the punishment of any person by losse of life or lim, vnlesse the partie shall be iudged to haue deserued it by the rest of your Assistants, as is before expressed, or at the least by foure of them. And that which shall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the obseruation of the forme of our countrey lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, if it shall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the facte of the offender, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12 indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment, vntill the returne. And aswell of the factes committed by any, as also of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Assistants, and the maner of the punishment, the Register shall make a particular and true note, in the booke of your consultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you shall not remoue Captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master Captaine Luke Ward your viceadmiral, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuse any such seruice as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councill, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but vpon iust cause duely prooued, and by consent of your Assistants, or of foure of them at the least.

M. Carlile vpon occasion was not in this voyage.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall, gouernour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succeede in his place one after the other, which are seuerally written in parchment, included in bals of waxe, sealed with her Maiesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three seuerall locks, whereof one key is to bee in the custodie of Captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the Minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two seuerall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the custodie of the Viceadmirall: the same two coffers vpon any such casualtie of the Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall ouerliue, to bee opened, and the partie therein named to succeede in the place, who shall thereupon take vpon him the charge

charge in the said voiage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed vnto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in euery respect, as they will answer to the contrary. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such neede, but that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliuer backe the sayd coffers and bals of waxe sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, vnlesse it be in the case aforesayd.

8 You shall make a iust and true inuentorie in euery ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting foorth hence, and of all the prouisions whatsoeuer, and one copie thereof vnder your hand, and vnder the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Earle of Leicester, and the other to the gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to bee done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the sayd ships and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall haue bene spent or lost. The gouernour of this companie.

9 Item, you shall vse all diligence possible to depart from Southampton with your sayd ships and vessels before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de buena Esperança, not passing by the streight of Magellan either going or returning, except vpon great occasion incident, that shall bee thought otherwise good to you, by the aduise and consent of your sayd Assistants or foure of them at the least. They are inioyned to go by the Cape of Buena Esperança.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northeastward of the 40 degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of the Malucos for the better discouery of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, & within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall do wel to be inquisitiue, as occasion in this sort may serue.

11 Item, you shall haue speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course, as that your ships and vessels lose not one another, but keepe companie together both outward and homeward. And lest if they happen to seuer the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shall not bee amisse that you appoint to the Captaines and Masters certaine places, wherein you will stay certaine dayes. And euery ship passing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ships, to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape a token to stand in sight, with a writing lapped in leade to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall haue charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharpely to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enioine you, and consequently all the rest imployed in this voyage in any wise, and as you and they will answere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoyle or take any thing from any of the Queenes Maiesties friends or allies, or any Christians, without paying iustly for the same, nor that you vse any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set vpon or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honest merchants, trafliquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesie to the nations you shall deale with, as well Ethniks as others, and for that cause you shall instruct all those that shall goe with you, that whensoeuer you or any of you shall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of those parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they so behaue your selues towards the sayd people, as may rather procure their friendship and good liking toward you by courtesie, then to moue them to offence or misliking, and especially you shall haue great care of the performance of your word and promise to them.

14 Item wee will, that by the aduise of your Assistants, in places where you and they shall thinke most fit, you settle if you can a beginning of a further trade to bee had hereafter: and from such places doe bring ouer with you some fewe men and women if you may, and doe Strange people to be brought home.

doe also leaue some one or two, or more, as to you and your Assistants shall seeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue and secrets of the countreys, hauing diligent care that in deliuering and taking of hostages, you deliuer not personages of more value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane persons vnder colour of men of value, as the Infidels do for the most part vse. Prouided that you stay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then shall be expedient for good exchange of the wares presently carried with you.

15 Item you shall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no person of what calling soeuer hee be, shall take vp, or keepe to himselfe or his priuate vse, any stone, pearle, golde, siluer, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you shall come, but hee the said person so seased of such stone, pearle, golde, siluer, or other matter of commoditie, shall with all speede, or so soone as he can, detect the same, and make deliuerie thereof to your selfe, or you Viceadmirall, or Lieuetenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfeiture of all the recompense he is to haue for his seruice in this voyage by share or otherwise: and further to receiue such punishment, as to you & your Assistants, or the more part of them shal seeme good, and otherwise to be punished here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it shalbe thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants or any other, shall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatsoeuer, which may bee desired in countreys where they shall traffique, that it shall not bee lawfull for them or any of them to traffique, or sell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the same shall bee prized by the most part of those that shall bee in commission in the places where the same may be so required, rated at such value, as it may bee reasonably worth in England, and then solde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for those to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your selfe shall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the same shippe another, wherein shall bee a iust accompt kept, aswell of the marchandise carried hence, as of those you shall bring home. And aswell at your setting foorth, as from time to time, as exchange shalbe made, you shall set your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order shal you see that the Captaine and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture shall vse in their ship, and the other Captaines and Factors in each other vessell.

18 Item you shall giue straight order to restraine, that none shall make any charts or descriptions of the sayd voyage, but such as shall bee deputed by you the Generall, which sayd charts and descriptions, wee thinke meete that you the Generall shall take into your hands at your returne to this our coast of England, leauing with them no copie, and to present them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any charts or maps in those countreys.

19 Item you shall at your returne so direct your course, that all the ships vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And wheresoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the shippes shall arriue, you shall giue speciall and straight order, that no person of what condition soeuer he be, shall vnlade, or bring on land, or forth of the vessels in which he came, any part or parcel of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the said vessels, vntill we being certified of your or their arriuall, shall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfeitures expressed in the fifteenth article, against such as shall retaine any thing to their priuate vse, as in the sayd article is further expressed.

20 Item, to the intent that all such persons as shall go with you in this voyage, may better vnderstand what they ought to do, and what to auoid, wee thinke it requisite, that aswell out of these, as otherwise with the aduise of your Assistants and Masters of the ships, you shall cause some conuenient order to bee set downe in writing for their better gouernment both at sea and land, if they shall happen to goe on lande any where: and the same to bee openly read and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderstand how

to

to behaue themselues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuse to pretend ignorance, and so to auoid such punishment as it is requisite to haue ministred for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may blesse this voyage with happie and prosperous successe, you shall haue an especiall care to see that reuerence and respect bee had to the Ministers appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place and calling, and to see such good order as by them shall be set downe for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and perfourmed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be seuerely punished, and the Ministers to remooue sometime from one vessell to another.

22 Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fift article, and the course of this voyage, shall bee wholly at your disposition, except in the course by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your passage by the Northward of 40 degrees in latitude, wherein you shall follow directions set downe in the nine and ten articles, as also in the displacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and other captaines, wherin you shall followe the order appointed in the sixt article: Prouided that wee meane not by this article to derogate any thing from the authoritie of your assistants established in the third article, or in any other article of these instructions.

23 Item, in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to bee vpon the lande, wee will that Captaine Carlile shall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

M. Carlile vpon occasion was not in this voyage.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obseruation and accomplishment of these our instructions, and of all such other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this seruice committed to your charge.

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edward Fenton was appointed Generall: Written by M. Luke Ward his Viceadmiral, and Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, begun Anno Dom. 1582.

THe second of April I departed with the Edward Bonauenture from Blackwall, and the 19 of the same arriued in Nettle roade at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leicester: and so remaining there till the first of May, wee set saile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole fleete foure saile.

1 The Gallion Leicester of 400 tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall Captaine Edward Fenton, and William Hawkins the yonger lieutenant Generall in her, and Christopher Hall, Master.

2 The Edward Bonauenture of 300 tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie Master.

3 The Francis of fortie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Iohn Drake, and William Markam Master.

4 The Elizabeth of fiftie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Ralph Crane Master.

We spent by meanes partly of businesse, and partly of contrary windes, the moneth of May vpon the coast, and then leauing the land wee put off to sea, and proceeded on our voyage intended by the grace of God for China: vntill the moneth of August following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the worlde, which is not common to all nauigants; but about the beginning of August aforesayd, being somewhat neere the coast of Guinie, vpon the shooting off a peece and the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, and M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffreis, our Master & Pilot with me, where the generall counsel was assembled to consider of two points, viz.

The first, whether it were necessarie to water presently or not, which was thought very needful of all men, and so concluded.

The second, where the best and aptest place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierra leona on the coast of Guinie, which was also concluded, and by

by the Master and Pilots agreed to goe hence Southeast, which determined, wee returned aboord.

The 3 day wee went Southeast and Eastsoutheast, till sixe a clocke at night that wee sawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeast of vs about 12 leagues off, which seene, wee sounded, and had no ground: then went I and our Master and Pilot aboord the Admirall, and after many debatements concluded to run in Northeast by East, and at eleuen at night wee came aboord againe, and went all night Northeast by East.

The 4 at eight a clocke in the forenoone wee were within 2 leagues of the lande, which bare off vs Northeast, which rose like a hill full of woods, and on each side low land: wee being perswaded by our pilots that it was the entrance into Sierra leona, went in Northeast vntill we were within an halfe league of the shoar, and had brought the South point Southeast by east off vs. At eleuen a clocke finding it a bay and not Sierra leona, wee brought our tacks aboord, and stoode along West by North and West larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinnesse rowed in, and went on land vpon the South side of the bay, and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houses of boughes, and in one of the houses the tongue of a beast, and a bullocks tongue fresh killed; also a lake with plentie of fresh water, and fresh-water-fish in it had by the sea side: they found drie pomegranates, and pease like nuts, with other vnknowen fruites vnder the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by West of her, and ankered within Faulcon shot of the shore in seuen fathom oaze, where they tooke fish with hookes, while hee stayed for the boates.

The 4 all the afternoone wee ran along the coast (which lyeth Northwest and by North, and Southeast by South) West, and within a point one way or the other, seeing the lande vnder our lee three or foure leagues off, and all night likewise.

They arriue in the riuer of Sierra leona.

The 9 at three a clock in the morning our Admiral shot off a peece, and at foure wee weyed and went hence Northeast. At fiue in the morning wee saw the land along, and the Island which wee saw the night before, and diuers other Islands about it, & so ran in Northeast vntill we had brought ourselues thwart of the riuer, and then ran in East about sixe at night, being a league within the riuer. Our Admirall shot off a peece, and there wee ankered in eight fathom sand. Being at anker, I manned our boate and would haue gone aboord the Admirall, but could not, the flood was bent so strong, and she rode halfe a mile beneath vs in the tyde, but we had no tyde.

The 10 in the morning at fiue a clocke I sent our skiffe with our pilot in her to find a roade, and a watring place: in the meane time at sixe a clocke we set saile with our ship, and being calme wee towed with our boat vntill ten, and then ankered a mile short of the watering place. After dinner I went on land with my skiffe to finde timber to fish our maste, and searching along the shoare we found a good watring place: and further seeking in the wood, which all the countrey is full of, and of diuers sorts, wee found Limmon trees full of fruits: also trees growing by the water side with the stalkes hung full of oysters and great periwinkles, and crabs amongst them: wee found drie pomegranates with many other fruits vnknowen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward with the barkes, hauing a gale at West, set saile, and ran vp and ankered in the rode before the accustomed watering place.

Trees hung with oysters.

The 22 day certaine Portugals which had bene with vs before, came down and brought some other Portugals and Negros with them in a shippe-boate, wherein they brought vs 80 mewes of rice, 500 and odde weight of Elephants teeth, and a Negro boy, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth, which wee solde them, with all her tackle and sailes, hauing neede of the rice, because our meale which wee brought out of England was decayed and naught, whereof wee had into the Edward 30 bushels, which is a mewe and a halfe: the Francis had 5 bushels, and the Gallion had the rest. And wee had 200 weight of Elephants teeth, and the Gallion 300 and a halfe, and sixe pound. During this time we sent our skiffe with the Admiralls pinnesse vp the riuer to meete with a Gundall, which the Portugals had sent for fresh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All

Their traffique here with the Portugals.

All this day I with M. Walker remained aboord with the Admirall, and after their dinner and supper wee ended our businesse, and returned aboord, hauing had many good speaches with the Portugals.

The 26 day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hoode, and others came aboord and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner wee went on shoare to the lower point where we followed the footing of an Elephant, but saw him not, and so spent the time to and fro till supper time, and then came aboord, and supped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.

This night I was very sicke, (and so were all they that were on shoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite in the countrey, which wee found on trees, like nuts: whereof some did eate foure, some fiue, some sixe, and more, but wee vomited and scoured vpon it without reason. Sickenesse by eating some fruite in Guinea.

The 27 day in the afternoone the olde Greeke Francisco came aboord to me, with request that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe vp for his owne boate which was not come downe, with whom I talked of this Countrey and Countrey-people, vntill fiue of the clocke at night that the flood was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his consent, and sent themselues in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portugall Master, and his Negro: In the meane time I sent foure of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28 day in the morning at foure a clocke I sent my skiffe with the Admirals pinnesse down to the west point to fish, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fish as all our companies could eate.

During the time that our boates were a fishing, came downe the riuer a canoa and the Portugals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they presented the Generall and mee with: and also the rest of the rice due to vs for the payment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner M. Euans began to barter away certaine of the ships commodities with the Negros, without acquainting the Generall or any other vntill hee had done, whereof grewe more wordes then profite, as by the bookes of marchandise appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had two of the Portugals to supper with mee. About two of the clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine. The Portugals presents. M. Euans one of our marchants.

The 29 about 4 a clocke in the morning, I in my skiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinnesse, went downe to the West point, and there wee landed with 11 men in all well furnished, and searched the woods, plaines and plashes, after an Elephant, finding the haunt, footing, and soyle of many newly done, yet wee saw none of them. Wee saw hogs, goates or fawnes, and diuers sorts of fowles very wilde: and hauing trauelled about 2 leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where wee landed, and met our boates which had beene at sea, and taken plentie of good fish: there wee refreshed ourselues with such victuals as wee had, and came aboord our seuerall ships, where I found the Portugals and Negros, who had dined, and after supped aboord with mee. They search the country.

The 2 of September we set saile at sixe of the clock in the morning, & went out West betweene 7 and 10 fathom, with a pretie gale at East til 8, then it waxed calme, wee being shot out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blewe vp at Westsouthwest a good gale, so wee stood off Northnorthwest, and Northwest till 5 in the afternoone, then wee ankered in 12 fathom, being 6 leagues off the point West by North.

The 3 day about eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Generall came aboord to mee, complaining that his maine crosse-trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blewe: at 12 at noone wee set saile, and went in Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and Southsoutheast, being carried to the Northward with the flood. And at 7 at night wee ankered in eight fathom three leagues off the entrance, Westnorthwest. They returne to Sierra leona againe.

The 12 day came downe the riuer a boate with three other Portugals, with whom the Generall bargained, to let them haue 3 barrels of salt for 5 barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40 barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portugals Traffique with 3 other Portugals, viz. 1 Lewis Henriques a dweller here aboue 20 yeeres.

a Matthew Fernandes Captaine. 3 Pedro Vaz pilot.

Portugals with him: after dinner I went on shoare to the ouen, and to the carpenters. After I had bene on shoare and seene the worke there, I returned aboord, & there supped with mee the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and seuen Portugals: after supper each man returned to his place.

The 13 in the afternoone, the Portugals came againe aboord me, and brake their fast with me: after I sent by them vp the riuer in my skiffe 12 barrels of salt, and gaue them a bottell of wine for one of the sauage Queenes.

They enter vp to search the country.

The 15 after dinner, the Master, M. Walker, and I, accompanied with 12 other trauelled ouer a great deale of ground to finde some cattell, but found none: and comming home thorow the Oyster bay, I found of my company and of the Admirals together rosting of oysters: and going from them, Thomas Russell one of my companie sawe a strange fish named Vtelif, which had fought with a crocodile, and being hurt came neere the shoare, where hee waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there slewe him, and sent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head part I kept, in whose nose is a bone of two foot long like a sword with three and twentie pricks of a side, sharpe and strange: The bodie wee did eate, and it was like a Sharke.

A sword-fish killed.

The 30 and last day of September the Francis cooke came aboord about seuen a clocke in the forenoone from fishing with my net, and brought among other fish, a Sea-calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles vpon him, being seuen foote long, foure foote nine inches about: which to see I sent for the Generall, and such as pleased to come see it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and most part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beast, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dressed, prooued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, rosted, sodde and baked, and sufficed all our companies for that day.

A strange fish taken.

The first day of October in the morning, wee tooke in to make vp our full complement of rice twentie barrels for the twelue barrels of salt, deliuered the Portugall Lewis Henriques before.

The 2 day about sixe a clocke in the morning, wee set saile hauing little winde: the Captaine with the Master, and other of their companie of the Portugals came aboord me, complaining that the carsey by them receiued for the foure Negros of the Generall, was not sufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them scarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themselues well pleased, departed away in the Gundall, and we hauing little winde, got downe thwart of the fishing bay, and there came to anker about nine a clocke the same forenoone.

The third day about two a clocke in the morning wee set saile, and went hence South-west by West till two in the afternoone then being little wind: at fiue wee ankered sixe leagues Eastsoutheast of the Southermost part of the land in fifteene fathom, and there wee rode till eight a clocke at night, and set saile with a stiffe gale at Northeast, which sometime blewe, and sometime was little winde, and so continued all night.

The first day of Nouember in the forenoone, wee tooke in our maine saile to mend it: in the meane time, the Admirall came vp by vs, and desiring mee with my Master, and M. Blackcoller to come aboord to him about certaine conference, hee sent his boate for vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were best for vs to stand on with the coast of Brasil as wee did, or else to stand about starboord tacked to the Eastwards: whereupon diuers of their charts and reckonings were shewed: by some it appeared, wee were a hundred and fifteene leagues, by some a hundred and fiftie leagues, by some a hundred and fortie leagues, and some a great deale further short of Brasil, next hand Northeast of vs: but all agreed to bee within twentie minutes of the line, some to the North, some to the South of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by most consent to stand on for the coast of Brasil, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather should compell vs. In this consultation, wee had speaches of courses, and places of meeting, if by misfortune wee should bee separated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we should speake euery night with the Admirall, if wee conueniently might, and so to appoint our course from time to time,

time, if wee lost companie, to stay fifteene dayes in the riuer of Plate, and from thence to go for the streights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ships.

The 12 in the afternoone M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, and others came aboord to visite M. Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the gallion all againe, except M. Maddox who remained with M. Walker here aboord.

This night M. Maddox and I, behelde many constellations in the firmament, and set downe certaine newe starres raised to the Southwards. All day and night wee went South, and South by East among.

The seuenteenth day in the afternoone wee shot off three peeces of ordinance in honour of our Queenes Maiestie. This day after dinner came master Maddox, and Captaine Drake with others to take their leaue of Master Walker, as I with all my company had done before, supposing him past hope of recouerie. At foure of the clocke, finding ourselues in nineteene degrees to the Southwards of the line, and cleare of the shoalds called by vs Powles, wee went hence Southsouthwest all night following. 19 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The 18 day being Sunday, after dinner the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and many other came aboord, and visited M. Walker: which done, they dranke, and departed aboord againe. All this day and night, we went our course Southwest by South, with a franke gale.

The 19 day about noone, the Sun was in our Zenith, being declined to the Southwards 21 degrees, and 33 minutes, where wee found the aire fresh and temperate, as in England in Iune, when a fresh gale of winde doeth blow in the heate of the day, but the euening, the night, and the morning are more fresh and colder here, then it is in England either in Iune or Iulie. Cold euenings.

The first of December, about sixe of the clocke in the morning, wee sawe lande on the coast of Brasil, in the height of 28 degrees or there abouts, which bare Northwest, and was eight leagues from vs very high land. Wee stood in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found diuers Islands: and seeing the Francis would not come roome nor run ahead vs, wee stood in with the shore, and sounded in 30 fathom oaze three leagues off the lande, bearing from the Westnorthwest to the Northnorthwest of vs, and so stoode still till it shoalded orderly into seuen fathom, within a mile of a headland: then perceiuing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour, in that place, wee bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whom wee haled: then hee tolde vs hee would seeke harbour to leewards, requiring me to go ahead. Then seeing the barke was asterne, I hoised out my skiffe, and set her maste and saile, taking her ging, and Tobias one of my Masters mates with mee, and ranne before the shippe, sounding in 15 fathom faire sand, leauing a ledge of rockes asea-boord of vs: so the ships and the barke looffed vp vnder a headland, and ankered in eight fathom, halfe a mile off the lande, hauing brought the headland which lyeth in 27 degrees 50 minutes Southsoutheast off them, and the North land Northeast off them. Diuers Islands. The latitude of 27 degrees 50 minutes.

I stoode on with the skiffe, hoping to finde a better harbour to leeward three leagues, but it prooued not so: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord I met with a rocke in the sea, where we landed, and killed good store of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I presented him with fowle, and returned aboord to supper.

In this time our boates had beene aland, and found water, ballaste, and two decayed houses, as they told me, and our men aboord hooked fresh-fish. This night wee rode quietly.

The second, being Sunday, our masters moared our ships further into the bay. We brought the South point Southeast off vs, and the North land Northeast: and so rid. A bay.

After dinner captaine Parker, with my boat, and company, went a land, and there placed pipes, and made three wels. In the meane time, I accompanied with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people, landed farther within the bay, and found two riuers of fresh water, and a good fishing place. Presently I sent aboord for my net, with which at one draught we drew 600 great mullets, and 5 great basses; the like draught was neuer seene with so small a net: with which we went aboord, giuing to the admirall Wels made by our men. An exceeding great draught of fish.

mirall 240, to the Francis 80, and the rest our company spent, and gaue almighty God thanks for his great goodnesse.

The woods set on fire by our men.

All this while was captaine Parker and others gone into the land, and fired the woods; which burned extremely.

The third day in the morning our carpenter calked without boord, and the master and others tooke vp all the merchandize in the stearne sheets to the keele, and there put downe a boats lading of stone; and seeing the merchandize well conditioned, stowed the same againe. In the meane time, my selfe, and others in our boats, scraped off the wormes, and washed the rudder, and part of one side of our ship.

After dinner, the master, pilot, and I, went ashore, and obserued the Sunne at noone, which being past, with our net we drew plenty of diuers sorts of fishes, and went from that place to the watering place: from thence, aboord the generall, which had taken physicke, and Day. gaue them and the Francis fish for their companies, and so went aboord, where our company had romaged aforemast: so that this afternoone we tooke in two boats more lading of stones afore mast.

A saile seene and taken.

The sixt day in the morning, before sixe of the clocke, we saw a saile which went towards the Southwards, the admirall not hauing knowledge thereof. I went aboord, and certified him; who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take captaine Parker and some of the gallions men into the Francis, and the admirals skiffe with vs: so we gaue her chase, and tooke her sixe leagues to the leewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the rode againe, we ankered in the sea. I intending to come away in the pinnesse, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being ready to depart, the winde blew at South a stout gale, and raine; so that about sixe of the clocke, we ankered in the rode, where our ships rid.

After we had taken them, and that captaine Parker and I were aboord, we had much talke with them before they came to the ships; and being ankered there, the chiefe men were caried abord the general, which was a gentleman, named Don Francisco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the gouernour of the riuer of Plate, named Don Iohn de Torre Vedra.

Richard Carter an Englishman taken in the prize.

We found an Englishman, named Richard Carter borne in Limehouse, who had bene out of England foure and twenty yeres, and hath bene nere twelue yeres dwelling in the riuer of Plate, at a towne named Ascension, three hundred leagues vp in the riuer, whither they were now determined to go & inhabit, hauing two women, and two yong children, seuen friers, the rest boyes, and sailers, to the number of one and twenty persons.

The number of 21 in the prize.

The olde frier was had in great reuerence among the rest: insomuch that they called him the Holy father. He was abiding in no place; but as visitour he went visiting from monastery to monastery.

The substance of all the speeches was, that the Spanish fleet was before the streights of Magellan, as they thought; for they were departed sixe weeks past from the riuer of Ienero, where they had beene seuen moneths to refresh and Winter; and that these were not of that company, but came out of Spaine the 26 of May 1582 in a barke of fourescore tun, and fourescore persons, of purpose for the riuer of Plate. The friers being eighteene in number, could not agree, and their barke was a ground at Spirito santo, like to be lost: therefore the old frier bought this small barke of 46 tun, at a port named Spirito santo, in Brasill; and so diuided themselues: and comming from thence, lost company at sea: but they thought they were before at the riuer of Plate. After his speeches, I went and appointed (by the generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize with captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portugals sailes away with me, and came aboord, where I found that our men had filled water all day.

The 7 day in the morning the generall sent for me; where he shewed me and M. Maddox certeine articles which the friers and mariners Spaniards were examined of; which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spanish fleets intent, and of the meanes whereby we might be discouered by the way of the riuer of Plate by land to Peru. In this time came the rest: after whose comming it was debated, whether it were best to take the

boat

boat & people with vs or not. Which was not determined; but referred till further examination.

Then was it determined to passe by the streights, notwithstanding the Spaniards were there, but not to set vp forge, nor to build pinnesse, but water, and so thorow.

The eight day afore noone M. Walker and I went aboord the admirall to dinner, where was determined to discharge the Spanish barke, named Our lady of pity, and all the men, except Richard Carter the English man, and Iohn Pinto a Portugall, which dwelled at the riuer of Plate. After dinner, the generall appointed mee and captaine Hawkins to see them all set aboord their ship, and to receiue from them certeine necessaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them satisfied. Which done, I returned aboord. The Spanish barke dismissed.

The 9. day, being Sunday, in the morning, I sent M. Shaw and M. Geffries aboord the admirall, to peruse the Spaniards letters: wherein they found the estate of the fleet which was in the streights of Magellan, as by the note thereof appeareth.

About ten of the clocke the generall, M. Maddox, captaine Hawkins, and captaine Parker, came aboord of me. The generall began to reprooue my quarter master for grudging of victuall for the Francis. Which was answered: and he well satisfied. Then sent I for the olde frier and Don Francisco; who all dined with me: and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receiued the canoa, which was suncke, aland, and stones to ballast them, which my boat caried them, and all other things to their liking and content, they departed from me. The generall also departed, and his company, who being gone, I diuided the sugar and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs: and after spent the day in ordinary businesse. Spanish presents.

The 10 day in the morning, our skiffe went a fishing, whereof we eat as much to supper as serued the company: the rest we salted for store, and to proue if they would take salt or not.

The 11 day, betimes in the morning, our skiffe went againe to fish, and tooke great plentie. About seuen of the clocke I went aland, taking with me the master, and others of our best men, to the number of 22 persons, & trauelled to the place where our people before had found many great iars of earth, and decayed habitations of the Indians, and trees, being dead and withered, of sweet wood. From that place we saw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the request of the master and the rest, I went with them to see. We passed thorow a thicke and perillous wood, before we came to the supposed plaine: and when we came to it, we found the lowest part thereof higher then any of our heads, and so mossy vnder foot, that we slipped to the knees many steps, which so wearied vs, that for my part, I was very sicke, and so hasted aboord, leauing the master with 15 men, which cut a tree of sweet wood, and brought many pieces thereof aboord. Things found in the iland.

About 3 afternoone, M. Walker and many of our men being ashore, the winde came faire, and we layed out a warpe to the Northeast, and began to winde ahead. After we layed out another warpe with a bend, and wound to the plat, and so rid by it with one anker all night.

The 12 day about fiue a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and as we ran out betwixt the ledge of rocks and the maine, in eight fadom water, as we were catting our anker, the cattrope, stopper, and all brake; so that we were glad to let slip all the cable, and cast off our boat and skiffe to wey the same. After we had stood out a good way, the admirall was vnder saile: then cast we about and went roome with the admirall which weaued vs, who sent in his pinnesse and the Francis to helpe out our boats; so by the helpe of the admirals pinnesse, with her saile, we had our boat the sooner, and about 12 a clocke at noone had taken in the anker, cable, our long boat, skiffe, & all, and put out all our sailes bearing after the admirall, which went hence South by east. About sixe a clocke at night, being thicke weather, we lost sight of the land, being foure leagues off or thereabout. All night it was but little winde: yet went we our course South by west. They leaue the harbour in 27 degrees and 50 min.

The 13 day about seuen afore noon, the wind blew at Southsoutheast, & was very foggy; with which gale we stood in larboord tacked West, till ten a clocke the same forenoone. Then had we sight of the land ahead, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it sheweth a farre

farre off like white cliffes, but is all sandy hilles, and bayes along the sea side. At one a clocke after noone we were in 16 fadome water, and within halfe a league of the shore, where we saw seuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land, as we supposed. Then we cast about, and stood off Southeast by east till midnight, that the winde came large: then went we our course South by west till next morning.

The 14 day we went our course South by west, hauing sight of the land at sixe a clocke in the morning about seuen leagues off: and so went till sixe at night, that wee saw land againe seuen leagues off West, and the winde shifted to the South. Then we cast about, and stood off Eastsoutheast at seuen at night for a while: then came vp the winde at Northwest, and blew agood.

The 15 day in the morning, the admirall was ahead, as farre as we could almost see her, by whose default I know not; and being little winde, we could not get to her till foure of the clocke after noone: then we hayled her, and stood in betweene the Southsouthwest and the Southwest till sixe at night, that the winde was variable, and foule weather. Then we cast about, and sounded in 23 fadome soft oaze, and stood off a while Northeast; and presently cast about againe, and went South by East larboord tacked, and Southsoutheast among all night: finding at foure in the morning 15 fadome sand.

The 20 day, about ten a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the admirall; viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, the two merchants, and my selfe, being directed so to doe by the Generall. Vpon our comming the generall was going to dinner, where wee also dined with him. Hauing dined, the generall called vs his assistants into his cabbin, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to be by vs considered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effects of the demands were these.

1 Whether it was best for vs to aduenture our selues to passe the streights of Magellan or not; considering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before vs: and also that our determination was there to set vp our pinnesse, make vron hoops, carene our ships, and do all our necessary businesses for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

2 If that course were not thought best, which way were meetest for vs to take.

To the first we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, and the two pilots, which had passed the streights, and knew the harbours, and likest places to be fortified, and inhabited or not, who were called, & the three masters with them. Their opinions were as diuers as their names; & as much differed, as before this time they were wont vsually to doe: onely they all agreed in this one point, that it was impossible for vs to passe the streights without seeing, and incountring with the ships, although the fortification of the land did not annoy vs: which being long and thorowly debated, and their opinions with the three masters demanded, which accorded not scant any one with other, they were dismissed.

Then the generall receiued the opinions of vs his assistants, beginning with the yoongest in authority first: which when he had heard them all ouer, and being set downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after supper to giue his determination.

When we had all supped, then he sent for vs downe into his cabbin, and deliuered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furnish our selues on this coast, before he proceeded any further; and named two places, The riuer of Plate, or S. Vincent, to be chosen.

Richard Carter the English man taken in the prise, caried along with them.

For the better deciphering of the riuer of Plate, & the commodities thereof, was called before vs, Richard Carter, which doth dwell there; who could not assure vs of any wine, except we could stay foure moneths for it: but other victuals plenty. The riuer is shoale and dangerous, the roade seuen leagues from any towne, or place of commodity: which considered, with the trechery that might from thence be vsed, into the streights by sea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portugals, and where in honest sort we might conueniently haue all our businesse done.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

With this resolution we tooke our leaues about eight a clocke at night, & being come aboord, presently bare vp, and went roome, hauing all the day before beat vp the winde larboord-

larboord-tacked Eastsoutheast till at night: after it was a little winde all night, we went North next hand.

The 21 day, after seruice, I declared vnto my company the intent of our returne to the port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were well satisfied, being before doubtfull that we should not proceed, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till six at night, then we went Northwest by west till eight at night, and then we cast about, and stood off Eastsoutheast, and East by south all night with a good gale.

The 22 day in the morning we missed the Francis, which by all presumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

John Drake in ye Francis went to the riuer of Plate, wherin his ship was cast away, but the men gat to land, and liued 15 moneths among the Sauages.

The 25 day, being Christmasse day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke; then it blew a fresh gale, with which wee went our course Northnortheast. In the afternoone it was lesse wind: yet went we our course North by east, and Northnortheast, and North, and North by west, till midnight. Then being in shoaled water, wee cast about, and lay Southsoutheast, and Southeast by south, an houre; and seeing our admirall came not after vs, we cast about backe againe, and presently met him: so we went both together next hand Southsoutheast all the rest of the night. This afternoone we saw the skim of fishes so thicke in the sea, that it seemed a water troubled with trampling of horses; which was thicke, and slimy: for we had taken vp some of it.

Infinite number of fish.

The 17 day of Ianuary, about seuen a clocke, the master, M. Blaccoller, and I went in our skiffe, and rowed, and sounded round about an ile, and found 16 fadoms within a stones cast hard aboord the shore, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and bushes, and strange wormes: we saw a fauleon, and one other small bird, and therefore named it Faulcon ile: it is a mile about, with a rocke on the East side, which lieth close to it, and it is in sight without danger. After we came aboord, and dined; at two a clocke we set saile, with winde Southeast, and ran in Northeast a while, till the winde scanted: then we went in Northnortheast, till we were in seuen fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of shore: then we cast about, and stood off Southsoutheast all night, till sixe a clocke the next morning.

A small Island which our men called Faulcon Ile.

The 18 day about three a clocke, afore day, we saw our admirall againe, and kept her company till day.

The 19 day, being within a league of the Citron ile, about eight a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the general, viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, and my selfe, reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euill road, where they lost an anker, a cable, and a haulser, and how the day before, their pinnesse was ashore on the same iland, and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had sent their boat and pinnesse for more water, where I know they had small store.

Citron isle.

I also taking captaine Parker, the master, and M. Wilks with me, went ashore, and trauelled to the top of the ile, which is wooded, and high grasse, but euill water, and little on it, but yoong fowle plenty, and dangerous comming to them. By this time (I hauing set the isles, and headlands about in sight with a compasse) came a small gale at Southsoutheast; then our admirall shot off a piece for the boats, and hence I went, and dined aboord with him, and came after aboord, and went in Northnortheast and Northeast till morning: at which time wee were within a league of the isle, entering before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was vpon the barre to go out.

Their arriuall at S. Vincent.

The 20 day in the morning, being calme, the generals pinnesse came in to the shore, with intent to sound the entrance, but seeing three canoas, with ech at the least twenty men, whereof the greater part were naked Indians, which rowed, the rest Portugals, they returned aboord again. The canoas came with a flag of truce within, calling of our ship, and we shewed them the like, asking what we were, and of what nation: at length one Portugall went aboord the admirall, by whom the generall sent a letter to the gouernour, crauing a pilot to bring in our ship of courtesie, and to haue traffique. About noone, hauing the winde at South, we bare in Northwest, and so to the Northeast, as the chanell trended: but

Three canoas of Portugals & Indians.

comming

comming into seuen fadome water, we ankered, vntill our boats had sounded the barre. During which time, I went aboord the admirall, to conferre with him about our proceedings.

After I had stayed a while aboord the admirall, the generall came aboord with me, where we published vnto all my company very good rules for their behauiour and profit, to their great satisfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with all his assistants he conferred of diuers particulars of our voyage: by which time the boat being returned from sounding, we departed, and set saile, following our skiffes, and with our ships got within the barre into seuen fadome: then being becalmed, we ankered againe before a sandy bay, wherein stands a castle and houses: we rid within musket shot of it: and ankered about foure a clocke afternoone.

A castle.

Then went I forwards with my skiffe vnto a further point, sounding along. Before my returne, the generall had sent for me to supper; and thither I went: but being ready to sit downe, there came out to vs a canoa, wherein were ten Indians and two Christians; the one an ancient Genouois, the other a Portugall; who came aboord, and there receiued a small banket, declaring their comming was to vnderstand our intents, and what we sought: who being satisfied, departed with a farewell of three great pieces from ech ship.

A canoa with ten Indians and two Christians, whereof one was an old Genouois.

The 21 day about three a clocke afternoone, came a canoa, with the old Genouois named Ioseph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repose a Portugall, and brought a letter from the gouernor, and withall, answere of feare and doubts of vs, &c. After many speeches and requests, a banket was made them, and the generall in his pinnesse with his musicke, & trumpets; and I in my skiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and tabor and pipe, accompanied them a mile vp the riuer: at going off, we saluted them with a volley of three great pieces out of ech ship: and after vs came captaine Parker with the admirals long boat, and certeine shot in the same, to attend on the generall.

Iohn Whitehall an Englishman which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Ioseph Dories daughter.

The 22 day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the admirall to conferre about the sending of some token and present to the gouernor, which was by all the assistants determined to send him three yards of fine skarlet, & three yards of fine murry-cloth; and to Ioseph Dory the old Genouois, Steuen Repose the Portugall, and to Paul Badeues the Fleming, ech of them three yards of fine blacke cloth, which our merchants went vp to Santos withall in the admirals skiffe, about nine a clocke aforenoone.

Santos.

Also this forenoone, we being minded to goe vp higher with our ships into harbour, I aduised them to goe view the place, and sound the road before we went vp; which we did: where were found the place both vnconuenient, and the road woorse: and so we returned, and left the first determination. This day we tooke downe our main-tops, and top-mast, and all the shrowds.

About two a clocke after noone our merchants returned with their presents, not hauing beene at the towne, because Steuen Repose by the way met them on the riuer, and aduised them to stay vntill there had beene word sent to the gouernour, who was vnwilling to speake with them yet, but shortly would send their answere.

The rest of this forenoone we spent in communication about the appointing of a purser for the Edward. Also we signed an assent for comming to this place: about which thing grew foule speeches betweene the generall and his lieutenant, after the olde custome.

The Indians presents.

Then went wee to supper: and being at supper, certaine Indians came aboord, and brought the generall a strange crow, and potatos, and sugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glasses, great pinns, and biscuit: and so we departed, being late. Also this afternoone I ran ouer towards S. Vincent, and sounded the bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats, and returned aboord againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde.

The chanell of S. Vincent sounded.

The 23 day our skiffe went ashore to fish, and tooke prety store: we sent our main-top ashore to be mended, and many of our men to wash their cloaths; also I went my selfe with them aland, to take order that no man should any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the generall with all the rest of the chiefest gentlemen, came ashore, and viewed the place, and

and appointed out the fittest roome to set vp our smithes forge, and ouens to bake our biscuit, and place for our coopers to trim our water caske. Portable ouens to bake in.

The 24 day at foure of the clocke, before day, we heard one call for a boat on the North shore, to whom I sent my skiffe, who brought aboord one named Iohn Whithall, an English man, which is maried here in this place, and with him two of his Indians; whom I enterteined vntill I sent word to the generall to prepare himselfe to receiue him: in which time he and I talked of many seuerall particulars. Iohn Whithall.

About sixe a clocke I conueyed him aboord the admirall: there he discouered vnto vs what had bene done at the towne, as fortification, and sending their wiues away, &c. aduising vs to receiue no more delayes, but to come vp presently before the towne with our ships. Good counsell by the foresayd Englishman giuen to our men.

About ten a clocke came a canoa, and brought downe Ioseph Dory and Steuen Repose, who tolde vs that on Saturday the gouernour would meet our generall, and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vse our ordinary businesse of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fishing, and washing, &c. but not to set vp forge, nor ouen, vntill speech had with the gouernour. After this answere, we dined together aboord the gallion: after dinner we left the messengers sitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poope; where the generall demanded the aduice of his assistants, whether it were not best to stay these men while we had them or not, or whether it were best to go vp with our ships to the towne or no.

Whereunto ech man paused to make answere: wherefore I deliuered my opinion; which was, that we were forbidden to vse violence to any nation for trade.

Secondly, I considered that diuers of our nation, worshipfull merchants, and now aduenturers in this voyage, had set out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be spoiled, and our nation brought in hatred. The Minion of London sometime in Brasil for traffique.

Lastly, that with force we were not like to atteine so much commodity, as we were in possibility to haue with courtesie.

Heereupon all was concluded, and they suffered to passe away: to whom the generall gaue the three cloake-clothes, to Ioseph Dory, to Paul Baudeuese, and to Steuen Repose, to ech of them one, which were before cut out for them: and so friendly we and they departed about two a clocke after noone.

About foure of the clocke this afternoone we saw three saile of ships come bearing in about the point, which assoone as they saw vs, ankered vpon the barre, and put themselues in readinesse, sending from one ship to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other necessaries from the shore, which were busie on land, armed our ships to defend our selues. Then went I aboord the admirall to know what he meant to do: who determined to set his watch in warlike sort; and so he did: for after the trumpets and drum had sounded, he shot off a great piece, as they before had done; and presently the viceadmirall shot at me, whom I answered with another, and so ceased. We then set vp our main-top, and top-mast, rigged before eleuen of the clocke the same night. In the meane while they let slip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs, meaning to haue boorded vs: and being neere our admirall, he halled them; who refused to tell of whence they were, thinking by spending of time to get aboord of him: to whom I called still to beware, and to shoot at them in time. At length he let flie at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable slip to auoid them: then came they all driuing downe thwart my haulse, so that I was faine to let slip an anker and cable to shun the gallion. All this while the ordinance and small shot plied of all parts, and I was faine to send the gallion my skiffe with a haulser to ride by, for shee was loose, and with the flood draue vp within me. Then was the viceadmirall on my broad side, who was well payed before, yet I left not galling of him, til I thought our powder spent in vaine to shoot at him, he was so torne, and broken downe by vs. About foure of the clocke it rained so fast, that we could scant discerne one the other, the Moone being gone downe, yet rid the admirall, and the rereadmirall, but a little ahead of vs: during which time, we paused, and made ready all our munition. Three Spanish ships discouered. The fight betwixt the English & Spanish ships at S. Vincent.

The 25 day, by day-light, we saw the viceadmirall sunke hard by vs, so that his yards which The Spanish viceadmirall sunke by the English.

which were hoised acrosse, and his tops, and that ouer head, was aboue water: most of their men were gotten away in their boats, sauing about fourtie persons which hung in the shrowds, and toppes, whom I aduised our generall to send for away, and had made ready, and well manned our pinnesses; but being vpon the way going, the generall called them backe, and would not suffer them to goe. There were three of their boats also going for them from their ships; at whom I shot, and made them to retire, and leaue them vpon the shrowds. At length our generall sent for two of the men away: which his pinnesse brought to him; the one was heaued ouer boord, because he was sore hurt, not like to liue; and he was a Marsillian; the other was a Greeke, borne in Zante, boatswaine of the viceadmirall: the rest of the men, some swam away vpon rafts, some were drowned, and some remained still hanging on her. By this time it was faire day-light, and I called to our generall to wey, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe first and anker on their quarter, and he would follow, and anker on their bowes. I weyed, and went downe, and ankered by them; yet not so nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There rid I alone, spending shot at them, and they both at me, foure houres, before our admiralls anker would come vp; during which time, I had some spoile done; but when our admirall came, she had her part, and eased me very well.

This Greeke calde the Generall y there were 600 and odde in the 3 Spanish ships.

At length our admirall began to warpe away, and being come without me, set saile, and began to stand out into the sea: I went aboord of him to know his pleasure. Who determined to get out of shot; but could not, because the winde scanted on them. The Edward before she could get vp her ankers, endured many more shot, after the gallion was further off a good way then she, and sometime the gallion had two or three. Thus we ended about two of the clocke after noone: the rest of this day and part of the night, we spent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would haue bene with vs.

The 26 day in the morning we could not see them, because they were gone vp the riuer: wee manned our boats and pinnesses, and weyed two ankers and one cable, that they let slip the night before: as our men were weying the third anker, the bwoy-rope brake, and so we lost that anker. Our admirall had an anker of twelue hundred, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and we had an anker about sixe hundred, with a piece of a basse cable, and bwoy-rope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboord the admirall, to confer with him, who determined to go off to sea, and thither I caried Senor Pinto to interpret the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fled from the bay where we rid in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuer, flaske, and touch boxe, to goe with vs, whom our admirals boat met, and brought him aboord to the admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on land, and buried them, and also landed many hurt men in their bay, and that there were certeine Spaniards gone ouer thorow the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, captaine Hawkins, and master Maddox came aboord of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my shippe, both men, shippe, and tackle; and I also went aboord him to peruse his hurts, who had but one man, a sailer, slaine.

The 28 day in the morning died Lancelot Ashe, of a hurt; who departed very godly. This day we stood to the Northwards: and in getting in our ankers and skiffe, we were put 3 leagues to leeward of Fiddle ile, but the gallion rid still.

Where the gallion and the Edward Bonauenture were seuered, and neuer met afterward.

The 29 day in the morning, seeing my selfe put to sea from the admirall, I assembled master Walker, master Shawe, master Iefferies, the master, the masters mate, and the pilot, to whom I shewed that I was desirous to goe backe to seeke our admirall, whereunto the master, pilot, and masters mate answered directly, that wee could not fetch the ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very vnlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, aswell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to be put on a lee shoare: whereupon all the rest aduised me to stand off into the sea, whereunto I assented, remembring withal, that time spent consumed victuall, and howe long wee had beaten vp and downe in the same bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes.

Thus

Thus wee concluded that M. Walker should set downe each mans opinion, and wee set to our handes, and from hencefoorth hee to keepe a Register of all our proceeding, as M. Maddox did abord the Admirall.

The first day of February, wee went East by south, and East southeast with a stoute gale: and went the same course the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone M. Walker died, who had bene weake and sicke of the bloodie flixe 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and prised them, and heaued him ouer bord, and shot a peece for his knell. M. Walker the preacher dieth.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Master and the Pilot, shewing them our wants of victuals and other necessaries: whereupon they and I concluded, that it was best for vs to returne to our countrey, with as litle losse of time and expense of victuals as might be, being without hope of relefe vpon this coast, and yet to keepe the coast of Brasil to friend for feare of extremitie.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, wee saued aboue two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

The 18. day I obserued the variation of the compasse, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinary compasse of London. Variation of the Compasse.

The second day of March the Master, Pilot, & I agreed to fetch the yle of Fernando Loronha.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went West, and by South, and ran in for the shoare.

The 10. day we saw the land, which was sandie hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day seeking to goe a shoare, wee sawe foure men, which weaued to vs with a white shirt, and we weaued to them with a flagge of truce: At length one of them swamme to our boats side, and there lay in the Sea talking with vs, almost an houre: in the ende, being partly perswaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian-tongue, and partly entised with such trifles as I shewed him, hee came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on shoare, who came abord swimming: wee deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of fresh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barricos. Whereupon Pinto and Russell swamme a shoare to seeke water, but found none.

The same day wee sailed to a place where boats might land, & I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with mee the day before, and they brought our three barricos full of fresh water: for which I rewarded them with some trifles. In the meane time our boat went ashoare, and our men with some of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of fresh water, and I my selfe went to shoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, wee manned our boat and Skiffe, and tooke some trifling things to shoare, and barricos: at our first arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondering about vs: First I caused them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with small bells, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my selfe alwayes afloat, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a smal looking glasse. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Russel, Marke Thawghts were still on shoare, and would not tarry abord: In the ende, fearing some treacherie, because all the Indians were slipped on shoare from mee, I called our men away, and suddenly they layed handes on our men ashoare, and with their bowes shot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercie deliuered vs from their hands, with the losse of fiue men slaine, and others hurt. Treason of the Indians.

Thus we got abord with 40. hens, ducks, turkies, and parrats, and three hogsheads of water: and I caried a Frenchman abord with mee, named Iaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boat with me when this fray began. Iaques Humfrey a Frenchman saued.

The 17. day we tooke three sharks in the morning.

From that day to the first of April, wee went our course, sometime with raine, and some-

time with variable windes, & so til the 4. of April: which day we saw 4. birds with long tailes, which houered about the ship, and in the afternoone we saw and tooke vp many weedes which draue thicke in the sea, which we iudged to be driuen with the East windes from the yles of Cape verde.

From this day till the 11. day we went our course sometime Northeast, sometime Northwest according to the winds: vpon this 11. day George Coxe one of our Carpenters, hauing the night before broken vp the hold, and stolne wine, and drunken himselfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept ouerbord out of the beake head, and so drowned himselfe. A desperate act.

The 12. day wee spied our foremast to be perished in the hownes, and durst not beare our foretop saile vpon it, but went hence with our sailes, next hand, North all day and night.

From hence to the 20. day we went Northeast and by North. This day I obserued the variation of the compasse: and I noted that the South point of the compasse caried more then halfe a point to the Westwards. Variation of the Compasse.

The 25. day of May wee went betweene the East northeast, and the Northeast with a small gale till fiue a clocke in the afternoone: then had we sight of land, which rose ragged to the Northwards like broken land, we being about fiue leagues off: that yle bare Northeast by North of vs, and the Northermost part bare North by East of vs, with a rocke a sea bord: we then sounded, and had fiftie and fiue fadome grey sand, and maze great store in it: so wee stood in Northeast till eight a clocke, and then behelde it againe being within foure leagues of it, bearing as before, but wee coulde not make it, for some thought it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, some iudged if the yle of Vssant: then we sounded againe in 55. fadome browne sand, and little maze in it: at eight a clocke at night we went about, and stoode off South southwest one watch, then the wind shrinked to the Southwest, that we could lye but South southwest sixe glasses, so that at three a clocke wee cast about, and lay Northwest sixe glasses, and North northwest a watch being then eight a clocke the next day.

The 26. day wee lay as nigh as wee coulde betweene the North and the North northeast, and saw the same land againe, and made it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare now East Northeast of vs: and wee stoode on till tenne a clocke, then being within two leagues of the rockes and lesse, wee cast about and stoode off Southwest, because wee could not double the vttermost rockes: when we were about we draue to the Southwards very faste, for the ebbe set vs West southwest, and being spring tides, it horsed vs a pace to leewards, for the space of one houre: then with the flood which was come, we draue againe to windewards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then wee stoode about larbord iacked, South southwest one watch, then at midnight wee cast about and stoode ouer North till foure aforenoone.

The yle of Sylly. The 27. day hauing brought the land East southeast of vs, we made it to be Sylly being before deceiued, and went hence East by North to double Grimsbie, leauing The bishop and his clearks to the Southwestwards, which we before tooke to be The Seames.

At 7. a clocke in the afternoone we sawe the lands end of England, which bare East by North off vs, and is 7. leagues off from Sylly.

The 29. day at sixe a clocke beforenoone we had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and were within a league of it, and went in Northeast next hand, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: so that at eleuen a clocke we got in within the yland, and there by mistaking of a sounding, our ship came aground betweene the yle and the maine, and there sate till 4. a clocke in the afternoone that it was halfe flood. We come to Plimmouth.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much adoe I furnished away P. Ieffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreson with letters, after dined at M. Blaccollers, and made many salutations with diuers gentlemen.

1583. The 31. I wrought abord all day, and put our ship, and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pitie of some poore men of Milbrooke, which were robbed the night before by a pirate named Purser, which rid in Cawson bay, I consented to goe out with the Edward in company of a small shippe which they had furnished to bee their Master, so about fiue of the

the clocke in the afternoone, came a hundreth men of theirs abord of mee: About twelue a clocke wee set saile, and by three afore day wee were gotten to the windwards of him, then hee set saile, and went hence to the Eastwards, and outsailed vs, because our consort would not come neere him: after a small chase which we gaue him to no effect, wee returned into our old road, and there moared the ship about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and hence went all the Milbrooke men againe ashore from mee. And thus I ended a troublesome voyage.

The voyage set out by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yere 1586 intended for The South sea, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44. degrees to the South of the Equinoctial, Written by M. Iohn Sarracoll marchant in the same voyage.

THe 26. day of Iune, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queenes maiesties raigne, wee departed from Grauesend in two ships; the Admirall called The red dragon, and the other The barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the Captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withrington, Of the vice-admirall M. Christopher Lister, both being furnished out at the costs and charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their masters two brethren, the one Iohn Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of Iuly wee came into the sound of Plimmouth, and being there constrained by Westerly winds, to stay till the 17. of August, wee then departed with another ship also for our Rear-admirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was Captaine, and a fine pinnesse also called the Dorothie, which was sir Walter Raleghs. We foure being out in the sea, met the 20. of August, with 16. sailes of hulkes in the Sleeue, who named themselues to bee men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous wordes, willing him to strike his sailes, and to come abord to him onely to know some newes of the countrey, but hee refused to do so, onely stroke his flag & tooke it in. The vice-admiral of the hulkes being a head, would neither strike flagge nor saile, but passed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall lent him a piece of Ordinance, which they repayed double, so that we grew to some little quarel, whereupon one of the sternemost hulkes, being as I suppose more afraide then hurt, stroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him abord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chase to the Windermost men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue stroke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with small raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which Captaine Hawes had borded and kept all night, and tooke out of her some prouision that they best liked. They learned of the men that were in the hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and because their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and so they let her goe againe like a goose with a broken wing.

The next day after being the 21. day, wee espied 5. sailes more, which lay along to the Eastwards, but by reason of the night which then was neere at hand, wee could hardly come to them. Yet at last we hailed one of the biggest of them, & they tolde vs that they were al of Hamborough: but another saide shee was of Denmarke, so that indeede they knew neither what to say, nor what to do. Our Admirall being more desirous to folow his course, then to linger by chasing the hulks, called vs from pursuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or els wee would haue seene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day because of contrary winde wee put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and taried there seuen dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to Sea, and began our voyage, thinking at the first

first to haue runne along the coast of Spaine, to see if wee could haue mette with some good prize to haue sent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the best course at the last, but rather kept off in the sea from the coast. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September wee fell with the coast of Barbarie, and the 18. halled in with the roade of Santa Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the ylands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongst this yland, we espied vpon a hill by the water side, one wauing with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and sent them towards the shoare, to vnderstand what newes. They found them to bee two ragged knaues and one horseman, and they tolde vs that Lanzarota was taken, and spoyled in August by the Turkes: when we saw they had nothing else to say, we left them, and proceeded on our course, and fell againe with the coast of Barbarie.

Lanzarota spoiled by the men of Algiers.

Rio del Oro, in 23. degrees and a halfe.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio del Oro, standing iust vnder our Tropike: we anckered in the mouth of it in 8. fadom, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate searched the riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues vp, as at the entrie of it, but found no towne nor habitation, sauing that there came downe two poore men, and one of them spake good Spanish, and told our Captaine, that certaine Frenchmen vsed to come thither, and laded some oxe hides, and goats hides, but other commoditie there was none. We departed thence the 27 day, & the last day of the moneth being calme we went abord our General, & there consented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October wee were much becalmed with extreeme hot weather, much lightning, and great store of raine. This 10. day we sounded, finding a great current as we supposed by the ripling water, which after wee found to bee an ordinary tide, the flood setting to the North-west, and the ebb Southeast, and here we had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to bee seene: it was on the Southermost part of the showles that lie in about 11. degrees, but halling South off againe, it presently deeped vnto 50. fathome, and after halling Southeast and by East, and East southeast, we sounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Trade of the Frenchmen in Rio del Oro

Sierra Leona.

The 21. of October wee fell with land vpon the coast of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierra Leona. Wee drewe in to the land, and found neere the shoare more water then in the offing: at the Northren end of the high land we anckered about a mile, and somewhat more from the shoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbor of Sierra Leona we did borrow vpon the South side, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the shoare.

Vpon the Northside of this harbour is very shoale water, but on the Southside no feare, more then is to be seene.

The 23. day being Sunday wee came to an ancker in the bay of fresh water, and going ashoare with our boate, wee spake with a Portugal, who tolde vs that not farre off there were Negros inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Botija of wine, and some linnen cloth, hee would suffer vs to water and wood at our pleasure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portugall and the Negros ranne all away into the woods. Then wee returned againe into our boates, and presently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetcht a walke, and so to come to our boats againe. But wandering through a little wood, we were suddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negros, whereupon they strooke vp their drumme, giuing withall a great showt, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. Wee were in number about 30. caleeuers, and 20. with our weapons, which wee also let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt we did, we know not.

A towne of the Negros.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleasure, and reasonable store of fish, and amongst the rest we halled vp a great foule monster, whose head and backe were so hard, that no sword could enter it: but being thrust in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounded, hee bowed a sword in his mouth, as a man would do a girdle

A strange monster.

a girdle of leather about his hande, and likewise the yron of a boare speare. He was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of small stones, to the value of a pottell.

The fourth of Nouember wee went on shore to a towne of the Negros, which stoode on the Southeast side of the harbour, about a Sacar shot from the roade, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houses, and walled about with mightie great trees, and stakes so thicke, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, wee came directly vpon a port which was not shut vp, where we entred with such fiercenesse, that the people fled all out of the towne, which we found to bee finely built after their fashion, and the streetes of it so intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee found their houses and streets so finely and cleanly kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houses nor streets was so much dust to bee found, as would fill an egge shell. Wee found little in their houses, except some matts, goards, and some earthen pots. Our men at their departure set the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the most part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houses being couered with reed and straw.

Another great and fine towne of the Negros.

A towne burnt.

After this wee searched the countrey about it, where wee found in diuers plaines good store of rice in stacks, which our men did beate out, and brought a bord in the huske, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ships.

Rice in stacks.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our course for the Straights of Magellan. In this harbour diuers of our men fell sicke of a disease in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of small continuance. Wee founde also in diuers places of the woods, images set vpon pinnes, with diuers things before them, as eggs, meale, rice, round shot of stones, and diuers other things, such as the barbarous people had to offer vp.

Idoles.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing so hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reason of the great winde and raine.

About the 24. day of Nouember one or two of our men died, and others also were sicke of a Calentura.

The second day of Ianuary we had a little sight of land, being about the height of 28. degrees to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day wee fell with the shoare high and bold, being in 30. degrees, and a terse, little more or lesse. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southward it did presently faile, and was a very low land, and all sandie. About sixe leagues from the shoare wee sounded, and had about fifteene or sixteene fathome water, and blacke sandie oze. We thought to haue gone to the shoare, and to haue watered, but we could not discerne any good harbour, and therefore we cast off to seaward againe.

They fall with an high land in 30. degrees ½.

The 12. day wee found our selues in 32. degrees and 27. minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Christ, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet we found no want of winds but variable as in England, & not so hot but that a mans shoulders might well disgest a frize gowne, and his bellie the best Christmas cheere in England, yet wee for our parts had no want, but such as might content honest men.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the shoare, and a little short of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to espie a saile, which was a small Portugal bound for the Riuer to a towne called Santa Fee: and from thence by horse and carts, the marchants, and part of their goods were to bee transported into Peru. This shippe being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, wee tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Master or Pilote an Englishman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee. We examined him and the rest concerning the state of the Riuer, and they told vs that there were in the Riuer fiue townes, some of 70. housholds, and some of more. The first towne was about 50. leagues vp the Riuer called Buenos Ayres, the rest some 40. some 50. leagues one from another, so that the vppermost towne called Tucaman is 230. leagues from the entrance of the Riuer. In these townes is great store of corne, cattell, wine, and sundry fruits, but

A Portugal ship taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Englishman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

Fiue townes vpon the riuer of Plate.

no

no money of gold or siluer: they make a certaine kinde of slight cloth, which they giue in trucke of sugar, rice, Marmalade, and Sucket, which were the commodities that this shippe had.

They had abord also 45. Negros, whereof euery one in Peru yeeldeth 400. duckets a piece, and besides these, there were as passengers in her, two Portugal women and a childe.

Another Portugal ship taken.

The 11. day wee espied another saile, which was the consort of this Portugall, and to him also we gaue chase, and tooke him the same day: Hee was of the burthen of the other, and had in him good store of sugar, Marmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe our booke. In this ship also we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or fiue friers, of which one was an Irish man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portugal women also, which were borne in the riuer of Ienero. Both these ships were bought in Brasil, by a yong man which was Factor for the bishop of Tucaman, and the friers were sent for by that bishop to possesse a new Monasterie, which the bishop was then a building. The bookes, beads, and pictures in her, cost (as one of the Portugals confessed) aboue 1000. duckats.

An Irish frier taken.

The bishop of Tucuman in the riuer of Plate.

The newes of M. Iohn Drake.

Of these ships we learned, that M. Iohn Drake, who went in consort with M. Fenton, had his Barke cast away a little short of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sauages, all sauing them which were slaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vsed them very hardly, yet at the last Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and two or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and escaped, and came to the first towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in one of the townes, but Iohn Drake was carried to Tucaman by the Pilot of this ship, and was liuing, and in good health the last yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portugals they tolde vs that it was the thirde voyage that was made into the Riuer of Plate these 30. yeeres.

Richard Faireweather.

Seale-yland and Green-yland.

The 12. of Ianuary wee came to Seale yland, and the 14. day to the Greene yland, where going in we found hard abord the maine 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and neuer lesse then fiue fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the yland and the maine, so that you must bee sure to borrow hard abord the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larbord side.

One of the Portugals which wee caried along with vs in our shippe seemed to bee a man of experience, and I entred into speach with him concerning the state of the Riuer: hee tolde mee that the towne of Buenos Ayres is from the Greene yland about seuentie leagues, standing on the Southside of the Riuer, and from thence to Santa Fee is 100. leagues, standing on the same side also. At which towne their shippes doe discharge all their goods into small Barkes, which rowe and towe vp the Riuer to another towne called Ascension, which is from Santa Fee 150. leagues, where the boats discharge on shoare, and so passe all the goods by carts and horses to Tucaman, which is in Peru.

Buenos Ayres.

Santa Fee.

The towne of Ascension stands in a very fertile place, reaping corne twise in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruits. In the townes of Ascension and Tucaman a rapier of 20. rials of plate is worth 30. duckats, a boxe of Marmalade 20. duckats; a looking glasse a foote ouer is worth 30. li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40. li. a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene yland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Westward, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22. day came againe to Seale yland to make prouision of Seales, where a storme arose, which put vs in some danger, by the breaking of our anckers and cables, and the winde blew so colde, that wee much marueiled at it, considering the height of the place. I must needes in this place finde fault with our selues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16. dayes, the chanell was not sounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day wee tooke into our ship one Miles Philips, which was left in the West Indies by M. Hawkins.

The first of February I tooke the Sunne in 38. degrees. And the 3. day of I tooke it againe and found it to be in 41. degrees.

The

The 7. day of February our Captaine master Lister being in one of the prizes, hoysed ouer bord his Gundelo, and went abord the Admirall, and being there they sent their Gundelo abord vs, for our Master, master Collins, and my selfe, & at our comming we were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were set in counsell for matters touching the state of our voyage, these men whose names are vnder written.

Master Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admirall.
Master Christopher Lister Captaine of The barke Clifford.
Iohn Anthonie, Master of the Admirall.
Thomas Hood Pilot for the Streights.
William Anthonie, Master of the barke Clifford.
Dauid Collins. Tristram Gennings.
Master William Withrington.
Master Beumond Withrington.
Master Wasnes. Master Norton.
Master Wilkes. Master Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The master Gunner:
And Alexander Gundie, his mate.
Iohn Sarracol.

This company being all assembled together, the Master of the Admiral declared that the cause of our assembly was to determine after good aduice, what course or way were best and most likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. First for the good preferment of my Lords voyage, then the health of our men, and lastly the safegard of our shippes, and further shewed his minde to vs all in these wordes, as neere as I could cary them away. M. Iohn Anthonie.

MY masters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknowen vnto you all, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the South sea. But for as much as wee doe all see the time of the yeere to bee farre spent, as also the windes to hang contrary, the weather drawes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread so consumed that we haue not left aboue two moneths biket, our drinke in a maner all spent, so that we haue nothing but water, which in so cold a countrey as the Streights, if we should get in, and bee forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrow of the voyage: These things considered, both our Captaine, Master Hood, and I doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and safetie of our ships, to goe roome with the coast of Brasill, where by Gods grace wee shall well victuall our selues, both with wine, which is our greatest want, and other necessaries.

Besides, it is giuen vs here to vnderstand by the Portugals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee shall bee able to take the towne of Baya, at our pleasure, which if wee doe put in practise, and doe not performe it, being somewhat aduised by them, they offer to loose their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualled our selues, wee may there spend vpon the coast some three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon some good thing to content my Lord, and to purchase our owne credits: otherwise, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and so proceede, according to my lords directions. And assure your selues (by the assistance of God) wee will not returne without such benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my lords profite, and the honour of our countrey. Nowe if there bee any of you that can giue better course and aduise, then this which I haue deliuered, let him speake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counsell, and followe it.

To this speech of M. Anthony, M. Lister our captaine answered in this sort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthony, both, you know, that the last words that my lord had with vs in such a chamber were, that in any case we should follow our voyage only for the South sea, ten- A resolute and worthy speech of captaine Lister.

except by the way, we might perchance meete with such a purchase, as that wee might returne with 6000 pounds: and therefore I see no safetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being so neere the Streights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil consent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet wee are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excused for the next, and I rather choose death, then to returne in disgrace with my lord.

Hereunto both the captaine and master of the Admirall replied that they were all of that mind: yet notwithstanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better possibilitie to bee performed, then in wintring either in the Streights, or at Port S. Iulian, all things considered. And so agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined presently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8 of February, there fell out many and diuers speeches on each part concerning the altering of our course, some would continue for the Streights, and other some would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ships of victuals, and reasonable store was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the best necessaries that were in them, and so cast them off, and to plie for the Streights.

They returne being in the latitude of 44 degrees.

All this time wee held on our course, and the 15 day wee found our selues in the height of 44 degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, wind, cold, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that sort fiue or sixe dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42 degrees.

Sunday being the 20 of February, our Admirall being something to the leeward of vs, and the storme somewhat ceased, put aboord his flag in the mizen shrowds, as a token that hee would speake with vs, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and hauing hailed one another, captaine Withrington shewed the disposition of all his company, which was rather to goe roome with the coast of Brasil, then to lie after that sort in the sea with foule weather and contrary winds. Our captaine on the other side shewed the contrary disposition of his men, and company, willing notwithstanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the shippes fell asunder, and our captaine sayd, Seeing then there is no remedie, I must be content, though against my will.

The 21 day the weather grew faire, and the wind good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome still, we supposing hee would haue taken the benefit of the time: whereupon our whole company began to thinke of the inconueniences that would arise by deuiding our selues, and losing our Admirall, being very willing to continue their course, and yet not without the company of the Admiral. And then wee began to cast about after him, and at the last bare with him, and he tolde vs, that vpon a second viewe of the victuals, hee found their store so slender, and their want so great, that there was no remedy for them but to seeke some meanes to be relieued, which was the onely cause that hee bare Northward. This speech made vs of the barke to enter into a new consultation: and we found many of our men weake, and all our calieuers not seruiceable, and the Smiths that should mend them to be in the Admiral. We considered also, that by breaking of company, eche ship should be the more weakened: wee continued in this consultation til the foure and twentieth day, and in all that time found master captaine Lister most desirous to accomplish, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any case to turne his ship, but that the desire which we all had to continue in consort with our Admirall, made vs to thinke well of his company, and in fine an agreement and conclusion was thus made on all sides, to follow the Admiral, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

A final resolution to returne.

March.

The 10 day of March, it fell out so vnfortunately, that Samuel Teller our masters mate, fell ouerboord, and so perished, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him.

The eight and twentieth day being in the height of one and twenty degrees, wee espied a saile, which wee iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand, we lost her very vnluckily, and the next day could haue no sight of her.

The fift day of April we fel with the land of Brasilia, in the height, as I iudge, of sixteen degrees

degrees and a tierce, and our Captaine went then aboord the Admirall, where they concluded to sende the pinnesse and our boate on shore for fresh water, because wee stoode in neede of it, which did so with eighteene good men, and three or foure tunne of water caske. They were from vs till the eighth day in the morning, at which time we espied them againe, and that day we came all together into the roade of Camana, where there came a Canoa aboord vs, and one of the chiefest Portugals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beefes, hogs, water and wood at our pleasure, hauing almost no man able to resist vs, but some of our Portugals stole from vs in the Canoa. The rode of Camana.

The 11 day wee entred into the hauen of Baya, where wee were receiued at the point comming in, with two great pieces of Ordinance, which discharged bullets at vs fiue times a piece, but they lost shot and powder, and did vs no harme. After wee had passed the point, wee halled in for the roade as close as the wind would permit vs, but could not come so neere as we desired, and therefore we came to an ankor a faire birth off the towne, not without great store of shotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe. They come into the riuer of Baya.

At our comming in, wee found in the road eight ships and one caruel, of the which one was a hulke or double flie boat of the burden of two hundred and fifty tunnes, hauing in her 24 pieces of good Ordinance: shee with the rest of the ships, together with the towne, gaue vs shot, and shot, but not one touched so much as any of our sayles. And least wee should seeme in the meane time to be idle, we repayed for euery shot of theirs, two or three sometimes at the ships and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to haue halled in with the ships, and to haue fetched out some of them: but the wind blew then off the shore, so that wee could not possiblie doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boats of the countrey which we had taken before, which went with caruel-sailes, into the roade, and accordingly performed the same, notwithstanding the shot of the enemie. The Moone did shine, and gaue very good light, and in we went with our caruels and boates, and the shot came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portugals and the rest perceiuing vs no whit at all to shrinke or be dismayed, forsooke their ships, & began to prouide to saue themselues, some with their boats, some by swimming, and so wee entred the ships with a great showte, and found few to resist vs: but yet the shore not being a cables length from vs, they did so plie both their great and small ordinance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their shot, and our men of the barke Clifford entred the Admirall and Viceadmirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ships of the like burden, and presently euery one cut the cables in the hause, and so by the helpe of God in despite of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The least whereof was of the burthen of 130 tunnes. They take 4 ships out of the harbour of Baya, notwithstanding the shot of the enemie.

In this broile the hulke shotte at vs many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the last comming by the hulke towing our new prizes, we halled them and demanded whence they were, they answered vs of Flushing, and then we commanded him to wey ankor, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuse it, he did so, and brought with him a caruel with fortie or fiftie buts of wine in her, and another small barke which had little or nothing in her: and rode by vs as one of our company, and was a ship of the burden of two hundreth and fifty tunnes. Our hard happe was to find no great matter, either of marchandize or victuals in these ships, sauing in one of them we found foure buts of wine, in another two, in another one, and some fish, and all the rest of their lading was on shore. A hulke of Flushing.

All this was done vpon Easter eeue, and we gaue thanks to God, that we had sped so well: and that very night there came a boate from the towne, with a Dutch merchant, and one Portugal, to offer some ransome for the ships, as they sayd, but as I iudge rather to espie our strength: we kept them that night aboord, and the next day we sent them to our Admiral.

The next day being Easter day arose a very great storme, insomuch that our caruel which we first tooke brake from vs, and one of our new prizes also, by meanes of the breaking

of her cable, slipt away: whereupon, although the winde was great, and the sea troublesome, yet wee sent certaine of our men in our boat, to recouer them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath caused vs to leese both our men and prizes.

In the middest of this storme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the riuer of Plate, seeing vs all busie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might escape our handes, and suddenly slipt both out of one of the cabbins windowes, and by swimming got a shoare, a thing which seemed to vs impossible, considering the outrage of the weather.

This storme continued long, and preuented vs of making our intended attempt against the towne, hauing as much to doe as possibly we might, in keeping our ships and prizes from running ashore, and falling into the hands of those that stood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19 day the storme being a little ceased, wee all weyed and came to an Island that lyeth next Northwest from the bay, and the twentieth day we went on shore, and our carpenters set vp our pinnesse.

The 23 day the people of the countrey came downe amaine vpon vs, and beset vs round, and shot at vs with their bowes and arrowes, but in short time wee caused them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had some of our men hurt with some of their arrowes.

The 24 day we receiued out of the caruael twelue buts of wine and foure barels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26 of April our pinnesse was lanched: and the same day came downe vnto vs a great number of Portugals and Indians, with whom we skirmished the space of two houres to their cost.

The second day of May the Admirals boate went a shore with 14 men to fill water, and presently being on shore, they were intrapped with two or three hundred Indians which assaulted thē, and slew one or two of our men, but the rest escaped notwithstanding the number of the enemie, and came safe againe with water to the ship. We suffered this losse by meere negligence, & want of circumspection.

Grosse negligence.

The 5 day the captaine of the Admiral himselfe tooke a small barke, his owne little caruael, our pinnesse and the Dutchmans boate, and at night went on shore to get victuals, amongst the bullocks which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone so farre, that they were out of sight. Which being perceiued by the enemie, they presently made ready their galley for Admiral, with four caruels, with as many men in them as possibly could thrust in & stand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North shore to meete with our pinnesse and boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Lister our captaine disswaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himselfe and vs also, being so far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedie but they were to abide whatsoeuer might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although wee were weakely left, yet perceiuing the Galley to make after our men, weyed and pursued the galley, as neere the shore as we could conueniently come for want of water: the bulke also weyed and came after vs to follow the enemie, but the enemie with his oares got sight of our pinnesse and boats before wee could, and bare directly with them: which being espied of our men, and they seeing no way to auoide them, made themselues ready (notwithstanding the great oddes) to fight it out like men, and to liue and die together. The course that they tooke for their best aduantage vpon the sudden, was this: they went all into the pinnesse, and made fast the Dutchmans boate to one side, and the small caruel to the other side, and so waited the comming of the enemie, giuing them first of all a piece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they presently repaied againe with a piece out of the prowe of the galley, and presently after, with three or foure small brasse pieces, charged with haileshot, and so giuing a mighty shoute, came all aboord together, crying, entrad, entrad: but our men receiued them so hotely, with small shot and pikes, that they killed them like dogs. And thus they continued aboord them almost a quarter of an hour, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinnesse and all. And surely to mans iudgement, no other thing

A galley at Bay.

was

was likely in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, and they at the first thought all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, so blessed our small company, and so strengthened their armes and mindes to fight, that the enemie hauing receiued a mighty foyle, was glad to ridde himselfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, wee esteemed them to bee no lesse then betwixt two hundred and three hundred men in the galley, we could scarse perceiue twenty men at their departure stand on their legs, but the greater part of them was slaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, & she departed from our men, hanging vpon one side, (as a Sowe that hath lost her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great brauado, with drumme, shouting, and crying, they departed without either noise of drumme or speech.

A marueilous defeate of the Portugals by a few of our men.

We lost in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Master Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrel, a proper yoong man of Hampton, and another that was master Benmans man. Some also were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds were curable: and thus it pleased Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to giue victory to 50 or 60 Englishmen, against sixe or seuen hundreth Portugals and Indians, for which we ceased not to giue such dutifull thanks to his Maiestie, as so miraculous a victory required.

Now touching the purpose of our men, who made that attempt for fresh victuals, their labour was nothing lost, but in despite of the enemie they brought to our ships 16 or 17 yong bullockes, which was to our great comforts and refreshing. As for vs that were in our ship, we could not come neere them by two miles, or more, to giue them any aid, yet we suppose that the countenance of our ships was an incouragement to our men, and some maner of feare to the enemie.

Now whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portugals and Indians which were slaine, as aforesayd, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwise to come to the knowledge thereof: you shall vnderstand that the next night after the fight there came aboord vs two Indians vpon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their masters, and they told vs for a very good trueth, that the gallie went out from the towne with foure hundreth men in her, but there came not backe to the towne again aliue aboue thirty of them all: and I amongst the rest being desirous to know of one of them, what the newes was at the towne, he answered me with great laughter: Todo esta cacado en Tierra.

Aboue 360 Portugals & Indians slain.

The twelfth day I was sent for to come aboord the admirall, about the hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutchmen, master Withrington entred into bond to them for the paiment of their fraight, but how my lord would like that bond of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduise and counsell to get his bond againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day our captaine sent out of our ship certaine victuals vnto the Admirall, as one butte of dight rise, two chests of cleane rise, one barrell of oatemeale, one barrell of peason, and one barrell of oile, because they were somewhat scanted of victuals, and we at this time were to haue out of the Admirall our part of fiue and twenty chests of fine sugar, and more, of eight chests, and sixe chests that were taken in the Bay of Todos Santos, at the Ingenios, more of one hundreth and thirty hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the prizes, and at the shore.

The foureteenth day being Monday, it was concluded amongst vs all, not to leaue the towne of Baya so, but notwithstanding the time that they had to strengthen themselues and the towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore wee prouided our pinnesses, caruels, and boates for the enterprise: and as we were departing from our shippes, the winde turned directly contrary to our course, so that our determination for that time was broken, and wee returned againe to our ships: and to say the trueth, if the weather and winde had serued, our attempt had bene very desperate, considering the number of Portugals and Indians which were then gathered together, to the number of seuen or eight thousand, and their artillery vpon the shore, playing vpon vs: but neuerthelesse we had proceeded, if the winds had fauoured vs.

The

The 16 day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portugals, where we found the people fled and we entered their houses without resistance. We found in their purging house 1000 pots of sugar, some halfe purged, some a quarter, and some newly put into the pots: so that euery man tooke his pot of sugar for their prouision, and set all the rest on fire.

The 17 day wee all weyed to goe to another Ingenio, to see if wee could find there better sugar, and in the way we met with a prize, which was a caruel, which wee found driuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Faulcons of yron, which our pinnesse brought away, and set the ship on fire. Dalamor in the small prize ran so farre in, that hee brought his ship on ground, where shee lay three or foure houres, till such time as there came from the towne fiue caruels full of men, which being perceiued of vs, our captaine with our men went to him to ayde him. The caruels came within Faulcon shot of vs, but durst come no neerer, lest they might haue tasted of the like banket, that they receiued the last time. About halfe flood came the galley againe, and three caruels more, but before they came, the barke was a floate, and set sayle: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purposed to visit: but the night comming on, perswaded vs to the contrary.

They returne againe to Baya.

The 19 day we set sayle to goe into the roade of Baya againe, with our pinnesses, and a flag of truce, to see if we could recouer our foure men, which remained aliue of those ten, that perished in our boate, of whom we spake before, which foure were vnfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approching neere the towne, shot at vs, and wee as ready as they, gaue them in all 27 shot, and so ankored a little from the towne, to see what they would doe.

The 20 day riding still before the towne, our Admirall sent a Negro ashore, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had prisoners aboord: the effect of which letters was, that if we might haue our men released and deliuered vs, they should haue theirs from our ships.

The next day in the morning, in stead of their bloody flagge, they put vp two white flagges, and sent a Gingatho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of answere from the Gouernour; but they would not consent in any case that we should haue our men, and willed their Portugals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prizes, which we had taken out of the rode: but our admirall answered them, no, seeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and ships too. The same euening we weyed, and came out of the hauen, halfe a league to seaward.

An Island 12 leagues to the South of Bala.

The 22 we set saile to sea, and the 23 came to an Island twelue leagues to the Southward of Baya, to wood, and water.

The 24 day being aboord with our pinnesses, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portugall, and sixe Indians: we shot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portugall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our shippes: we there examined them, and the Portugal confessed that there was a shippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernambuck, but put into a creeke, because she durst not goe along the coast, hearing of our shippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinnesses, and tooke the Portugall with vs, to goe and seeke the same ship, but that night we could not find her.

The 26 day we went againe, and found her, being halled vp into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a shippe boate could not haue entred: wee found her indeede laden with meale principally: but she had also in her fourteene chests of sugar, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaues. This ship was of the burden of one hundred and twenty tunnes, and a new ship, this being the first voyage that euer she made, and as the Portugall confessed, shee was fraighted for Fernambuck, but the men of Baya hauing great want of bread, bought both the ship and her lading, and so thought to stay her in this creeke, till we were gone off the coast: but it was our good hap to disappoint their pretense, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as safe as if she had bene at Lisbon.

A new Portugal ship taken in a creeke.

The 28 day we deuided the meale amongst vs, according to the want of euery ship.

The 30 day, 16 or 17 Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to shoare, to fill water: and vpon a sudden they were assaulted with fifty or sixty Portugals, and so many more

more Indians armed with shot and other weapons, and they slew their Master and Purser, and the rest were hurt, but yet escaped with their liues: a good warning for vs to bee circumspect, and carefull in our landing. A good warning for vs to be circumspect in landing.

The last day of May wee cast off one of our prizes, which wee called the George, and our Admirall and the hulke tooke the men and other necessaries out of her, into them. The same day the Portugals which had hurt the Dutchmen came to the shore, and dared vs to come on land: whereupon wee went into our pinnesses with fortie shot: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils, from the water side: but master Lister with nine men followed them, and they fled still before them, and durst not stay their approch: so they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleasure.

The third day of Iune our captaine master Lister, hauing a great desire for the performance of this voyage, according to my Lords direction, went to our admirall, and requested him to giue him sixe buts of wine, one barrell of oile, three or foure barrels of flesh, and to haue Thomas Hood and seuen or eight seamen for some of our landmen, and by Gods help he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the South sea: but the admirall mightily withstoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requests. Iune. An offer of captaine Lister to go with his one ship onely for the South sea.

The 7 of Iune, hauing no vse at all of our prizes, we burnt one, and cast off another, and filled our owne ships with the necessaries of them.

The 8 day wee put off to sea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankoring place, because of the weather.

The 10 day the admirall sent for vs to come aboord him, and being come, hee opened a Carde before all the company, and tolde vs that my lords voyage for the South sea was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore hee thought it best to plie for some of the Islands of the West India, or the Açores, to see if they could meete with some good purchase, that might satisfie my lord. These wordes were taken heauily of all the company, and no man would answere him, but kept silence, for very griefe to see my lords hope thus deceiued, and his great expenses and costs cast away. The common sort seeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16 day wee espied a saile, whereupon our pinnesse, and Dalamor gaue her chase, and put her ashore vpon the Island, where the men forsooke her, and ran away with such things as they could conueniently carie: our pinnesse boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out of her nine chests of sugar, and one hogge, and 35 pieces of pewter, and so left her vpon the sands. Another pinesse taken.

From this time forward we began to plie Northwards, and the first of Iuly fell with the land againe, where we fished, and found reasonable good store. I tooke the latitude that day, and found our selues in 10 degrees and 22 minutes. Iuly. They returned Northward.

The 7 day we determined to fall with Fernambuck, and wee came so neere it, that Dalamor (as he told vs) espied some of the ships that were in the harbour: yet notwithstanding we all fell to leeward of the riuer, & could not after that, by any meanes recouer the height of it againe: but we ceased not on all parts to endeuour the best we could, & oftentimes lost company for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernambuck we could not come, hauing so much ouershot it to the Northward, and the wind keeping at the South and Southwest.

The 20 day I tooke the Sunne in 5 degrees 50 minuts, which was 2 degrees to the Northward of Fernambuck, and the further wee went, the more vntowardly did the rest of our ships worke, either to come into hauen, or to keepe company one with another. And truely I suppose, that by reason of the froward course of the Admirall, he meant of purpose to lose vs: for I know not how the neerer we endeuoured to be to him, the further off would he beare from vs, and wee seeing that, kept on our owne course, and lookt to our selues as well as we could. Fernambuck in the Southerly latitude of 7 deg. 50 min.

The 24 day our whole company was called together to consultation, for our best course: some would goe for the West India, some directly North for England; and in conclusion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne countrey, considering our necessities of victuals

tuals and fresh water, and yet if any place were offered vs in the way, not to omit it, to seeke to fill water.

A lowe Island in 3 degrees & 49 minutes.

The 26 day in the morning, we espied a lowe Island, but we lost it againe, and could descrie it no more. This day we found our selues in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

The 27 day we searched what water we had left vs, and found but nine buts onely, so that our captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preserue it as much as might be, wherewith euery man was content, and we were then in number fiftie men and boyes.

August.

The first of August we found our selues 5 degrees to the Northward of the line, all which moneth we continued our course homeward, without touching any where: toward the end whereof, a sorrowfull accident fell out in our hulke, which being deuided from vs in a calme, fell afire by some great negligence, and perished by that meanes in the seas, wee being not able any wayes to helpe the ship, or to saue the men.

The hulke of Flushing burnt with all the men by negligence.

The 4 day of September, we had brought our selues into the height of 41 degrees & 20 minutes, somwhat to the Northwards of the Islands of the Açores: and thus bulting vp and downe with contrary winds, the 29 of the same moneth, we reached the coast of England, and so made an end of the voyage.

A discourse of the West Indies and South sea written by Lopez Vaz a Portugal, borne in the citie of Eluas, continued vnto the yere 1587. Wherein among diuers rare things not hitherto deliuered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Englishmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the riuer of Plate, by Captaine Withrington and Captaine Christopher Lister, in the fleete set foorth by the right Honorable the Erle of Cumberland for the South sea in the yeere 1586.

This voyage was made in the yeere 1572.

FRancis Drake an Englishman being on the sea, and hauing knowledge of the small strength of the towne of Nombre de Dios, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinnesses, and landed an hundreth and fifty men: and leauing one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the rest entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company discharging their caliuers, and sounding their trumpets (which made a great noyse in the towne) were answered by their fellowes in the forte, who discharged and sounded in like maner. This attempt put the townesmen in such extreme feare, that leauing their houses, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themselues what the matter should be in the towne, remaining as men amazed at so sudden an alarme. But the Spaniards being men for the most part of good discretion ioyned foureteene or fifteene of them together with their pieces, to see who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market-place they discouered the Englishmen, and perceiuing that they were but a few, discharged their pieces at them; and their fortune was such, that they slew the trumpetter, and shot the captaine (whose name was Francis Drake) into the legge: who feeling himselfe hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the rest of his men: but they in the Fort sounded their trumpet, and being not answered againe, and hearing the caliuers discharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses. Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried because of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and saw them fled, he and the rest of his company were in so great feare, that leauing their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hose, they swamme & waded all to their Pinnesses, and departed forth of the harbour, so that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might haue slaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this skirmish any more then one Spaniarde slaine, and of the Englishmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left behind with his trumpet in his hand.

From hence the coast lieth all along till you come to Cartagena. Betweene Nombre de Dios and Cartagena is a great sound or gulfe, where the first Spaniardes that euer dwelt vpon the firme land built and inhabited the towne of Dariene: howbeit they abode not long there, because of the vnholesomenesse of the place.

But

But Captaine Drake being discontent with the repulse that the men of Nombre de Dios gaue him, went with his Pinnesses into the said bay or sound of Dariene, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which were ranne away from their masters of Panamá and Nombre de Dios, he was informed that at the very same time many mules were comming from Panamá to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and siluer. Vpon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred shot, and the said Negros stayed in the way till the treasure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by those that droue the mules, who mistrusted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde: but the siluer he left behinde, because he could not carrie it ouer the mountaines. And two dayes after this he went to the house of crosses called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes, where all the merchants leaue their goods, where hee slew sixe or seuen of the marchants, but found neither gold nor siluer, but great store of marchandize: and so he fired the said house, with all the goods, which were iudged to be worth aboue two hundred thousand ducats. Thus not finding golde in this house to satisfie his minde, hee burned the marchants goods, and foorthwith recouered his Pinnesses: where fortune so fauoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboord halfe an houre, but there came to the sea side aboue three hundred souldiers, which were sent of purpose to take him: but God suffered him to escape their hands, to be a farther plague vnto the Spaniards. Venta de cruzes.

Also another Englishman named Iohn Oxenham hearing what spoyle Captaine Drake had done vpon that coast, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ship was of burthen about an hundred and twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with seuentie persons: he had conference also with the foresaid Negros, but being aduertized that the treasure was conducted by souldiers, he determined with himselfe to doe that which neuer any man before durst vndertake to doe. For being most resolute of his purpose, and not looking nor forecasting what danger might ensue of this bold enterprize, he landed his men in the same place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ship to shore, cut downe boughes of trees, and couered his ship with them, and hid vp his great ordinance in the ground. Thus leauing not one man in his ship, he tooke two small peeces of ordinance, and his calieuers, and good store of victuals, with all other necessaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros aboue twelue leagues vp into the maine land, vnto a riuer that runneth into the South sea: and by this riuer in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinnesse, which was 45 foote long by the keele: which Pinnesse being finished, he went downe the riuer and passed into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him for his guides, and he arriued at the Iland of Pearles being 25 leagues distant from Panamá. This Iland lieth in the South sea, as they saile from Peru to Panamá, and here he stayed ten dayes, before he could take any shipping, but at length there came a small barke from a place called Quito in Peru: this barke he tooke, and found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and bread: and not being content with this, he stayed a long while, before he would sende away his prize or any of his men. Shortly after he tooke another barke that came from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of siluer in barres, which being all aboord his Pinnesse, he shaped his course toward the riuer from whence he came: but before his departure he landed on the foresaid Iland to finde pearles, and went to a small towne of the Iland inhabited by Negros for the same purpose: where finding but small store, he returned to his Pinnesse, and comming neere vnto the riuer he sent away his two prizes, and with his Pinnesse entered vp the riuer. The Negros of the Iland of perles, so soone as the Englishmē were departed, posted in their Canoas to Panamá, to signifie vnto the Gouernour what they had done. Whereupon the Gouernour within two dayes after sent out foure barkes and an hundred souldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which souldiers was called Iuan de Ortega; who went first to the Iland of pearles, & there had knowledge which way the Englishmen did take, and in pursuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Englishmen, which tolde him that they were gone vp the riuer. But when he was come to the enterance of the riuer, he knew not which way to take, because the riuer ranne into the sea by three mouthes, and not all at one. Therefore being determined with himselfe to passe vp the greatest of the three, he

Iohn Oxenham anno 1575.

A riuer running into the South sea.

he saw comming downe with the streame many feathers of hens out of one of the lesser mouthes: which mouth he entered, and sayling foure dayes vp the same, hee descryed the Englishmens pinnesse lying vpon the sand, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but sixe Englishmen, of which they killed one, and the other 5 fled, & hauing throughly ransacked the said pinnesse, they could finde nought in her, but victuals. The Spaniards seeing this, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie shot vp into the countrey, and halfe a league from the riuer they found a little house made with boughes, where the Englishmen had left all their treasure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Englishmen any further: but the English captaine with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros followed the Spaniards vnto the riuers side, and set vpon them with great fury: howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the bushes did easily put the English to flight, and they tooke seuen of them aliue, and slewe eleuen and fiue Negros: so the Spaniards returned with the losse of two men and fiue or sixe hurt. Then they asked those Englishmen which they had taken prisoners, why they departed not with their treasure, hauing fifteene dayes libertie? They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carry all that golde and siluer vnto the place where their ship was, and they were agreed to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys, for he promised to giue them part of the treasure beside their wages, but the mariners would needes haue it by and by; whereat the captaine being angry, because they put so small trust in his word, would not suffer his saylers to carrie it, but said he would get Negros to serue his turne, and so these were the Negros aforesaid, whom he had brought to carry away the golde and siluer: but by the way he met with the fiue Englishmen which fled from the pinnesse, who told him of the Spaniards; and then he made friends with all his men, and got the Negros to take his part: but hauing the ouerthrow, and his best men being slaine and taken prisoners, he thought to haue returned to his ship, and so to haue gone for England. The Spanish captaine hauing heard this discourse of the English prisoners, buried the dead bodies, embarking all things, and with the Englishmen and their pinnesse returned backe vnto Panamá. Thus was the Englishmens voyage ouerthrowen.

Now so soone as the foure barkes and the pinnesse were arriued at Panamá, the Gouernour of that place sent a messenger ouerland to Nombre de Dios, to aduertise the townesmen, where the Englishmens ship lay: whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ships and went into the bay of Dariene where the Englishmen had left their ship, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance; so that the poore Englishmen were left in the mountaines very naked and destitute of all comfort: for the Spaniards had taken out of the foresayd house of boughes all their tooles & other necessaries, so that they could by no meanes haue any succour: whereas otherwise they might haue builded another pinnesse, and prouided better for themselues to haue returned for their owne countrey.

These newes comming to the eares of the Viceroy of Peru, he thought it not conuenient to suffer those fiftie Englishmen which were yet aliue, to continue in the mountaines among the said Negros. Wherefore he sent a seruant of his called Diego de Frees with 150 shot to seeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take some one small barke or other that sayled to and againe in the North sea, whereby they might the better shift for themselues: but before they had finished their pretended worke, the Spanish souldiers set vpon them, and tooke fifteene of them that were sicke: but the rest fled, whom the Spaniards pursued among the mountaines, and in the end the Negros betraied them, and they were all taken and carried to Panamá. Where the Iustice asked the English captaine, whither he had the Queenes license, or the license of any other Prince or Lord? And he answered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowen to the Iustice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panamá, sauing the Captaine himselfe, the Master, and the Pilot, and fiue boyes, which were caried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet liuing.

Warre made against the Negros.

The king of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those

those Negros who had assisted the Englishmen, which Negros before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and (as is aforesaide) fled from their masters into those mountaines, and so ioyned themselues to the Englishmen, thinking by that meanes to be reuenged of the Spaniards crueltie.

At the first comming of these three hundred souldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great iustice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a season the Negros grew wise and wary, and preuented the Spaniards so, that none of them could be taken. Whereof the king being aduertised by his Captaines, as also how the countrey was full of mountaines and riuers, and very vnhealthfull, insomuch that his souldiers died, he wrote vnto his said Captaines to make an agreement with those Negros, to the ende the countrey might be in quiet. And so they came to agreement with the Captaines of the Negros, and all was appeased. Afterward the Negros inhabiting two places which the Spaniardes allotted vnto them, the kings pardon was proclaimed vnto all those which before the day of the proclamation thereof had runne from their Masters, vpon condition that from that day forward, whatsoeuer other fugitiue Negros should resort vnto them, they should returne them home either dead or aliue, if not, that they should pay for them. Vpon these conditions, and to make all quiet in the mountaines, all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So that now the Negros dwell in great townes, where they haue Spaniardes for their teachers, and a Spaniard for their Iudge, and with this they holde themselues very well contented, and are obedient vnto their rulers.

The Spaniards since they conquered those parts haue seene many Frenchmen on that coast, but neuer any Englishmen in that place, saue those two onely which I haue before mentioned. And although the Frenchmen haue come strong, yet durst they neuer put foot on shore as the English did. But the king of Spaine hearing that Englishmen as well as Frenchmen beganne to haunt that coast, caused two gallies to be made and well appointed, to keepe the coast. The first yeere that they were made they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. So soone as this was knowen there vsed fewe English or French men of warre to come on the coast, vntill this yeere 1586. when as the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong fleete of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as is well knowen vnto all Christendome. But (God sparing the king of Spaine life) hee will sufficiently prouide to keepe his subiectes from the inuasions of other Nations.

Frenchmen.

Seuen French ships taken by the gallies.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage to S. Iago, Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and S. Augustine.

Now to go forward with our begunne discourse, the next towne vpon this coast beyond Nombre de Dios is Cartagena: it standeth in a more healthfull place, and is a greater towne then the other, bordering vpon a better countrey, which aboundeth with plentie of victuals, and hauing a very good port for the harbour of ships: and it is called Cartagena, because it resembleth very much the citie of Cartagena in Spaine. It containeth aboue foure hundred households. It is very rich by reason of the ships staying there, when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ships chance to winter before they goe home into Spaine, then they lie at Cartagena. Also it is greatly enriched by the marchandize, which is there discharged to be carryed to the new kingdome of Granada, from which kingdome much golde is brought vnto Cartagena. This new kingdome of Granada is two hundred leagues within the land: neither can they trauel from Cartagena to this kingdome by land, because of the mountaines and standing waters, which lie in the way, so that they are faine to carry their goods vp a riuer called The great riuer of Magdalen. They can goe with their barkes but two hundred leagues vp this riuer; for although it be large and very deepe, yet there runneth so swift a current, that the barkes are constrained to discharge their goods at a place in the riuer called Branco de Malambo, into small canoas which rowe close by the shores side. In this riuer are great abundance of Crocodiles, so huge and terrible to behold, that such as neuer sawe them before are very fearefull at the first sight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will streightway catch at them. In some places this riuer is very vnhealthfull and full of noysome wormes; but the first place thereupon which the Spaniards doe inhabite called Mompox is exceeding healthfull. The countrey adioyning vpon this riuer they call The new kingdome of Granada, because the captaine called Cesida which first conquered the

Cartagena.

Nueuo reyno de Granada.

Rio grande della Magdalena.

Branco de Malambo.

Mompox.

same, and inhabited there, was borne at Granada in Spaine: for it is the vse of the Spanish captaines, when they haue conquered any Prouince of the Indies, to call it after the name of the place where they themselues were borne. This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne & other victuals, and hath many gold-mines, and great quantitie of emeralds, wherof they send so many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth: but before these countreys were found, they were in great estimation. Here are also dwelling many of the Indian people so meeke and gentle of nature, that they are called flies. This land is very plaine and holesome, and the inhabitants are giuen to peace.

Popayan. From this kingdome they trauell to another countrey called La gouernacion de Popayan; it is rich of golde, and withall very fruitfull, but fuller of mountaines then the new kingdome of Granada, and hath fewer Indians dwelling in it, but those that are there are full of courage and very valiant, which caused the Spaniardes to make great warre before they could ouercome them. In this prouince there are 13 townes of Spaniards, and in The new kingdome of Granada there are nine townes of Spaniards.

Quito. From this countrey of Popayan they trauell along till they come to the first inhabitants of Peru dwelling in a towne which ioyneth vpon the South sea called Quito. This towne I will leaue any further to speake of till I come particularly to intreate of Peru. Onely I haue spoken of the two foresaid Prouinces, to the intent you might know, that there is a passage by land from Cartagena to Peru, which is about fiue hundred leagues through; so that besides the two hundred leagues which they goe vp the riuer, the other three hundred leagues is a countrey well inhabited and without danger to trauell in, insomuch that oftentimes postes are sent too and fro. But because it is so long a iourney, marchants vse not to trauell that way, but when they are inforced so to doe. If any forren Nation should become Lordes of the South sea, the king of Spaine might haue his treasure conueyed vnto this towne of Cartagena from Peru, and so into Spaine. For in times past there being a rebellion in Peru made by the Spaniardes against their king, he sent his power to suppresse them through these Prouinces. This I write onely for that I knowe some Englishmen haue thought, that in taking the South sea, or Panamá or Nombre de Dios from the king of Spaine, his treasure of Peru could not be conueyed vnto him, and that the king could not succour Peru, if it wanted helpe. Howbeit I doe here most certainely assure you, that there be many wayes to Peru.

A passage ouer land from Cartagena to Peru.

Santa Martha. But now I will returne to my former discourse. Vpon the seacoast of Tierra firma Eastward from Cartagena standeth a little towne called Santa Martha, betweene which towne and Cartagena the mightie riuer of Magdalen before named falleth into the sea with such a strong current, that by reason thereof it is knowen 20 leagues from the shore. Santa Martha is a very poore towne, because it hath often bene robbed by the Frenchmen, and hath no trade but with a fewe Indians that dwell thereabout. Here beginneth that wonderfull long ridge of high mountaines couered with snow, which streatching through many countreys, runneth along the kingdomes of Peru and Chili, and continueth to the very streights of Magellan. These mountaines are seene with snow vpon their tops aboue thirtie leagues into the sea. At the foote of these wilde mountaines there is a valley called Tagrona, which is the richest place that is knowen thereabout: but because the countrey adioyning is so mountainous, and the inhabitants so many and of so good a courage, shooting poysoned arrowes which are present death to such as are wounded with the same; therefore it lyeth as yet vnconquered, notwithstanding it hath cost many Spanish captaines their liues.

A mightie ridge of mountaines.

The rich valley of Tagrona.

Passing along the coast of Tierra firma to the East of Santa Martha, there is an other small towne of aboue an hundred houses called Rio de Hacha. This towne is somewhat rich by reason of the pearles which they get there. Also they haue a trade with the Indians for some small quantitie of golde. From hence they goe along the coast to Cabo de la Vela, which because it is of the same propertie with Rio de Hacha before mentioned, I omit to speake of it. Vpon this coast there is a lake or gulfe which openeth into the sea, at the mouth whereof they gather great store of pearles. Beyond this place there is another poore towne, which hath sixe or seuen times beene spoyled by the Frenchmen. From hence there lyeth an high way

Rio de Hacha.

Cabo de la Vela.

Great store of pearles.

way to the newe kingdome of Granada, but it is aboue seuen hundred leagues in length, this way is trauelled very seldome, because the Indians will vsually set vpon the trauellers. More vp into the land the countrey lyeth plaine, and there is some golde, and a fewe townes inhabited with Spaniardes, whereof I haue had but small notice, and therefore I let them passe. The next place of any account is the Iland of Margarita, where there are but fewe Spaniardes inhabitant. This Island of Margarita is very small, and lyeth foure leagues from the maine lande: it hath heretofore bene very rich of golde and pearles, and so would haue continued till this present day, had it not beene spoyled by men of warre, because it standeth so farre from the maine land, notwithstanding they yet gather good store of pearles. Vpon this Island are bred better horses and mules then in any other part of the Indies, therefore they carry them from hence to Peru, albeit they haue great store of horses in Peru, but not so good. And because we haue begunne to speake of the Iland of Margarita, you are to vnderstand, that to the North of the foresaid coast of Tierra firma lie aboue seuentie Ilands being all very little, except Cuba, Hispaniola, and Boriquen, or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, which Ile of Boriquen, although it bee not very great, yet is it inhabited by the Spaniards. The other smaller Ilands haue bene inhabited by the Indians, and haue had good store of gold, pearles, and emraldes; but the Spaniards haue destroyed most of those Indians from off the earth, and in many of those Ilands there is nothing of any value, wherefore I haue small cause to intreate any further of them. But Hispaniola is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is wasted away. It was at the Spaniards first coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bignesse in the whole world, yet now there are none left: for they were men of so hard a heart, that they murthered themselues rather then they would serue the Spaniards: for being men vnder so small ciuill gouernement as they were, neuer was there any people knowen of so resolute and desperate mindes: for oftentimes a great number of them being together ouer night, they should be found all dead before the morning: such extreme hate did this brutish people beare against the Spaniards, that they chose rather to die the death, then to indure their insolencies. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did most grieue them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themselues: which the Spaniard perceiuing sayd vnto them: seeing you will hang your selues rather then goe and worke, I likewise will hang my selfe and will beare you company, because I will make you worke in an other world: but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with vs into another world: so vnwilling were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this Iland there were none that escaped death, saue onely these fewe, which came to passe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwise they would haue hanged themselues also. Some of these people are yet liuing, but very few. This Iland of Hispaniola is for the most part called The Ile of Sant Domingo, because the chiefe citie thereof is so called, which was the first citie in all the West Indies that was inhabited. There are in this citie aboue eight hundred fire-houses of good building inhabited by Gentlemen of great wealth. This Iland is vnhealthfull, for it raineth here the most part of the yeere. The riches that now this Iland affordeth are sugar (for here are many Ingenios or sugar-houses) and great store of hides by reason of the abundance of cattell; there are copper mines also, which is the cause that they haue such store of copper-money, for their gold mines be all exhausted, and the golde which they haue commeth from other places. This Iland being (as is beforesaide) destitute of the first inhabitants, and the Spaniardes lacking men to worke in their Ingenios, and to looke vnto their cattell, they were forced to bring Negros thither out of Guinea, where they haue so increased, that the Iland is nowe as full of them, as it was of the naturall inhabitantes; so that the Spaniardes carrie Negros from this Iland to the maine lande and there sell them. The chiefest victuall that they haue in this Iland, is a kinde of roote called Iuca, which being eaten as it commeth new out of the ground is present death: but first they boyle it and after presse it, and the liquor that is strained therefrom is deadly

The Ile of Margarita.

Excellent horses and mules.

More then 30. Ilands.

Hispaniola.

The Indians killed themselues, rather then they would serue the ramous Spaniards.

A pretty iest.

Sugar, hides, copper-mines.

Negros mightily increased.

A roote called Iuca.

deadly poyson: howbeit this roote being pressed so dry, that there remaineth no moisture in it, they mingle and temper the same with water and so make cakes therof, which are very sauory & good to eat, & this is all the bread which they haue in those Ilands. There go from hence yerely into Spaine 7 or 8 ships at the least full fraighted with sugar & hides.

The Ile of Cuba. Neere vnto Hispaniola lyeth another greater Iland called Cuba, it is like vnto Hispaniola, although there is not so much sugar. The principall towne of this Ilande is called Hauana, which hath an excellent harborough belonging thereunto. The townesmen are very rich by reason of the fleetes that come from Nueua Espanna, and Tierra firma which touch there; for the safeguarde of which fleetes and of the towne it selfe there is a castle built neere the said harborough kept with Spanish souldiers; neither is there any castle or souldiers in all the Ilands but onely here. There is also another Iland inhabited with Spaniards called Boriquen or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico. It is but little, yet euery way as plentifull as the other two are; and therfore I omit to speake thereof.

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

But now to prosecute my discourse of the port-townes vpon the maine lande: Eastwarde and Southward from Margarita there are no townes inhabited by Spaniardes or Portugals, till you come to Fernambuck vpon the coast of Brasil; notwithstanding that betweene the sayd Iland and Fernambuck runneth the mightie riuer of Marannon, whereof (both because of the greatnesse and the riches contayned therein) I must needes make some relation, in regarde I haue promised to speake of euery place that is of any value in all the Indies. This riuer is one of the greatest in the world, and was first found when as the Spaniardes sought out the other coast: but none can passe vp this riuer because of the greatnesse of the current which commeth downe, as also there are many shelues of sand lying in the mouth thereof; wherby it was long before the riches in and about this riuer were knowen, vntill such time as the kingdome of Peru was conquered: at which time a Captaine called Gonsalo Pizarro passing thorough the countrey of Peru came at length into a lande which they named La Canela, because there groweth great store of Sinamome, but not altogether so good as that which commeth from the East Indies. The sayd Captaine proceeding farther into the countrey came at length to a mightie riuer, where he sawe the country people rowing in their Canoas, and bringing golde to buy and sell with the Spaniards. Captaine Pizarro seeing this, was desirous to finde out the ende of this riuer, but he could not trauell by lande because of the high mountaines: wherefore he made a small Barke or Pinnesse to goe and discouer from whence the saide Indians brought their golde, and sent in the saide Pinnesse a Captaine vnder him called Orellana, who with fiftie men went downe the riuer, but could not returne to their Generall Pizarro, because of the great current which was very strong against them, forcing them to passe along the riuer, and to enter into the Sea, and so they sayled on forwarde to the foresaide Ile of Margarita: but as they passed downe this riuer they found it well inhabited with Indians, which were possessed of great store of golde. These men with their Pinnesse were passing downe this riuer eight monethes, for the riuer lyeth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, neither durst the Spaniardes euer lande, because they sawe the countrey so full of people, but they tooke many Canoas, wherein they had great store of victuals, and some golde.

Fernambuck.

The great riuer of Marannon.

Gonsalo Pizarro.

La Canela.

The great riuer of Marannon or Orellana.

Orellana sent downe the riuer of Marannon with fiftie men.

Now this Orellana comming vnto Margarita with these good newes and riches, determined not to returne vnto his Captaine Pizarro which sent him, but tooke his way from thence to the king of Spaine, and presented him with the golde that he brought out of the riuer: whereupon the king sent him with a fleete of shippes and sixe hundred men to inhabite the sayd riuer: but because of the great current and sholdes that are therein, hee left the most part of his men and shippes, and with those that remained he went vnto certaine Ilandes hard by the riuer, and built him Pinnesses; but the countrey being very vnhealthfull, himselfe and many of his men dyed, and the residue went euery man which way pleased him best. The fame of this riuer was straightway spread through Spaine and Portugal, insomuch that a Gentleman of Portugall called Lewis de Melo asked license of Don Iuan the third, then king of Portugall to goe and conquere the sayd riuer: for from the

Lewis de Melo.

mouth

mouth of this riuer to the mouth of the riuer of Plate, is that part of America which the kings of Portugall (according to the partition made betweene them and the kings of Spaine) doe holde: so that the king of Portugall hauing this riuer in his part gaue it to the saide Lewis de Melo to conquere: who taking tenne ships and eight hundred men (among which many were gentlemen) and comming to the mouth of this riuer, lost all the said ships sauing two, in one of the which two was Lewis de Melo himselfe: also the most part of the men that were in the ships cast away were saued and got to the shore, and so went by lande to the Iland of Margarita; from whence they were dispersed throughout all the Indies.

Thus these two fleetes of ships being so vnfortunately cast away, neuer durst any Captaine afterward attempt by sea to conquer the sayde riuer. Howbeit from the kingdome of Nueua Granada before mentioned there haue gone two or three Captaines by land to discouer it, for a rumour went ouer all the countrey of the great riches contained in this riuer; whereupon the Spaniards named it El Dorado, that is to say, The golden riuer. It is thought that God will not haue this riuer to be knowen, for that one Captaine by lande had most of his people slaine by those of the countrey, and others for want of victuals returned. So that none of all these came to any plaine discouery, till a few yeeres past a Captaine of the countrey of Nauarre called Pedro de Orzua, who went from Peru almost the same way that Gonsalo Pizarro had before discouered, and was accompanied with about some seuen hundred Spaniards, it being a great maruell how he could get so many, amongst whom were many Gentlemen and old souldiers of Peru, who caused diuers mutinies and insurrections, as hereafter I will more at large declare, which mutinous souldiers were the cause of their captaines death. Howbeit with all these men captaine Pedro de Orzua came vnto head of the said riuer: but you must vnderstand, that this riuer is nourished not onely with the waters and freshets that come from the mountaines of Peru, but also by all the riuers betweene the Equinoctiall and sixteene degrees of Southerly latitude, which fall thereinto and cause it to be so great. Nowe at the head of this riuer the sayde Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteene Pinnesses with many Canoas, wherein he caried aboue two thousand Indians to helpe him, with many horses and other prouision, as meaning to inhabite there: for it was not possible for him to carry all his prouision by lande, because the mountaines be very great, there being also betweene them many small riuers which fall into this great riuer aboue twentie leagues out of the land. So this captaine hauing all his things in good order went downe the riuer with his whole company, and at length came from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt; and there he held a councell, determining in the same place to build a towne and to fortifie it very strongly, to the end he might leaue all his stuffe there, and such men as were not souldiers. And so they began to build the said towne, and wrought vpon it all the winter: where because it raineth much, and withall is very hot, sickues and want of victuals began to preuaile amongst them, whereupon the souldiers fell a murmuring among themselues. For comming out of Peru, which is one of the fruitfullest & richest countries of the world, they were more inclined to haue their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour: which was the cause that albeit the countrey in which they now were, was exceeding fruitfull, and that they saw with their eyes most euident apparances of golde, & also that vp into the countrey it seemed to be much better; yet for all this they murmured & would needes returne for Peru from whence they came. In the company of these men there was a souldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie & lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man hauing bene one of the principall mutiners in Peru, could not here giue ouer his old wont, but asked his fellow-souldiers, what they went to seeke for in those wild deserts whither they were brought: For (said he) if you seeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, flesh, and faire women also; so that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniardes, and that it were no hard enterprize, because all the souldiers and poore men of Peru would turne vnto them, and that that were a better course, then to goe and conquere the sauage people in those mountaines: so that once hauing the gouernment of Peru, the king of Spaine should be inforced

El Dorado.

Pedro de Orzua.

Lopez de Agira, his dangerous conspiracie.

to

to agree with them: if not (sayd he) we shall not lacke them that will succour vs, to haue the riches of Peru. By these perswasions he brought many souldiers to be of his minde, and conspired also with a young gentleman of Siuill called Don Fernando de Gusman (who was in loue with a young woman which the captaine Pedro de Orzua had, and therefore did the sooner agree vnto the wicked intent of Agira) to murther the captaine. Who on a night being asleepe in his bed, the said conspirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there stabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they slew also all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out-cry, saying, God saue the king, God saue the king: whereupon all the campe was in an vprore. Then Lopez de Agira made vnto the souldiers a long oration, and got them all to consent vnto him, some by force, and some because they durst not say to the contrary, and others of their good will, and so in the end they all agreed vnto his determined purpose. Then made they Fernando de Gusman their head, & Agira was made a captaine. This done, because the people should the better hold their opinion, he did as great a villany as euer any Spaniard cõmitted: for he made ad altar, wheron he and all the souldiers renounced their seruice vnto the king of Spaine, & so as people without a king, chose the said Don Fernando to be their king, and did homage vnto him. These matters being thus finished they consulted among themselues which should be the best way for them to goe to Peru? For they could not goe vp the riuer, by which they came downe, in regarde of the strong current, and going backe ouerland they should be very weake for want of horsemen: wherefore they determined to goe downe the riuer. Then saide Lopez de Agira, that they would carry nothing with them but the pinnesses & souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leaue behind them all the Indians which they brought from Peru, with the women and the sicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, because he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all. Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe gouernour himselfe, tooke vnto him 30 of his owne countreymen of his disposition, and on the sudden slew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had sworne to obey: & now by his subtill practises, being withall eloquent in his talke, he caused the souldiers to appoint himselfe their gouernour, & made them beleeue that all the cruelties committed were for their saueguard: neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here ende. He was borne in Biskay a countrey neere vnto France, wherefore I beleeue him rather to haue beene a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be so much cruelties as this man shewed. Now being readie to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or persons of qualitie, and therefore he slew all such persons; and then departing onely with the common souldiers, he left behind him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures. If I should rehearse all the cruell murthers of this wicked man one by one, I should be ouer tedious vnto you. Onely in fewe words I say, that this man proceeded downe the riuer, hauing with him onely foure hundred men: but before he passed the riuer, and was come to Margarita, he had no more left but two hundred and thirty men, for the rest hee had put to death, and left on shore among the people of the countrey: all which tyranny he vsed, because he euer stood in feare of his life: for had he seene at any time but two souldiers talking together, he would streight suspect that they were conspiring of his death, and therefore he vsed the practises abouesaide. And he neuer went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biscaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purposes.

Pedro de Orzua murthered.

Don Ferdinando de Gusman proclaimed king of Peru.

Fernando de Gusman slaine.

A tyrannous nature.

As these souldiers with their Captaine came downe the riuer, they sawe many Canoas with golde in them passing too and fro, and people on both sides of the riuer, and in their passage many times they landed, and got good store of golde and victuals. Now also did they finde that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to say, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but these women fight to aide their husbands, and not by themselues alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of these women vpon diuers partes of this riuer, who seeing the Spaniardes fighting with their husbandes came in to succour them, and shewed themselues more

Great store of gold in the riuer of Maranon.

Amazones women which helpe their husbands in the warres.

more valiant then their husbandes; for which cause it was named, The riuer of Amazones. The Spaniardes intent was onely to passe downe the riuer, neither sought they at all to discouer the Inland, and yet they tooke good store of golde, putting it into one of their Pinnesses, where Lopez de Agira himselfe was embarked, which Pinnesse at the mouth of the riuer was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde. And when he was come to the Ilande of Margarita, the Gouernour thereof supposing he had beene one of the kings loyall captaines, receiued him with pinnesses, and brought good store of victuals vnto him. But he putting the sayd Gouernour immediatly to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two shippes that were there, and constrained likewise an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, besides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good store of victuales, and many horses also. And then he returned to the maine land, saying, that with his small forces hee would subdue the whole Indias: imagining belike that all the olde souldiers and poore people, at the first sight of him, would turne to his side and take his part. Howbeit he was foulely deceiued: for before he had marched two dayes iourney vp into the land, the Gouernour of Nueua Granada came against him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other souldiers would haue ioyned themselues vnto him, whereby his strength might haue beene the more, was quite frustrate of his expectation: for euen his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine. Nowe seeing himselfe thus left destitute of his souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he committed a more vnnaturall bloodie act then euer Nero the tyrant did, for he murthered his owne daughter being but sixeteene yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of Peru: the cause why he killed her was, that she might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traytor: and these words he vsed vnto her, so soone as he had giuen her her deaths wound: but before he could finish this cruell act, the souldiers came vpon him, and cut him in pieces, also his daughter died of her wound in that place.

Good store of golde.

Lopez de Agira arriueth at Margarita 1568.

Thus haue you heard the miserable ende of this bloodie caitife: in regarde of whose treacherous and mischieuous dealing the king would neuer since suffer this riuer to bee throughly discouered; so that the riches and treasure of the said riuer remaine vnknowen euen vntill this present day.

Great riches hidden within the riuer of Marannon.

Now leauing to discourse any longer of this riuer of Marannon, all the coast betweene the saide riuer and the riuer of Plate, is called The coast of Brasill, taking that name from a kinde of wood in the same countrey, called Brasill-wood, whereof there is great store in those partes. This coast of Brasill was first discouered by Pedro Aluarez Cabral, in the second voyage which the king of Portugall caused to be made to the East Indies: and the foresayde Pedro Aluarez tooke possession of this land for the king of Portugall: whereupon the king Don Emanuel hearing newes thereof sent presently shippes to discouer the whole countrey, and found it to be part of America otherwise called The West Indies: for which cause there grewe some controuersie betweene him and the king of Spaine: but being kinsmen and great friends one to another, they agreed in the end, that the king of Portugall should holde all the countrey that he had discouered, the which was (as I haue said) from the riuer of Marannon to the riuer of Plate; albeit the Spaniards affirme, that it stretcheth no further then the Iland of Santa Catelina; whereupon there haue risen many controuersies betweene the Portugales and Spaniardes, which haue cost many men their liues.

The coast of Brasill, why it was so called, and by whom it was at the first discouered.

There came into the said riuer of Plate in the yeere 1587 two English ships and a Pinnesse of the right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, which were bound for the streights of Magellan, and ankored ten leagues within the said riuer before a little Iland lying hard by another called Seal-Iland. On which Iland the Captaine of one of the ships called Christopher Lister, and his whole company landing, found the king of Portugales armes grauen on a rocke by the sea side; which are thought to haue beene there engrauen by one Martin Alonso de Souza, who was sent by the king Don Emanuel to discouer this coast. Therefore I thinke the Portugales haue reason for that which they alleage concerning the extension of the said coast of Brasil. Wherfore the king of Portugall gaue this land to diuerse of his

gentlemen to inhabite. Most of the naturall inhabitants of this countrey are very rude, and goe starke naked both men and women, and are man-eaters; for which cause they make warres one against another to get men to eate; they are stout and good bow-men. The first place inhabited on this coast beyonde the riuer of Marannon is called Fernambuck so named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda. Before you come to this place there is a port called Paraiua, vnto which port not many yeeres past the French-men hearing of the troubles which were then in Portugall resorted, and built there a fort; whereunto certaine French ships made yeerely voyages to lade Brasill-wood. But they of Fernambuck, with the helpe of the Spaniardes, went and burnt fiue French shippes within the port, and tooke the fort it selfe, and the Frenchmen that were there fled part into the mountaines, and part of them were slaine; so that since that time the Spaniardes haue inhabited there till this present. Nowe to returne to Fernambuck inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Duarte Coelio, it is the greatest towne in all that coast, and hath aboue three thousand houses in it, with seuentie Ingenios for sugar, and great store of Brasill-wood and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugall or from some places vpon the coast of Brasill. The harbour of this towne is a barred harbour, and fit onely for small barkes: this place belongeth as yet vnto the sonne of Duarte Coëlio. Beyond this towne lyeth the Cape of Sant Augustin, and next thereunto is the riuer of Sant Francisco, which is a great riuer. Betweene this riuer and Baya it is all a wildernesse inhabited with cruell saluages, for whomsoeuer they take they kill and eate him. The towne of Bayha belongeth to the king, and therefore the gouernour of all the coast keepeth his residence in the same, as also the bishop. It containeth 1000 houses, & 40 Ingenios for sugar, and hath much cotton, but no Brasill-wood at all. The sea runneth vp into the countrey here 14 or 15 leagues, where they get some yeres good store of Amber-griese. Here is great plentie of victuals, and although the countrey be hot, yet is it healthfull, & the aire holesome. The next towne vpon the coast called As Ilhas, or The Iles, is but a small towne, containing not aboue 150 houses, and but three Ingenios for sugar. Most of the inhabitants are labouring men, which vse to carry victuals in their small barkes vnto Fernambuck: their Lord is called Lucas Giraldo.

The next place vnto this is called Puerto Seguro: it consisteth of 4 small townes, which containe not in all aboue 300 houses. The inhabitants of this towne also liue by carrying of victuals along the coast; and the towne it selfe belongeth to the Duke de Auero. Hard by this port begin the sholdes which they call Abrolhos; and these sholdes lie aboue 25 leagues into the sea.

The next habitation of Christians beyond these sholdes is Espirito Santo which consisteth of two townes, both of them containing about 300 houses: and they belong to a gentleman called Vasques Fernandes de Coutinho.

From hence you passe along the coast to the riuer of Ienero, which hath about three hundred houses. In this place the Frenchmen first inhabited, whose Captaine was called Monsieur de Villegagnon. The said Captaine made here a fort, and planted good ordinance thereon, and laded euery yeere great store of Brasill-wood from hence, and had great friendship with the saluage people, who did him good seruice, by reason whereof the Frenchmen reaped much benefite out of this countrey. But the king of Portugall sent out a power against the Frenchmen, who first tooke the French shippes by sea, and then landed and besieged the fort, and at length tooke it, and the Captaine thereof: vnto whom, because he was a gentle person, and neuer hurt the Portugales, they gaue thirtie thousand ducats for his ordinance, and for all other things that were in the fort, and so sent him for France. Since which time the Portugales haue inhabited this riuer. There are at this present onely two Ingenios, but great store of Brasill-wood, with plentie of victuals.

From this riuer of Ienero they passe along the coast to Sant Vincente, which hath 4 townes, the greatest whereof is called Santos, and consisteth of foure hundred houses, there are also three Ingenios. A fewe yeeres past there came two English ships into this harbour which were going for the Streights of Magellan. Who being in this port, there came thither

Fernambück.

A fort built by the Frenchmē at Paraiua.

Paraiua now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambuck containeth 3000 houses.

Cape S. Augustin. Rio de Sant Francisco.

Bayha a towne of 1000 houses.

As Ilhas.

Puerto Seguro.

The sholdes called Abrolhos.

Espirito Santo.

Rio de Ienero.

Foure townes standing vpon the riuer of S. Vincente. These English men were M. Fenton and Luke Ward.

ther three of the king of Spaines ships, and fought with the Englishmen, but the Englishmen sunke one of their ships, and therefore the king commanded a fort to be made, to the ende that no English shippes that were bound for the streights of Magellan should victuall there, the which fort standeth on the mouth of the harbour. This countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonso de Souza: this is the last inhabited place vpon all the coast of Brasill. This coast of Brasill is very full of mountaines, and hath much raine falling vpon it, for which cause they cannot goe from towne to towne by land: all the habitations of this countrey are by the sea side. From Sant Vincente the coast is all mountainous, till you come to the Ile of Santa Catelina, and from this Iland till you come euen to the straights of Magellan, the coast is very plaine and without woods.

A fort built at the riuer of Sant Vincente against the English.

The Iland of Santa Catelina.

Hauing proceeded thus farre, it will not be amisse to speake somewhat of the riuer of Plate, which is one of the greatest riuers in all the world: for at the mouth it is aboue fiue and twentie leagues from land to land: and the Spaniards haue gone vp in it aboue sixe hundred leagues, and could not attaine to the head thereof. The first Spaniard that entered this riuer, and inhabited the same was called Solis, who passed vp 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de la Plata, that is to say, The riuer of siluer, because of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I haue not heard of any siluer that euer was found there. The saide Solis returned into Spaine, without any further search into this riuer: howbeit another Captaine called Sebastian Cabota went vp this riuer 150 leagues, and built a fort, which fort standeth vntill this present: where leauing his ships, he went higher vp the riuer in smal Pinnesses, and all along as he went he found many Indians: but finding neither gold nor siluer, nor ought else of any great value, he returned to his ships, and sayled for Spaine. Not many yeeres after a certaine Gentleman called Don Pedro de Mendoça furnished forth a great fleete of ships, wherein were shipped a thousand men, fortie mares, and twentie horses, with all other creatures to inhabite this riuer: and comming thither he went vp into the countrey to see what riches he could there finde, leauing all his stuffe, cattle, and prouision at a place called Buenos Ayeres, so named in regard of the freshnesse of the ayre, and the healthfulnesse of his men, during their abode there: this place was eightie leagues within the riuer, and here he landed first: at this place the riuer is aboue seuen leagues broad, and very low land on both sides without trees. This riuer is very often subiect to great and sudden stormes, so that with a storme this Don Pedro lost eight of his ships, and in the rest he returned for Spaine, saying to his men, that he would goe seeke victuals, and so left the greater part of them behinde. In his way homeward he died, and the poore men which he left behind him, for the most part of them died for hunger also, because in that place there were very few Indians, and therefore but small store of victuals, onely they liued by hunting of Deere, and by fishing. Of all the men that Don Pedro left behind him there were but two hundred remaining aliue, who in the ship boates went higher vp the riuer, leauing in the place called Buenos Ayeres their mares and horses: but it is a wonder to see, that of thirty mares and seuen horses which the Spaniards left there, the increase in fortie yeeres was so great, that the countrey is 20 leagues vp full of horses; whereby a man may coniecture the goodnesse of the pasture, and the fruitfulnesse of the soile. The Spaniards that went vp this riuer passed three hundred leagues, and found the countrey ful of Indians: who had great plenty of victuals, among whom the Spaniards dwelt as their friends, and the Indians bestowed their daughters in mariage vpon them, and so they dwelt altogether in one towne, which the Spaniards called La Ascension, and it standeth on the North side of the riuer. The foresaid Spaniardes were twentie yeres in this place, before any newes of their inhabiting vpon this riuer was brought into Spaine: but waxing olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their sons which they had begotten in this countrey being very many, should liue without the knowledge of any other Christians: they determined among themselues to build a ship, and to sende newes into Spaine with letters vnto the king of all things that had passed among them, vpon that riuer. These newes being brought to the king, he sent three ships, with a Bishop and certaine Priests, and Friers, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell, when this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the

Rio de la Plata.

Sebastian Cabota.

Buenos Ayres.

The wonderfull increase of a few horses and mares.

La Ascension 300 leagues the riuer of Plate.

the North side of the riuer, and trauelled three hundred leagues beyond the Ascension; but finding neither gold nor siluer, they returned backe againe vnto the Ascension. The people are so multiplyed in this citie, that now it is one of the greatest in all the Indias, and containeth aboue two thousand houses. The countrey adioyning is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with all kinds of victuals, & with sugar and cotton. From this citie of Ascension 150 leagues towards the mouth of the riuer standeth another towne which they call Santa Fe, on the South side of the said riuer, from which towne there lyeth an open high way leading into the land of Peru, so that when I come to intreat of Peru I wil speake of this way, and declare who first found it. Also fiue yeeres past they haue inhabited anew the towne of Buenos Ayres on the South side of the riuer, to the end they might haue trade from the coast of Brasill, but their fortune was such, that the very first time they went to Brasill, and would haue returned againe to the riuer of Plate, they were taken by two ships of England that were going for the streights of Magellan.

Santa Fe.

Two English ships, whereof M. Fenton was Generall 1582.

The coast along from this riuer to the streights of Magellan hath not bene perfectly discouered, either by sea or lande, sauing onely certaine portes which they haue found, sayling to the streights. Wherefore passing them ouer, I will here intreat of the saide streights, and declare who was the first finder of them, as likewise what was the cause why they were sought for. The Portugales therefore hauing first found and conquered the East Indies, and discouered the coast of China, with the Ilands of the Malucos, (all which places abound with gold, precious stones, silkes, and other rich commodities) and bringing home the foresaide riches in their ships into Portugall: there grewe by this meanes great enuie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniardes; insomuch that the Councell of Spaine saide vnto the Emperour Charles the fift being then their king, that the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the world. Vpon which words beganne a controuersie betweene the Emperour and the king of Portugall: but they being great friends before, and also kinsmen, agreed immediatly to part the whole world betweene them, in such wise as I for my part could neuer vnderstand the certaintie thereof. The world being thus diuided, a Portugal-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes borne in a place of Portugall called Punta de la barte, being of a good house, & very wel seene in cosmographie, and an excellent Pilot, as also being offended with Don Emanuel his Souereigne, departed out of Portugall into Spaine, and affirmed to the Councell of Spaine, that the Isles of the Malucos were in that part of the worlde which was allotted to the king of Spaine, and that he would finde a shorter way thither then the Portugales tooke, and layed before them such infallible reasons, that the Councell giuing credite vnto his wordes sent him to sea with fiue ships and 400 men all very well appointed. With these fiue ships setting saile from S. Lucar, he came to the coast of Brasill, where at that time two places were inhabited by Portugales, and so sayling on along that coast he passed by the riuer of Plate, which riuer was discouered a little before by Solis. And notwithstanding many stormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length vnto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the riuer of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Iulian, and wintered there: and there also he hanged 5 men, and put on shore a Priest, because they would haue made the company to stand against their captaine, and so to haue returned backe againe. But in the end hauing pacified his men, he put to sea, and within 5 dayes after he found the streights, which by him were so much desired: but before he entered the said streights there befell such a mutinie in one of his ships, that the same ship returned backe againe. And so himselfe with the other foure ships entering the streights, one of the said foure with all the men therein was cast away at the very enterance: which losse notwithstanding he proceeded on with the other three ships, and passing many troubles and dangers in this long discouery, ceased not to prosecute his intended voyage. This discouery was at the first thought very profitable vnto the Spaniards, but of late it hath prooued very hurtfull vnto them by meanes of certaine coasters which haue sayled the selfe same course. These streights stand in 52 degrees and a halfe of Southerly latitude. Also here is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in such wise, that in forty degrees to the South-

Fernando Magellanes.

Porte S. Iulian.

The discouery of the streights of Magellan.

The Southerly latitude of the streights of Magellan.

ward

ward the colde is more sharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies shew the same: for it is as colde euen in the streights of Magellan, as it is in sixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Howbeit the colde is not the cause why nauigators frequent not the same, but the Westerly and Southerly windes, which blowe most furiously on that coast, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the streightes, and so continue for the most part of the yeere. Also there runneth sometimes such a strong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ship withstand the force thereof. For which cause, and also for that there is no harbour, till you be passed 30 leagues into the said streights, most part of the ships that haue gone thither haue indured many troubles before they could come to the streights, and being come to the mouth thereof they haue bene hindered by the current and winde, and so haue beene put backe againe. And to the end you may vnderstand the truth, I will declare vnto you all the shippes that haue past through the said streights, since Magellan first found them, vnto this present yeere of 1586, when I haue once ended my discourse of Magellan his owne voyage. Nowe you are by the way to vnderstande, that the North side of the enterance of these streights is plaine lande without any wood or trees: here are likewise some Indians though not many, yet are they very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleuen foot high, and good bow-men, but no maneaters, neither haue they any victuals, but such as they get by hunting and fishing; they couer their bodies with the skinnes of beasts that they kill, to defend them from the colde: neither was there euer to this day any siluer or golde found among them or in their countrey. These Streights (they say) extend in length from East to West about an hundred and twentie leagues. At the middle of these streights on the North side are many mountaines couered with snow, which mountaines stretch from thence along the frontiers of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, euen vnto the shore of the North sea at Santa Martha, as I haue before signified. It is a wonder to behold the exceeding heigth of these mountaines, and the way which they continue couered with snow, for euen vnder the Equinoctiall line they haue as much snowe vpon their tops as in 52 degrees. Also it is worthy the remembrance, that all this countrey towarde the South sea is very fruitfull, and the people very discreete and gentle: but all the coast towardes Brasill vpon the North sea is poore, whereas neuer yet was found any commoditie of account, and the people themselues are very cruell and saluage; for the will of God is, that good and ciuill men should inhabite fruitfull countries. And for the better vnderstanding hereof you must note, that all the land lying betweene the said ridge of mountaines and the South sea is called by the names of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, which are the best and richest countreys in all the world: and most part of the land from the said mountaines to the North sea is called Brasill, being a mountainous countrey, *where as yet was neuer found either golde or siluer. From the said mountaines in the middle of the streights the land riseth high, till you come to the end of the streights where you enter into the South sea, in which place next the South sea the streights are very dangerous, by reason of the sholdes & rocks that lie on the North side. Thus Magellan after he had entered the South sea, within 60 dayes came to the Iles of the Malucos, without touching at any land vntill he came thither: and so seeking there to lade his ships at an Iland inhabited by Moores, he was by them treacherously slaine. Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ships, because many of them were dead, partly with sicknes, and partly with the hardnesse of the voiage, determined to abandon one of their said ships, and so manned the other two: which two being laden with spices and other riches knew not what course they were best to take: howbeit at length it was determined, that one of these two ships should go for Nueua Espanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Esperança, and so for Spaine. The ship that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biscain named Iuan Sebastian del Cano, to whom the king gaue great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: Primus omnium circunde disti me: that is, thou art the first man that euer sayled about me.

And albeit this voyage was so long and troublesome as is before mentioned, yet many others haue attempted the same. And the next that sought to passe the said streights of Magellan

Patagones.

The length of the streights of Magellan.

A mighty rielg of mountains.

Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada.

* But of late there are found diuerse rich mines.

The death of Magellan.

Sebastian del Cano the first man that euer sayled about the world.

Two ships of Genoa.

Magellan were two ships of Genoa, which comming as farre as the mouth of the streights were by a mightie storme driuen backe againe, and one of them, whose master was called Pancaldo, put into the riuer of Plate, and was cast away about Buenos Aeres, where to this day part of the said ship is to be seene, and some of the men are yet liuing in the riuer among the Spaniards: and the other ship returned to Genoa againe.

A third voyage to ye streights.

Also there was a bishop of Placencia in Spaine, who coueting riches, set foorth a fleet of foure sailes, to passe the streights, and so to goe for the Malucos: and getting license of the Emperour he sent his said 4 ships toward the streights which had very faire windes till they came thither: but being entered 20 leagues within the streights, a storme of Westerly windes tooke them, & droue 3 of them on shore, & the fourth backe into the sea, which (the storme being past) returned into the streights to seeke for his consorts, & found many men going on the shores side, but the ships were beaten all to pieces. So they on land called vnto the ship; but the captaine therof, considering that his ship was but little, & that he had but small store of victuals, would not go to them on shore, but proceeded on his voyage, & passed the streights. And because he was alone he would not saile to the Malucos, but went for the coast of Peru to the citie of Lima, where the ship remaineth vnto this day. The men of the other three ships, which were left in the streights being to the number of two hundred and fiftie (whose Captaine being kinsman to the bishop of Placencia was called *Queros) were neuer heard of vntill this present day, it being fortie yeres since they were left there. A yeare after this, certaine marchants of the Groine in Galicia set foorth other three ships, which ships also came to the streights mouth, where one of them was cast away with all the men, and the other two returned for Spaine.

* Gonsaluo de Quiesio, parte 2. lib. 20. calleth this Captaine Zamorro.

A fourth voyage to the streights.

A 6th and 7th voiage to the streights of Magellan.

Two French ships sent for the streights of Magellan.

Also I haue had intelligence of certaine Portugall ships, which being come to the mouth of the Streights lost two of their Pinnesses which they sent to discouer the land, and then returned back. And after these, two French ships were sent from the riuer of Ienero by Monsieur de Villegagnon, but being come to the latitude of 45. degrees, they were driuen backe by a storme of contrary winds. After all this the gouernour of Chili called Don Garcia de Mendoça sonne to the Marques of Cannette determining to discouer the sayd Streights from the South sea, sent from Chili two ships vnder the conduct of a captaine called Latherelio: but the danger to seeke these Streights by the South sea is more then by the North sea, because all the stormes of the North sea come from the land, but in the South sea all the windes and stormes come off the sea, and force the ships to run vpon the lee-shore, insomuch that the sayd two ships were cast away in fiftie degrees.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about ye world.

The seeking of these Streights of Magellan is so dangerous, and the voyage so troublesome, that it seemeth a matter almost impossible to be perfourmed, insomuch that for the space of thirty yeeres no man made account thereof; vntill of late one Francis Drake an Englishman (of whom I haue before spoken) seeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the West Indies to benefite himselfe, because of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coast, determined to seeke the Streights of Magellan, and to passe into the South sea. And so hauing prouided two ships and three pinnesses in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Islandes of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof beeing a Portugal called Nuno da Sylua, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance vnto him in his voyage. And this which I shall here say, I had in writing of the Portugall pilot himselfe.

The cause why M. Douty was beheaded.

From the Islands of Cape Verde the sayd Francis Drake sailed vnto Port Sant Iulian, where he wintered: and there also hee put to death a gentleman of his company, because hee would haue returned home. This port I take to bee accursed, for that Magellan likewise put some to death there for the like offence.

Sir Francis Drake driuen into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

This Francis Drake putting out of the sayd port, entred the Streights, and within twelue dayes gotte into the South sea. And two dayes after there arose such a storme of Westerly windes (which are vsuall in those parts) that he lost his pinnesse, and his Viceadmirall master Iohn Winter was driuen backe againe into the Streights, who passing many dangers returned home into England. But Francis Drake himselfe ranne with this storme into seuen and fifty degrees

degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Island with a good harborough, and fresh water, and stayed at the same Island two moneths to repayre his ships: and then, the weather beeing faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coast of Chili to an Island called La Mocha; where hee went on shore, and talked with the Indians: but when hee would haue returned vnto his boate they shotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himselfe was wounded in the face. La Mocha in 38 deg. 30 min. Port against the Prouince of Arauco.

Going from thence hee passed by the towne of Concepcion not knowing the place, and so to Valparizo which is the port of Sant Iago, where hee found a ship laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her besides threescore thousand pezos of gold, euery pezo being worth eight shillings sterling: and taking this ship with him hee went from thence to another port called Coquimbo: where seeing many cattell on the land, he sent presently some of his men with calieuers to kill of the sayd cattell: but being espied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they sent twelue horsemen to see what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere vnto them, the Englishmen fled to their boates, but the horsemen ouertooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to haue taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horses was himselfe runne through with a lance, and so the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to Sant Iago, that they were Englishmen, and how they had taken the shippe out of the harbour of Valparizo: whereupon they of Sant Iago sent a Post by land to giue warning vnto them of Peru. Howbeit by reason that the countrey betweene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the space of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines couered with snowe lie in the way, the Poste was so long in performance of this iourney, that captaine Drake was vpon the coast of Peru a moneth before the sayd Poste came thither: neither could they send any newes by sea, because they were destitute of shipping. The towne of Concepcion. Valparizo. The port of Coquimbo in 29 deg. 30 min.

Captaine Drake departing from Coquimbo sayled to another porte not inhabited, where he set vp a pinnesse. And going from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte vpon the coast of Peru called los Pescadores: and there hee landed, and in one of the fishermens houses found of a Spaniards three thousand pezos of siluer in little barres. Los Pescadores.

From hence he went to another port called Arica, which being the next towne to Chili that the Spaniards haue in all Peru, containeth an hundreth houses: and this is the porte where they discharge their merchandize that passe from Lima to Potossi, and to all other cities within the land, and likewise at this place they were woont to embarke all the siluer which they caried for Panamá. At this port of Arica he found a ship that had in her thirteene thousand pezos of siluer, which hauing taken out, he burned the sayd ship, and after thought to haue landed, but seeing both horsemen and footemen on shore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since captaine Drake was at this porte they carie their siluer by land to Lima, and lade no more treasure here, but onely discharge the merchants goods that come from Spaine hither. Also they haue built a forte at this place for the better safety of the inhabitants, and haue planted it with ten pieces of Ordinance, and euery summer there lie in garison an hundred souldiers besides the townesmen. From hence he sayled to another porte called Chuli: in which port was a ship that had three hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres: but they had sent horsemen from Arica to giue aduertizement of Drakes being on the coast, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arriuall at the sayd porte: whereupon the Master of the shippe hauing no leisure to carie his siluer on shore, was forced to throwe it into the sea in sixe fadome water, where his ship road, and so to runne on shore in the shippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboord the ship was told by an Indian, that the Master had throwen the siluer ouerboord. Wherfore seeing that newes began to run of him from towne to towne he stayed not here, but ran along the coast: and because he would haue no lets, he cast off the ship which he had taken at Sant Iago, with neuer a man in her, which ship was neuer heard of after. And so without staying any where he shaped his course for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues distant from Lima it selfe, (for Lima standeth vp into the land) hee arriued there Arica in 18 deg. Chuli. El Callao de Lima.

there one day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ships without suspicion. And as hee entred into the port, there came in also a ship from Panamá laden with merchandize, and hee sent his pinnesse to take her: but the men forsaking the ship betooke them to their boate, and went on shore: and as the Englishmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein shot a piece, and slew one of captaine Drakes men in the pinnesse. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinnesse into the harbour among fourteene saile of ships that lay there, in all which ships there was not a man that had so much as a sword or a piece to molest him, wherefore hee did with lesse feare go from ship to ship, asking them if there were any ships gone for Panamá; for he knew wel, that the ships which goe for Panamá carie both siluer & gold, neither sought he for any thing else, for there were marchandize enough for him in those ships, if hee had bene desirous to haue had the same. So they told him that three dayes past there was a ship gone for Panamá which caried all the merchants siluer thither. Whereupon he presently set saile towards Panamá; for when hee came into this port it was about midnight, so that the Spaniards could not see what ships he had. At last the newes came to Lima vnto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy & all the people were in great feare, lest some Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themselues in armes: and so the next morning himselfe accõpanied with 2000 horsemen & footmen came from the citie down to the waters side, and finding some of the Englishmens arrowes that were shot at the boat, out of which their man was slain, they knew them to be Englismen: and then they were al in quiet, seeing it was but one ship, for as yet the ship lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith prouided 2 ships with 200 men in them, to boord captain Drake or els to burne his ship; and after the ships went 2 small pinnesses, because that if any of the ships should be sunke, they might saue the men. But it was a day & a halfe before these things could be made ready, & in the end going foorth they found ỹ English ship still becalmed, & the calme was such, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The same night, the wind blowing a fresh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake set forward to Panamá. The cause of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no Ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out. Then the Viceroy caused sixe pieces of Ordinance to bee made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the shortnesse of time: so with these pieces of Ordinance, and three shippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee sent after captaine Drake; who after hee had winde stayed no where, nor tooke any ships at all, notwithstanding hee met with many comming from Panamá laden with merchandize, but still hee inquired after the shippe that was gone to Panamá before him: of which ship he had sight about the cape of Sant Francisco, the Master wherof was a Biskaine, called Iuan de Anton: who seeing this ship of the Englishmens, thought that the Viceroy of Peru had sent him some message, and therefore strooke all his sailes: but so soone as hee might discerne the shippe somewhat better, hee would then faine haue gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coast, and then hee began to hoise his sailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine Drake because hee was within the reach of his great Ordinance, for the Spaniards not hauing so much as a rapier to defend themselues, were soone constrained to yeelde. There were in this shippe aboue eight hundred and fifty thousand pezos of siluer, and forty thousand pezos of gold, all which siluer and golde was customed; but what store of treasure they had besides vncustomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almost as much more as they pay custome for; otherwise the king would take it from them, if they should be knowen to haue any great summe; wherefore euery shippe carieth his bill of custome, that the king may see it. All this treasure that captaine Drake tooke was merchants and other mens goods, sauing one hundred and eighty thousand pezos of the kings. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals with other necessaries, which were to bee caried for Panamá, and was fiue dayes taking out of such things as hee needed. This done, he sayled from hence to the coast of Nueua Espanna without going to Panamá. Surely this was a great plague of God iustly inflicted vpon

Three ships sent after captaine Drake.

A rich prize taken by sir Francis Drake at Cape S. Francisco situate one degree to ỹ^e^ south of the Equinoctial.

Read Nunez de Sylua concerning this treasure.

vpon vs for our sinnes: for the taking of these ships is an especiall cause of all the dangerous warres that are likely to ensue betweene Spaine and England.

Now the ships that were sent by the Viceroy of Peru from Lima after Francis Drake, arriued at Cape Sant Francisco twenty dayes after hee had taken the foresayd shippe, and had intelligence by a ship comming from Panamá, which they met at the sayd cape, that Francis Drake had taken the ship with siluer, and was not gone for Panamá. Whereupon the captaine of the three ships thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his course that way to seeke him.

Captaine Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundreth sixty sixe thousand pezos of siluer, which is as much as eight hundred sixty sixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, euery quintal being worth one thousand and two hundreth ducats of Spaine; all which summe amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thousand and two hundreth ducats. Besides this siluer hee caried away a hundred thousand pezos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thousand fiue hundreth Spanish ducats, which last summe amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thousand ducats: ouer and besides the treasure in the sayd ship which was vncustomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) consisting of pearles, precious stones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

With all this purchase he sayled toward Nueua Espanna; and at an Island lying before that coast called The Island of Cano hee discharged all things out of his shippe and graued her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coast of Nueua Espanna, where hee tooke certaine ships laden with spices, silkes, and veluets, but no golde nor siluer, for there was none to bee had on this coast. And here at Guatulco he set on shore his Portugal-pilot, which he tooke at one of the Islands of Cape Verde. But what course he kept from this coast till he came into England I know not of certainety, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall. The Island of Cano.

The foresayd three ships which were sent in pursuit of captaine Drake, returned backe againe to Lima without doing of ought. All which notwithstanding, the Viceroy of Peru determined to send two ships to the Streights of Magellan, either to meete with captaine Drake there, or else to see if they could fortifie the sayd Streights against such ships as might afterward attempt to passe through the same. And albeit this was thought a most dangerous voyage, and impossible to be perfourmed, by reason of the sholds on that side of the Streights, yet sent he forth the two said ships. The Admirall being a ship of an hundreth tunnes, and the other of eighty tunnes, & hauing one hundreth and twenty men in them both, sayled from Lima vnder the conduct of Pedro Sarmiento, who was then accompted the best nauigator in all Peru. These ships after their departure touching on the coast to take in victuals, were nine moneths before they came to the latitude of the Streights, and there were they encountred with a cruel storme: but Pedro Sarmiento being a man of good courage, bare in with the land in this storme, & in a night hee was put into the streits, not knowing how nor which way; and the other ship running farther into the sea, sayled to 58 degrees of Southerly latitude. The storme being past, this other shippe found many Islands neere vnto the main land, and so returned with faire weather all along the shore, neither could they find any other way to enter the Streights, but onely that which Magellan discouered: notwithstanding that others affirme the contrary, saying that the Streights be full of Islands to the Southwards: but they may be deceiued, for if there be any other Streight, it is beyond 58 degrees, and hath neuer bene seene of any man: for this ship was farthest to the Southwards of all that euer I heard of: for Francis Drake being driuen by tempest no farther then 57 degrees could not know so much as this other; which ship from hence returned backe to Lima. But Pedro Sarmiento entred the Streights, where his men falling into a mutinie would haue returned to Lima: whereupon hanging one of them he proceeded on his voyage for Spaine. Where being arriued, he told the king that there were two narrow places in the Streights where he might build a forte, and that there was a very good countrey abounding with great store of riches and other necessaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Vpon whose wordes, and for that there were more ships making ready in England to passe the sayd Streights, Pedro Sarmiento sent from Lima to the Streits of Magellan.

58 degrees of Southerly latitude discouered.

Many Islands discouered to the South of the Streights.

Pedro Sarmiento perswadeth ye king of Spaine to fortifie the Streights of Magellan.

Streights, the king sent Diego Flores de Valdez with 23 ships and 3500 men, and a new gouernour to Chili with fiue hundred old souldiers newly come out of Flanders. These ships had the hardest hap of any that euer went out of Spaine since the Indias were first discouered: for that before they could get cleere of the coast of Spaine, a storme tooke them, and cast away fiue of them, and aboue eight hundred men, and the residue of the fleete put into Cadiz. Notwithstanding which hard successe, the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so they did with sixteene sailes only, for two other of their ships were so shaken with the storme, that they could not goe foorth. In these sixteene saile of ships Pedro Sarmiento was sent to be gouernour in the Streights: he caried with him all kind of artificers, to build forts, and other necessaries, with great store of Ordinance and munition. This fleete because it set late foorth, wintered on the coast of Brasil in the riuer of Ienero. Winter being past, they set sayle from hence, and about the height of 42 degrees they had such a storme, that Diego Flores was faine to beate it vp and downe about 22 dayes; in which storme was sunke one of his best ships, and in her three hundred men and twenty women that went to inhabite the streights, and most part of the munition that should haue bene left in the streights were all cast away. In the ende the storme grew so intollerable, that the ships not being able to endure it any longer were constrained to put backe againe vnto an Island called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were certaine friers going for the riuer of Plate, which friers told him of two great English ships and a pinnesse that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships. Now Diego Flores supposing that these English ships would go to the streights, was himselfe determined to go to the streights also, though it was in the moneth of February: and choosing tenne shippes of the fifteene that were left, he sent three of the residue that were old and shaken with the storme (wherein he put all the women and sicke men that were in the fleete) backe againe to the riuer of Ienero; leauing the other two shippes, which were not able to brooke the sea, at the foresayd Island; and so himselfe with the sayd ten ships returned againe for the streights.

Two English ships vnder the conduct of M. Fenton and M. Luke Ward.

Now the three ships wherein the sicke men and the women were embarked, came to the port of Sant Vincent: where finding the two foresayd English ships, and vrging them to auoide the harbour, the English entred combat with them: and by reason that these three ships were weakened with former tempests, and were manned with the refuse of all the Spanish fleete, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might also haue sunke another, if they had bene so minded; but they desired not the destruction of any man: and doubtlesse it is the greatest valour that any man can shew, that when hee may doe hurte, he will not. Hereupon the Englishmen departed from this porte vnto Espirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandize: and so they returned home to England without doing any harme in the countrey. The cause why these English captaines went not to the streights I know not: some say, that they were put backe by foule weather, others suppose that it was for feare of the kings ships: but the pinnesse that belonged to these shippes wherein Iohn Drake went as captaine, departed from them: the cause why hee did so, is vnknowen: but this pinnesse entred the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale-island, not farre from the place where the Erle of Cumberlands ships tooke in fresh water, it was cast away vpon a ledge of rockes; but the men were all saued in the boate. Who being eighteene in number went on shore vpon the Northside of the Island, and passing tenne dayes iourney vp into the lande, they met with certaine Saluage people, which are no manneaters, but take all the Christians that they can get, and make them their slaues: howbeit the Englishmen fought with them, and being too fewe in number, fiue of them were slaine, and the other thirteene taken prisoners, who remained with the Saluages about fifteene moneths.

Espirito Santo.

Iohn Drake.

But the Master of the pinnesse called Richard Faireweather, being loath any longer to indure that miserie wherein hee was, and hauing knowledge of a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, called on a night Iohn Drake, and another yoong man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa being very litle, and hauing but two oares, and passed therewith

on

on the other side of the riuer, which is full nine leagues broade; and being three dayes before they could get ouer, they were much pined for lacke of meate. But comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Christians: and spying the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house, neere vnto the which corne was sowed. And there they met with Indians that were seruants to the Spaniards, who gaue them foode, and clothes to couer them withall, for they were all naked. And one of the sayd Indians went to the towne, and caried newes of the Englishmen: whereupon the captaine of the towne sent out foure horsemen, which brought them to the towne behinde them, and the sayd captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake sate at the captaines owne table, and hee intreated them all very well, thinking to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes sent for them, and they sent him Iohn Drake; but the other two they kept, because they were maried in the countrey. Thus much concerning their affaires. Vpon these newes also there were prepared fifty horsemen to goe ouer the riuer, both to secke the rest of the Englishmen, and certaine Spaniardes which were amongst those Saluage people; but I am not assured whether they went forward or no.

Nowe let vs returne to Diego Flores: who passing from the Island of Santa Catelina towards the streights of Magellan in the middle of February, and comming to the height of the riuer of Plate, sent the gouernour of Chili with three ships vp the riuer to Buenos Ayres, that hee might from thence passe ouerland to Chili. Of these three ships two were lost, but the men and prouisions were saued; and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other seuen ships proceeded on to the latitude of 52. degrees, whereas the mouth of the Streights beginneth: but because it was the ende of March, which there is the latter ende of summer, the countrey was so full of snow, and withall there arose such a sudden storme, that he could not set Sarmiento and his men on shore, but was constrained the second time to returne vnto the riuer of Ienero vpon the coast of Brasil; where he heard newes of the English ships by the two Spanish ships that escaped from them. Vpon which newes he left his lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the streights. And so Diego Flores himselfe with foure ships which were yet remaining vnto him, and other foure which the king sent to succour him, set forth to secke the Englishmen; but hauing runne along all the coast of Brasil hee could not finde them, because they were gone directly for England. Whereupon shaping his course vnto a port called Paraiua, and finding there fiue French ships, he burnt three and tooke two, and the fort also which the Frenchmen had built, and put Spaniardes therein, but the Frenchmen fledde into the mountaines to the Saluages. This done hee returned for Spaine.

The gouernor of Chili passeth thither by the riuer of Plate.

Foure ships more sent to Diego Flores.

Fiue French ships taken at Paraiua.

In the meane season his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento had the next yeere so good fortune, that they arriued safely in the streights with all their ships, and set on shore foure hundreth men: but because the ships boate could not land, being once laden, they ran that ship, which had all the victuals and munition in her, on shore in a bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her. This being done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundreth men, thirtie women, and a ship, with victuals for eight moneths: and with the other three shippes hee returned, hauing remained in the Streights but eight dayes. Nowe Pedro Sarmiento built a towne at the mouth of the Streights on the North side, placing therein an hundreth and fiftie men: and from thence he went by land, and sent the ship further into the streights, and fiftie leagues within the Streights, at the narrowest place of all, where there is a very good porte, hee built another towne, which he named The towne of king Philip; and would also haue made a forte, and planted Ordinance for the defence of the Streights: but the snowe and Winter was so intollerable, that hee could not bring it to perfection. Whereupon taking about 25 mariners with him into the foresayd ship, hee sayd hee would goe see howe his other people did, and so hee sayled to the Streights mouth, vnto the towne which was first built; where hauing continued a day or two, he sayd that a storme put him from the Streights by force and brake his cables; but his men affirmed the contrary, that himselfe cut his cables (God knoweth the trueth) and so he passed to the riuer of Ienero; and not finding there any succour come from the king.

Pedro Sarmiento left in ye streits of Magellan with 400 men & 30 women.

Nombre de Iesus builded.

Ciudad del rey Philippe builded.

king, he sayled to Fernambuck, craiuing ayde of the captaine to furnish him with victuals. And so the captaine presently fraighted his ship with victuals and clothes for his people left in the Streights, and so sailed thitherward. But between Cape S. Augustin and Baya the wind came off the sea with such violence, that it forced the ship to run on shore; where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped: and so this ship was lost with all the prouision in her.

From thence hee passed by land to Baya where the gouernour of Brasil bought him a barke that lay in the harbour, lading the same with victuals and clothes for Sarmientos colonie. With this prouision and diuers other necessaries for his people hee tooke his voyage for the Streights, and comming to the height of foure and forty degrees, hee met on the sudden with such a furious storme, that he was forced to throw his fraight ouerboord, and also to returne to the riuer of Ienero. Where staying a whole yeere for succour from the king, there came not so much as a letter from him. For the king was sore displeased at Pedro Sarmiento, because hee made him beleeue that the narrowest place of the Streights was but a mile ouer: and that it might bee fortified so that a boate could not passe: whereas Diego de Ribera, and others certified the king, that it was aboue a league broade, and that if a ship came with winde and current, all the Ordinance in the world could not hurte it. Wherefore the king thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceiued him, in making him to lose so many men, and so much charges to no effect. And the gouernour of Baya seeing that the king wrote not vnto him, would giue him no more succour: so that Sarmiento was constrained to make a voyage for Spaine in the same shippe, wherein hee last sayled toward the Streights: and it is sayd that hee was taken in the way by Englishmen, and caried into England. This Sarmiento hath caried the name to be the best Nauigator in all Spaine, and that hee hath sayled the furthest of all others. After all this the captaine of the riuer of Ienero sent a smal ship with victuals for the Streightes, which was put backe also in fortie degrees. And this is all the discouery of the Streights of Magellan, made as well by Spaniards as other nations vnto this present yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spaniards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no succour gone vnto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or aliue.

Pedro Sarmiento was taken by sir Walter Raleghs barkes 1586.

Master Candish found but 22 men liuing of them.

Thus according to my promise I haue declared vnto you to the vttermost of my knowledge, all things concerning the Indias, as farre as the very Streights of Magellan; thinking to haue proceeded along the coast, as at the first; but that the doings of captaine Drake and other captaines which attempted to passe the sayd Streights haue caused mee to bee the longer in this my pretended worke. Howbeit now let vs proceede on forward from the Streights to the coast of Chili: the distance betweene which two places no man hath trauelled by land, in regard of the huge mountaines couered with snow that lie in the way: yea I may well say, that it hath not often bene trauelled by sea; for that all the ships which haue passed that way haue at the least gone thirty leagues off the shore, to auoide the sholds and many little Islands that lie neere the maine land; and therefore the inland of that coast remaineth as yet vnknowen.

The first towne after you haue passed the Streights standeth on the coast of Chili, and is called Castro, being situate vpon the worst place of all the coast, for there is but small store of golde with scarcitie of victuals, and a sharpe colde ayre. The harbour belonging to this towne is compassed about with so many sholdes, that it will serue but to receiue small barkes onely. The next towne to this is Baldiuia.

Castro vpon the coast of Chili.

Baldiuia.

A description of the prouince Chili.

But before I passe any farther I will heere describe vnto you the situation and quality of Chili. This countrey stretcheth in length from North to South aboue two hundreth leagues, conteining in breadth but fiue and twenty leagues at the most.

Riuers rich of golde.

From the great ridge of mountaines lying to the East of Chili runne very many riuers into the sea, which riuers are the cause of diuers valleys the fruitfullest in all the worlde, where bread, wine, and other victuals mightily abound: and the sayd riuers also are very rich of gold. But to declare in fewe wordes the excellencie of this prouince, I say that it might well bee called an earthly paradise, saue that it lacketh one onely commodity, and

that

that is peace. It was first discouered on this maner: the Spaniards hauing conquered the kingdome of Peru, (as I will hereafter shewe vnto you) found in the sayd kingdome great store of golde; and asking the Indians from whence it came, they answered, from Chili. Vpon which newes Don Diego de Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three hundreth horsemen toward Chili, being constrained in his way to goe ouer part of the snowy mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himselfe and all his companie might die for colde. Howbeit the Spaniards, though they lost some of their horses, came to the first towne of Chili called Copiapo being situate vpon the first plaine at the entrance of the sayd prouince. But hauing newes that the Indians were risen against the Spaniards of Peru and had inclosed them, hee returned backe without going any farther. Copiapo the first towne of Chili vnto Peru.

Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being slaine in the warres of Peru, another called Don Pedro de Baldiuia marching into Chili with foure hundreth horses, easily conquered that halfe of the countrey which was subiect to the kings of Peru. For knowing that Peru, being the chiefe countrey of their Emperour, was ouercome by the Spaniards, they also immediately yeelded their lande vnto them. But the other halfe as it was the richest and the fruitfullest part, so God had peopled it with the most valiant and furious people in all America. El estado de Arauco.

The prouince which they inhabite called El Estado de Arauco is but a small prouince about 20 leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the countrey, out of which tenne they chuse the valiantest man for their generall in the warres. The kings of Peru in times past could neuer conquere this part of Chili, nor yet any other kings of the Indians. The weapons vsed by these people of Arauco are long pikes, halbards, bowes and arrowes: they also make them iacks of seale-skinnes, and head-pieces: in times past the heads of their halbards and pikes were of brasse, but now they haue gotten store of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Christians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming vnto this prouince sent word vnto them by other Indians, saying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeelde themselues vnto them; if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the Spaniards great ordinance and caliuers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, because of their great ordinance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yeelded themselues vnto them. So the Spaniards hauing diuided this prouince made the Indians to serue their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enioyed in such abundance, that hee which had least had 20000 pezos, but Captaine Baldiuia himselfe had 300000 pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spred as farre as Spaine; from whence soone after resorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldiuia caused to inhabite sixe townes: to wit, Villa nueua de la Serena called in the Indian tongue Coquimbo; the second Sant Iago which the Indians call Mapocha; the third La Concepcion called by the Indians Penco; the fourth La Imperial; the fift Baldiuia; and the sixt La Villa Rica. Also he built a fort in the middle of all the land, wherein hee put ordinance and souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiuing that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said fort for the Spaniards horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conueyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the fort, betooke themselues to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and stood in the gate of the sayd fort: from whence making a signe vnto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and slewe all the Spaniards. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to the towne of Concepcion where Captaine Baldiuia was, hee presently set foorth with two hundred horsemen

Villa nueua de la Serena, La Concepcion, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldiuia, La Villa rica, the first sixe townes that were inhabited in Chili.

A stratageme of the Indians of Chili against the Spaniards.

horsemen to seeke the Indians, taking no more men with him, because he was in haste. And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slew most part of his company, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their horses: but Baldiuia hauing his horse slaine vnder him was taken aliue. Whom the Indians wished to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why we haue taken you, is to giue you gold ynough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the last seruice of all was a cuppe full of melted gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying, Now glut thy selfe with gold, and so they killed him. This Baldiuia was a most valiant man, who had beene an olde souldier in the warres of Italy, and at the sacking of Rome.

The death of Baldiuia.

Pedro de villa grande.

Vpon this discomfiture the Spaniards choose for their Captaine one Pedro de Villa grande; who assembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him tenne peeces of ordinance, marched against those Indians; but with so badde successe, that he lost not onely the field and many of his men, but also those ten peeces of ordinance which hee brought. The Indians hauing thus gotten the victorie, went streightway against the towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the towne desolate. And in this maner were the Spaniards chased by the Indians out of the countrey of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marques of Cannete viceroy of Peru, hee sent his sonne Don Garcia de Mendoça against those Indians, with a great power of horsemen, and footmen, and store of Artillerie. This nobleman hauing subdued Chili againe, & slaine in diuers battels aboue 40000 Indians, and brought them the second time vnder the Spaniards subiection, newly erected the said fort that stoode in the midst of the land, inhabited the towne of Concepcion againe, and built other townes for the Spaniards: and so leauing the land in peace, hee returned for Peru. But yer hee was cleane departed out of the land the Indians rebelled againe, but could not doe so much mischiefe as they did before, because the Spaniards tooke better heede vnto them. From that time vntill this present there hath bene no peace at all: for notwithstanding many Captaines and souldiers haue done their vttermost, yet can they not bring that people wholly in subiection. And although the Spaniards haue in this prouince eleuen townes and two bishoprickes, yet haue they little ynough to maintaine themselues, by reason of the warres; for they spend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines.

Don Garcia de Mendoça.

Eleuē townes, and two bishoprickes in Chili.

A description of the townes of Chili. Baldiuia.

Thus hauing spoken somewhat of the situation of Chili, and of the troublesome conquest therof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left. Baldiuia therefore being of 150 houses hath twise bene burnt and spoyled by the Indians; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth vp a riuer foure leagues from the sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine countrey of Arauco being situate ouer against the Island La Mocha, on which Island the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine land.

The prouince of Arauco ouer against the Island La Mocha situate in 38 deg. and a halfe.

Hauing passed this plaine of Arauco, the next towne of the Spaniards that you come vnto is La Concepcion which hath beene the greatest and the richest towne in all Chili; but by reason that the Indians haue burned the same foure times, it is now growen very poore, and hath small store of people: it contayneth about some two hundred houses. And because it adioyneth vpon the plaine of Arauco, where these valiant Indians bee, therefore this towne is enuironed about with a strong wall, and hath a fort built hard by it: and here are 500 souldiers continually in garrison. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the coast by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it selfe standing 25 leagues vp into the countrey, is the principall towne of all Chili, and the seate of the gouernour; it consisteth of about 800 houses. The port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The next towne neere the sea side beyond this is Coquimbo, which standeth two leagues vp into the land, and containeth about 200 houses. Next vnto Coquimbo standeth a port-towne called Copiapo inhabited altogether by Indians which serue the Spaniards: and here a gentleman which is gouernour of the towne hath an Ingenio for sugar: at this place endeth the whole prouince of Chili.

La Concepcion.

Valparizo which is the port of S. Iago standeth in 33 deg. 40 min.

Coquimbo standeth in 29. deg. 30. min. Copiapo.

Chili. Here also the mountaines ioyning hard vpon the sea are the cause why all the land betweene Copiapo and Peru, containing 160 leagues, lyeth desolate.

The first towne on the coast of Peru called Atacama is inhabited by Indians which are slaues vnto the Spaniards. But before I passe any farther I will here also declare vnto you the first discouerie of Peru with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the sea-coast againe: and to the ende you may vnderstand mee the better, I will begin with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North side of this maine land, passing ouer the mountaines they discouered the South sea: where because they found Indian people with gold and pearles, they built a towne eighteene leagues to the West of Nombre de Dios hard vpon the sea-side, and called it Panama. From hence they discouered along the coast of Nueua Espanna: and for that Nueua Espanna was at the same time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by sea to the coast of Peru they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly winds blowing on this coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to shippes sayling that way: and by land the passage was impossible, in regard of mountaines and riuers: yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Island of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Piçarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. These men got a company vnto them, and prouided two Carauels to discouer the coast of Peru: and hauing obtained licence of the gouernour of that place, Francisco Piçarro set foorth with the two foresayd carauels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama to send him victuals and other necessaries. Now Francisco Piçarro sayling along the coast met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble; and he began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sailing of that in eight moneths which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course hee ranne into euery riuer and bay that hee saw along the coast; which was the chiefe cause that hee stayed so long on his voyage: also thirtie of his company dyed by reason of the vnhealthfulnesse of the coast. At last hee came to an Island called by him Isla del Gallo, being situate from the maine land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to Panama for a new supply of victuals & of men: which ship being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and passed vp into the countrey, meaning to returne by land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that Francisco Piçarro was left vpon the said Island onely with thirteene men: who although he had his ship there in which he might haue returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine land in the night season. Thus he continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ship returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his voyage till he came to the first plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbez, where he found a fort made by the king of Peru against the Indians of the mountaines. Wherefore Piçarro and his men were very glad in that they had found a people of so good vnderstanding and discretion, being rich also in gold and siluer and well apparelled. At this port of Tumbez hee tooke 30000 pezos of gold in trucke of marchandize: and hauing too few men to proceede any further hee carried two Indians with him to learne the language and returned backe for Panama. Vpon this discouery Francisco Piçarro thought it expedient to trauell into Spaine to craue of the king the conquest of this land. Whither being come, the king granted his request. And with the money which he carried ouer with him he hired a great number of men with a fleete of ships, and brought also along with him foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama he straightway went on his voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his partner Diego de Almagro. They sailed first to the Island called Isla del Gallo; where Francisco Piçarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horsemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeces.

A description of Peru.

Isla del Gallo.

But

The riuer of Peru.

But before we proceede any farther, we thinke it not amisse to describe vnto you the situation of Peru, and the naturall disposition of the inhabitants: This countrey was called Peru by the Spaniards, of a riuer so named by the Indians, where they first came to the sight of gold. From which riuer standing vnder the line, till you come to Copiapo the first towne on the coast of Chili, stretcheth the land of Peru, for the space of eight hundred leagues: vpon sixe hundred whereof from Atacama to Tumbez did neuer drop of raine fall, since the flood of Noah: and yet is it the fruitfullest land for all kind of victuals and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life that is to be found in all the world besides.

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

The reason why it raineth not in this land is because it beeing a plaine countrey and very narrow and low, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the tropique of Capricorne, there runneth on the West frontier not aboue twentie leagues from the sea called Mar del Sur Eastward thereof, a mighty ridge of high mountaines couered with snow, the height of which mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes vnto it selfe, that no raine falleth vpon the vallies of Peru. From these mountaines issue great store of riuers into the South sea, with the waters whereof drawen by certaine sluces and chanels they moisten their vineyardes and corne-fields, and by this meanes the land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these mountaines and the mountaines of Chili that stretch vnto the Streits of Magellan, lyeth a plaine of 60 leagues ouer, being so cold that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This countrey of Peru is full of people well apparelled and of ciuill behauiour.

Gold, siluer, copper, tinne, salt-peter and brimstone. The sheepe of Peru called Llamas.

It hath many mines of gold and more of siluer, as also great store of copper, and tinne-mines, with abundance of salt peter, and of brimstone to make gun-pouder. There are likewise cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast in shape somewhat resembling a camel, but no bigger then a steere of a yeere olde; they serue to carry burthens, their flesh being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of al others for the vse of man: howbeit the Spaniards since their first comming haue replenished this countrey with horses, kine, sheepe, and goates, and likewise with plentie of wheat. So that in fewe words this land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past kings of this land which were mightie Monarchs, whose dominions stretched 1200. leagues, and their lawes were very ciuill, saue that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards first entred this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which stroue who should haue the kingdome, the one called Guascar, and the other Atabalipa. Nowe Guascar had possession of all the mountaines and the lands within them: and Atabalipa was lord of all the sea coast, and of the valleys situate betweene the said mountaines and the sea. The Indians seeing the Spaniards at the first arriue vpon their shore called them Vera coche, which in their language signifieth, The fome of the sea. Also Atabalipa the Indian prince sent vnto them to know what they did in his land, and what they sought for: the Spaniards made answere that they were the messengers of a great lord, and that they came to speake with the prince himselfe: who sent them word that they should come with a very good will; and so Atabalipa stayed for them at a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues distant from the sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian prince sitting in a chariot of gold, carried vpon mens shoulders, and accompanied with aboue 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were sent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that land) to conuert them vnto the Christian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because he gaue to another that which was none of his owne.

Atabalipa and Guascar two brethren competitours for the empire of Peru.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two field-peeces, and their caliuers, set vpon the Indians, crying Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noise of the ordinance and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had bene come downe from heauen vpon them; whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a booty for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for golde and siluer. During the time of Atabalipas

balipas imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his brother Guascar, and had subdued all the mountaines and plaine countreys. Vpon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would release him, hee would giue them all that they should demaund. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a souldier named Soto sayd vnto Atabalipa: what wilt thou giue vs to set thee free? The prince answered, I will giue whatsoeuer you will demand. Whereunto the souldier replied, thou shalt giue vs this house full of gold and siluer thus high, lifting vp his sword, and making a stroke vpon the wall. And Atabalipa sayde, that if they would grant him respite to send into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marueiling, gaue him three moneths time, but he had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe, a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I know aboue twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was aboue tenne millions of gold and siluer. Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become lords of the whole land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But God the righteous iudge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to dye by the course of nature, but brought them to euill and shamefull ends.

Vpon the newes of these great riches there came store of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this countrey. The king in recompence of the good seruices of the two foresayd partners, appoynted Diego de Almagro gouernour of halfe the land, and Francisco Piçarro of the other halfe, whom also hee made a Marques. But these two consorts in parting of a land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselues: and at length Piçarro hauing slaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this prosperitie of Piçarro continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, slew Piçarro, for which acte he lost his head. In this controuersie betweene these two partners were slaine also two brothers of Piçarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine and there dyed in prison: but the fourth called Gonsaluo Piçarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit being in the ende ouercome hee lost his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an euill death that were causes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The Indian people of this land are parted among the Spaniards, some being slaues vnto the gentlemen that conquered their land, other some to others, and the residue to the king: and these Indians pay eche man for his tribute seuen pezos of fine golde, which is about tenne ducats and a halfe. There are in this countrey aboue fortie cities and townes inhabited by the Spaniards: also they haue here erected nine bishopricks and one archbishopricke.

Nine bishopricks, and one archbishoprick in Peru.

Now after this countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being desirous to discouer the land on the other side of the snowy mountaines, found a very wholesome countrey and there inhabited. The sayd prouince situate behinde the mountaines is called The prouince of Tucuman, wherein are fiue townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the last of them called Cordoua, from which towne vnto Santa Fee situate vpon the riuer of Plate it is seuentie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to seeke a way to Peru by the riuer of Plate. And from hence downe the sayde riuer to Buenos Ayres are 120 leagues, and from Buenos Ayres vnto Seal-island you haue 40 leagues.

The prouince of Tucuman. Cordoua.

Now hauing put downe all that I know concerning the countrey of Peru, and of the way from the riuer of Plate vnto Tucuman, I will returne vnto Atacama the Southermost towne vpon the coast of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coast is inhabited by Indians subiect vnto the Spaniards. But since Captaine Drake was here they haue built towers by the sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smokes, and so from tower to tower they warne all the countrey. Hauing before spoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceed to the next port called Camana being a towne of Spaniards and containing about two hundred houses. Here they

Atacama.

Camana.

they make store of wine, and haue abundance of figges and reisins. The next towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of wine in all Peru. From hence passing along the coast you come to El Calao the port of Lima consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong fort built since Captaine Drake was vpon the coast. The citie of Lima standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the cities of Peru besides: and this citie is the seat of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the inquisition.

Acari.
El Calao.
Lima.

Next vnto this standeth a small towne of the Spaniards by the sea side called Santa: and next vnto Santa is another small towne of Christians called Cannete. From hence they saile vnto a rich citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about fiue hundred houses. Then followeth Paita which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leauing this towne they passe to Guaiaquil which standeth fortie leagues vp into a great bay or riuer, at the entrance of which riuer standeth Tumbez a towne of the Indians. All this coast along from Atacama to Tumbez it neuer raineth, as I haue before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but couered with bourdes to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the first place where it raineth, and here they gather Salsaperilla. Here is also great store of timber, and at this place they build many shippes. Hence they sayle along the coast to a small and poore towne called Puerto Viejo, which in times past hath bene rich with emralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growen nothing worth, this towne likewise is waxen very poore. Below this village standeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whosoeuer go thither must needs meet with euill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and vnholsome. Here abide not aboue 20 men, who serue onely to transport goods vnto a citie standing fiftie leagues within the maine, in a prouince called La gouernacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reason of the high mountaines, the manifold riuers, and the vnholesomenesse of the countrey. In this place doe inhabite the Negros that runne from their masters, and vpon these mountaines was Oxnam the English Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these mountaines standeth the citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which commeth from Peru is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene this city and Nueua Espanna is called Costa rica.

Santa.
Cannete.
Truxillo.
Paita.
Guaiaquil.
Tumbez.
Salsaperilla.
Ships built at Guaiaquil.
Puerto Viejo a place where Emralds abound.
La Buena ventura.
La gouernacion de Popaian.
Negros fled from their masters.
Panama.
Costa rica.

Next vnto Costa rica, which is a mountainous and desolate place, lieth the coast of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and hauing many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of marchandize; but hauing no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it.

The prouince of Nicaragua.

A certaine viceroy of Nueua Espanna called Don Luis de Velasco caused certaine ships to be built for the discouery of the Malucos and of the coast of China: which shippes in sayling thitherward found certaine Islands 80 leagues distant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and hauing conquered one of these Islands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they haue trade with the people of China. Vnto these Islands they haue foure great ships that vsually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such spices and silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe citie of Nueua Espanna. The principall port-townes of the coast of Nueua Espanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco.

The discouery of the Philippinas.
The Isle of Manilla.

All the viceroyes and gouernours that the king of Spaine sendeth for Peru and Nueua Espanna haue a custome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to seeke and discouer new countreys. But the greatest and most notable discouerie that hath bene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of Salomon, which were found in maner following. The Licenciate Castro being gouernour of Peru sent foorth a fleete of shippes to discouer certaine Islands in the South sea vpon the coast of Peru, appointing as Generall of the same fleete a kinsman of his called Aluares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went

The discouery of the Isles of Salomon.

went Pedro de Ortega. This fleete departing forth of the hauen of Lima, and sayling 800 leagues Westward off the coast of Peru, found certaine Islands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinoctial inhabited with a kind of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are bowes and arrowes, and darts. The beasts that they saw here were hogges and little dogges, and they found some hennes. Here also they found a muster of cloues, ginger, and sinamon, although the sinamon were not of the best; and heere appeared vnto them likewise some shewe of golde. The first Island that the Spaniards discouered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a small pinnesse, with the which and with their ships boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude eleuen great Islands being one with another of 80 leagues in compasse. The greatest Island that they discouered was according vnto the first finder called Guadalcanal, on the coast whereof they sayled 150 leagues, before they could knowe whither it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coasted it to eighteene degrees and could not find the ende thereof. The gold that they found was vpon this Island or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of golde hanged vp in the houses thereof. But because the Spaniards vnderstood not the language of the countrey, and also for that the Indians were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could neuer learne from whence that gold came, nor yet what store was in the land.

Cloues, ginger, and sinamon.

The Ile of Guadalcanal.

These Indians vse to goe to sea in great Canoas that will carrie 100 men a piece, wherein they haue many conflicts one against another: howbeit vnto the Christians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small pinnesse and two falcons a fewe may ouercome 100 of them. At this place foureteene men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whome on the sudden certaine Indians in foure Canoas set vpon, tooke the ships boat, and slewe all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too wary in a strange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on shore in their pinnesse, and burnt the towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of gold before mentioned. They were discouering of these Islands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the ende of which time (because that vpon the coast where they were, the wind continuing still in one place, might bee an occasion of longer tarying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way vsuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of Nueua Espanna; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts ouer-bourd, and to lye nine moneths beating it vp and downe in the sea, before they could get into any harborow of the Christians. In which time by reason of euill gouernement, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for fiue whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other ships they behaued themselues so well, that the greater part of them came safe vnto the land. He that passeth the Streights of Magellan, or saileth from the coast of Chili directly for the Malucos must needs runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conueniently in the way to the Malucos you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as hogges, hennes, excellent almonds, potatos, sugar-canes, with diuers other sortes fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall haue some quantity of gold, which the Indians will giue you in truck for other commodities. For the Spaniards in their discouery of these Islands not seeking nor being desirous of gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000 pezos with them, besides great store of cloues and ginger, and some sinamon also which is not so good as in other places. The discouerer of these Islands named them the Isles of Salomon, to the ende that the Spaniards supposing them to bee those Isles from whence Salomon fetched gold to adorne the temple at Ierusalem, might bee the more desirous to goe and inhabite the same. Now the same time when they thought to haue sent colonies vnto these Islands, Captaine Drake entered the South sea; whereupon commandement was giuen, that they should not be inhabited, to the ende that such English-

A towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals vpon the Iles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for gold, cloues, ginger, and sinamon.

Why these Iles were called The Iles of Salomon.

men, and of other nations as passed the Streights of Magellan to goe to the Malucos might haue no succour there, but such as they got of the Indian people.

The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action.

WEe departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21 of Iuly 1586. with 3. sayles, to wit, The Desire a ship of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tuns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which small Fleete were 123. persons of all sortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, beeing our Generall.

5. Great Biskaine ships fought withal.

On Tuesday the 26. of the same moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terræ where wee mette with 5. sayles of Biskaynes comming from the Grande Bay in Newfound-land, as we supposed, which our Admirall shot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reason the night grew on.

August.

The first of August wee came in sight of Forteuentura, one of the Isles of the Canaries, about ten of the clocke in the morning.

Rio del oro.

On Sunday being the 7. of August, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coast of Barbarie.

Cape Blanco.

On Munday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco: but the winde blew so much at the North, that we could not get vp where the Canters doe vse to ride and fish: therefore wee lay off 6.

A dangerous sand.

houres West Southwest, because of the sand which lieth off the cape Southwest and by South.

The 15. day of the same moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by estimation 50. leagues off the same.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare East off vs, beeing 45. leagues from vs: and the same day the winde shifted to the Northwest, so that by the 20. day of the sayd moneth we were in 6. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line.

Sierra leona.

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the poynt on the South side of Sierra leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then 5. fathoms water when we had least, and had for 14. leagues in Southwest all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16. 14. 12. 10 and 8. fathoms of water.

The 26. of the said moneth we put into the harborough, and in going in we had by the Southermost point when we had least 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the said point, and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the said rocke, we neuer had lesse then 10. fathoms, vntill wee came vp to the roade, which is about a league from the poynt, borrowing alwayes on the South side vntill you come vp to the watering place, in which Baye is the best roade: but you must ride farre into the Baye, because there run marueilous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeast and by East moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues: which wee ranne from the 21. of Iuly to the 26. of this moneth of August.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboord our Admiral from the shore, and made signes vnto our Generall that there was a Portugal ship vp within the harborough: so the Hugh Gallant beeing the Rere-admirall went vp 3. or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they sought no farther: for the harborough runneth 3. or 4. leagues vp more, and is of a marueilous bredth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday the 28. the Generall sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to haue heard some good newes of the Portugal ship, toward their comming aboord they espied a Portugal which

which lay hid among the bushes, whom we tooke and brought away with vs the same night: and he tolde vs it was very dangerous going vp with our boates for to seeke the ship that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to seeke her, because we knew he told vs the trueth: for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he told vs that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros: the Portugals name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calker, belonging to the Port of Portugal. A Portugal taken.

On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and went vp to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houses, and tooke what spoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled: and in our retiring aboord in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they shot their arrowes at vs out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poysoned, but yet none of our men miscaryed at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is marueilous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane as well in their streetes as in their houses. These Negros vse good obedience to their king, as one of our men sayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came first. There were in their towne by estimation about one hundred houses. Poysoned arrowes. The description of their towne.

The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day: and the second day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambush round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe some speciall businesse, espied them by good fortune. But the Negros rushed out vpon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a souldier was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not haue them lance his thigh: whereupon the poyson wrought so that night, that hee was marueilously swollen, and all his belly and priuie parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyson being plucked out of his thigh. September. Many of our men hurt by Negros. William Pickmans death of a poysoned arrow. This poyson is the iuyce of an hearbe.

The third day of the sayd moneth, diuers of our fleete went vp 4. myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboord againe, saw two Buffes. a Buffes.

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harborough, and stayed one tide 3. leagues from the point of the mouth of the Harborough in 6. fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest. Their departure from Sierra leona.

On Wednesday being the 7. of the same moneth wee departed from one of the Isles of Cape Verde, alias the Isles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues distant from the poynt of Sierra leona: and about fiue of the clocke the same night we anchored 2. miles off the Iland in 6. fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans only vpon the Ilande. The Isles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

The 8. day one of our boats went out & sounded round about the Iland, & they passed through a sound at the west end of the Iland, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Iland, vntil they came vnto the very gutte of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after, 6. fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East ende of the Iland there was a towne, where Negros doe vse at sometimes, as we perceiued by their prouision. A towne.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceiue, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Iland is a wood, saue certaine litle places where their houses stand, which are inuironed round about with Plantantrees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subiect marueilous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall. Fresh water.

On Saturday the tenth wee departed from the sayde Iland about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest.

The last of October running West Southwest about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, we October. Cape Frio in Brasil.

we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it standing from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it.

Nouember. S. Sebastians Iland.

The first of Nouember wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne land, and had our things on shore, and set vp a Forge, and had our caske on shore: our coopers made hoopes, and so we remayned there vntill the 23. day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnesse, and filled our fresh water. And while our Pinnesse was in building, there came a Canoa from the riuer of Ienero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were sixe naked slaues of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Christopher Hare Master of the Admirall, for that Master Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the yeere 1581. And thinking to haue Iohn Whithal the Englishman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come vnto vs, which is twentie leagues from this Harborough with some other, thereby to haue had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to goe with a letter vnto him, who promised to returne or send some answere within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Marchants, and would traffique with them: but we neuer receiued answere from him any more; and seeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our businesse being dispatched wee weyed anchor, and set sayle from S. Sebastian on the 23. of Nouember.

The riuer of Ienero.

Decembers.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of America in 47. degrees ½. the land bearing West from vs about 6. leagues off: from which place we ran along the shore, vntill we came into 48. degrees. It is a steepe beach all along.

48. Degrees.

Port Desire.

The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an harborough, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said harborough Port Desire: in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great store of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bignesse, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion: their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire: their feete are in maner of a finne, and in forme like vnto a mans hand: they breed and cast euery moneth, giuing their yong milke, yet continually get they their liuing in the sea, and liue altogether vpon fish: their yong are marueilous good meate, and being boyled or rosted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of such bignesse and force, that it is as much as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowle-staues: and hee must be beaten downe with striking on the head of him: for his body is of that bignesse that foure men could neuer kill him, but only on the head. For being shotte through the body with an Harquebuze or a Musket, yet he will goe his way into the sea, and neuer care for it at the present. Also the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great store of them: they haue burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They haue nothing but downe vpon their pinions: they also fish and feede in the sea for their liuing, and breede on shore.

Seales strange in shape and huge-nesse.

Yong Seales are very good meate.

Fowles breeding in burrowes like conies. We call these fowles Pengwins.

This harborough is a very good place to trimme ships in, and to bring them on ground, and graue them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graued and trimmed all our ships there.

They graue and trimme their ships.

The 24. of December being Christmas Euen, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went some fortie score from our ships vnto a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made some 2. or 3. dayes before to get fresh water: for there was none in all the Harborough; and this was but brackish: therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linnen: and beeing in washing at the sayde Well, there were great store of Indians which were come downe, and found the sayd man and boy in washing. These Indians being diuided on eche side of the rockes, shotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde presently, beeing about fiftie or threescore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was hurt was Iohn Garge, the boyes name was Lutch: the man was shot cleane through the knee, the boy into the shoulder: either of them hauing very sore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially:

A man and a boy hurt by negligence.

tificially: they seldome or neuer see any Christians: they are as wilde as euer was a bucke or any other wilde beast: for wee followed them, and they ranne from vs as it had bene the wildest thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long. Their vse is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the cliffes by the sea-side, and vpon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graues are buryed with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their iewels which they haue in their life time, which are fine shelles which they finde by the sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall maner; and all is layd vnder their heads. The graue is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans dartes which he vsed when he was liuing. And they colour both their darts and their graues with a red colour which they vse in colouring of themselues. A kinde of giants.

The 28 of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Iland which lieth 3. leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our saued pengwins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast Southwest and by South. Their departure from port Desire.

The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like vnto Ediestone, which lieth off the sound of Plimouth, and we sounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the coast. This rocke standeth in 48. degrees ½. to the Southward of the line.

The 2. day of Ianuarie wee fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 51. degrees, and had 7. fathoms water a league off the land. Ianuary 1587.

The third day of the foresayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in diuers places 5. or 6. leagues wide, and in two seuerall places more narrow. Vnder this Cape wee anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights. They enter the Streights the 6. of Ianuarie.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with 23. Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these streights of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Streights, where the aforesayd Spanyard shewed vs the hull of a small Barke, which we iudged to be a Barke called The Iohn Thomas. It is from the mouth of the streights vnto the narrowest of the Streights 14. leagues, and the course lieth West and by North. The mouth of the streights standeth in 52. degrees. A Spaniard taken in the Streights of Magellan. The Barke Iohn Thomas one of sir Francis Drakes companies.

From the narrowest of the Streights vnto Pengwin Iland is 10. leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for victuals.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Ilande, and ranne South Southwest to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and euery Fort had in it one cast peece, which peeces were buryed in the ground, the cariages were standing in their places vnburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contriued their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded vp their Churches by themselues: they had Lawes very seuere among themselues, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution vpon some of their company. It seemed vnto vs that their whole liuing for a great space was altogether vpon muskles and lympits: for there was not any thing else to bee had, except some Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the fresh riuers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation should haue passage through into the South sea sauing onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to haue it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could neuer haue any thing to growe or in any wise prosper. And King Philips citie left desolate in the Streights of Magella, which our Generall called Port famine. God enemie to the Spaniards.

on

on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed vpon them, vntill their victuals grewe so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and hauing no meanes to renew the same) that they dyed like dogges in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, vntill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the sauour of the dead people, the rest which remayned aliue were driuen to burie such things as they had there in their towne either for prouision or for furniture, and so to forsake the towne, and to goe along the sea-side, and seeke their victuals to preserue them from steruing, taking nothing with them, but euery man his harquebuze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for some were not able to cary them for weakenesse) and so liued for the space of a yeere and more with rootes, leaues, and sometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to haue trauailed towards the riuer of Plate, only being left aliue 23. persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and woodded
Port famine in 53 degrees. well and quietly. Our Generall named this towne Port famine: it standeth in 53. degrees by obseruation to the Southward.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South southwest, and from thence south-
Cape Froward in 54 degrees. west vnto cape Froward 5. leagues West Southwest, which Cape is the Southermost part of all the streights, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which cape we ran West and by north 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Coue on the south side, which we called
Muskle Coue. Muskle-Coue, because there were great store of them: we ridde therein 6. dayes, the wind being still Westerly.

The 21. day of Ianuarie we departed from Muskle-coue, and went Northwest and by West
Elizabeth Bay. 10. leagues to a very faire sandie Baye on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee ridde there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whose name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was buryed there in that Baye.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place, where there was a fresh water riuer, where our Generall went vp with the ship-boate about three myles, which riuer hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion soyle, and so we saw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monstrous high hilles and mountaines. In this riuer are great store
The most brutish Sauages that euer were seene. of Sauages which wee sawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether vpon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed vpon some of the Spaniardes before spoken of. For they had gotten kniues and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They vsed all the meanes they could possibly to haue allured vs vp farther into the riuer, of purpose to haue betrayed vs, which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused vs to shoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So
The Chanell of Saint Ierome. wee sayled from this riuer to the Chanell of Saint Ierome, which is 2. leagues off.

From the riuer of Saint Ierome about three or foure leagues, wee ranne West vnto a Cape which is on the North side: and from that Cape vnto the mouth of the Streights the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the
Februarie 1587. Streights to the Southward we lay in Harborough vntill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reason of contrary windes and most vile and filthie fowle weather, with such rayne and vehement stormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to haue bene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almost altogether vpon muskles, and limpits, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking euery day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

There is at euery myle or two myles ende an Harborough on both sides of the land. And there are betweene the riuer of Saint Ierome and the mouth of the Streights going into the
The streights of Magellan are about 90 leagues long. South sea about 34. leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the said mouth of the Streights standeth in the same height that the entrance

trance standeth in when we passe out of the North sea, which is about 52. degrees and ½ the Southward of the line. The Westerne mouth of the Streights is in 53 degrees and a terce.

The 24. day of February wee entred into the South sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adioyning vnto it: and on the North side are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by noone the same day wee had brought these Ilands East of vs 5. leagues off; the winde being Southerly. Their entrance into the South sea the 24 of Februarie. Ilands in the South sea called Las Anegidas.

The first of March a storme tooke vs at North, which night the ships lost the company of the Hugh Gallant, beeing in 49. ½ and 45. leagues from the land. This storme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other 2. ships, looked euery houre to sinke, our barke was so leake, and ourselues so diluered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three dayes and three nights. March 1. Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant by a great leake.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne, where she met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of 38 degrees: at which place some of our men went on shore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marueilous warie of their Caliuers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke vs for Spaniards, as afterward we learned. The Ile of Mocha in 38 degrees not subiect to the Spaniards.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of golde mynes, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they alwayes returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are marueilous desperate and carelesse of their liues to liue at their owne libertie and freedome. Arauco is the richest place in South sea for golde, and is not subdued by the Spaniards yet.

The 15. day aforesayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne vnder the West side of Saint Marie Iland, where we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night. Saint Marie Iland in 37 degrees and 1. terce, which is subdued to the Spaniards.

The 16. day our General went on shore himselfe with 70. or 80. men euery one with his furniture: there came downe to vs certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome vs on shore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is subdued by them: who brought vs vp to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with crosses & altars in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. store houses, which were full of wheate and barley ready threshed and made vp in cades of strawe to the quantitie of a bushel of corne in euery cade. The wheate and barly was as faire, as cleane, and euery way as good as any we haue in England. There were also the like cades ful of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made vp in the store houses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slauery by them, that they dare not eate a hen or an hogge themselues. But the Spaniards haue made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus we fitted our selues here with corne asmuch as we would haue, and as many hogges as we had salt to powder them withall, and great store of hennes, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 50. dried dogge-fishes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And hauing taken as much as we would haue, yet we left marueilous great store behind vs. Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboord our shippe, and prouided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiuing vs to bee no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceiue, that if wee would goe ouer vnto the mayne land vnto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making vs signes, that we should haue great store of riches. But because we could not vnderstand them, our Generall made some haste, and within 2. or three dayes we furnished ourselues. A Church with corners and altars. The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Christians. Arauco rich in golde.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnorth-east about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast.

The 19. wee ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored vnder an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land. The Conception.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was sandie where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there.

Quintero standeth in 33 degrees 50 minutes.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which standeth in 33. degrees & 50 minutes.

The said day presently after we were come vnto an ancre in the Bay, there was a Neteherd or one that kept cattle which lay vpon the point of the hill asleepe, which when he awaked and had espied three shippes which were come into the Bay, before wee could get on shore, he had caught an horse which was feeding by, and rode his way as fast as euer hee might: and our Generall with 30. shot with him went on shore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horsemen with bright swords towards vs so hard as they might ride, vntil they came within some twentie or thirtie score of vs, and so stayed, and would come no neerer vnto vs: so our Generall sent vnto them a couple of our men with their shotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken vp at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were sterued there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come neere with their shot, but made signes that one of our men should come alone vnto them: so the said Fernando the Spaniard went vnto them, and our two men stood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would haue. Our General sent him backe againe with another message and another shotte with him: and being come neere vnto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approch them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe vnto them alone himselfe: who being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together, but that the said Fernando leaped vp behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which he had made continually to our general and all his company neuer to forsake him, but to die on his side before he would be false. Our Generall seeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboord: and night being come, he determined the next day to send into the countrey to find their towne, and to haue taken the spoyle of it, and to haue fired it if they could haue found it.

The perisitie of a Spaniard.

The last of March Captaine Hauers went vp into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their shot and furniture with them, and we trauailed 7. or 8. miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde: we saw also great store of horses, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and vnhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wild foules. The countrey is very fruitful with faire fresh riuers all along full of wilde foule of all sorts. Hauing trauailed so farre that we could goe no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selues at a very fayre fresh Riuer running in and alongst faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where euery man drunke of the Riuer, and refreshed themselues. Hauing so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should bee: so wee trauailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from vs, who had tolde them that our force was but small, and that wee were wonderfully weake; who though they did espie vs that day, yet durst they not giue the on-sette vpon vs. For wee marched along in array, and obserued good order, whereby wee seemed a great number more then we were, vntill we came vnto our ships that night againe.

Our men march 7 or 8 miles into their enemies land.

The next day being the first of Aprill 1587, our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters side: and being earely hard at their businesse were in no readinesse. In which meane while there came powring downe from the hilles almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelue of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fifteene of vs that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre.

24 Spaniards slaine.

The

The names of our men that were slaine were these.

Thomas Lucas of London, souldier.
Richard Wheeler of London.
Robert Pitcher of Norffolke, souldier.
Iohn Langston of Glocestershire.
William Kingman of Dorsetshire, souldier.
William Hilles of Cornewall.
} Out of the Admirall.

1 William Byet of Weymouth.
2 Laurence Gamesby, of Newcastle.
} Killed out of the vice adm.

1 Henry Blackenals of Weymouth.
2 Williams Steuens of Plymmouth, gunner.
3 William Pitte of Shereborne in Dorsetshire.
4 Humphrey Derricke of London.
} Killed out of the Hugh Gallant.

After the losse of these men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in despight of them with good watch and ward, vntill the fift of the sayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lyeth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowles; wherof we tooke to serue our turnes, and sailed away North and North and by West: for so lyeth the coast along in this place. A little Iland full of penguins.

The fifteenth wee came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23 degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may go in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of 30 men: and at our going on shore vpon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with vs, with fresh water and wood on their backes. They are in maruellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and liue maruellous sauagely: For they brought vs to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layd vpon the ground: and ouer them in stead of houses, is nothing but fiue or sixe sticks layd acrosse, which stand vpon two forkes with stickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they haue: for wee opened one of their graues, and saw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are maruellous artificially made of two skinnes like vnto bladders, and are blowen full at one ende with quilles: they haue two of these bladders blowen full, which are sowen together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute vnto the Spaniards: but they vse it maruellous beastly. Morro moreno in 23 degrees and a halfe. Most artificiall boates. Tribute payd in fish.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of Arica road, which wee kept and called The George: the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinnesse followed the boate, & the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinnesse could not recouer the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboord a great shippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ship was left alone. They made three or foure very faire shots at the pinnesse as shee was commiug in, but missed her very narrowly with a Minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the Admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was viceadmirall was behinde out of sight: by meanes whereof, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwise if wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would resolutely haue landed to take the towne, whatsoeuer had come of it. The cause why the Content stayed behind was, that shee had found about 14 leagues to the South- A barke taken, which they called The George. Arica standeth in 18 degrees 31 minutes. A ship taken.

Great store of wine found.

ward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ships lading of botijas of wine of Castillia, whereof the sayd Content tooke into her as many as shee could conueniently carrie, and came after vs into the road of Arica the same day. By this time wee perceiued that the towne had gathered all their power together, and also conueyed all their treasure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of vs. Nowe because it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places vp in the land, our Generall sawe there was no landing without losse of many men: wherefore hee gaue ouer that enterprise. While wee rid in the road they shot at vs, and our ships shot at them againe for euery shot two. Moreouer, our pinnesse went in hard almost to the shoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in despight of all their forts though they shot still at the pinnesse, which they could neuer hit. After these things our Generall sent a boate on shoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great shippe or no; but they would not: for they had receiued speciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any shippe, nor to ransome any man vpon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to haue redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shoare by the horsemen at Quintero, otherwise hee would haue made them no offer of parley.

Another barke taken in the road.

The fourth barke taken.

A watchhouse.

The 25 riding stil in the said road, we spied a saile comming from the Southward, and our Generall sent out his pinnesse to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made such signes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnesse could get to them, they ran the barke on shoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they had small leasure to carrie any thing with them; but all the men skaped, among whom there were certaine friers: for wee sawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on shoare: many horsemen came from the towne to rescue them, and to carrie them away, otherwise wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboord the barke as she lay sunke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboord our shippes againe the same night: and the next morning wee set the great shippe on fire in the road, and sunke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with vs, and so departed from thence, and went away Northwest.

The first barke of aduise taken.

The 27 day wee tooke a small barke, which came from S. Iago neere vnto Quintero, where wee lost our men first. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili. They were sent to the citie of Lima with letters of aduiso of vs, and of the losse of our men. There were also in the sayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards: and they were all sworne and receiued the Sacrament before they came to sea by three or foure friers, that if wee should chance to meete them, they should throw those letters ouer boord: which (as wee were giuing them chase with our pinnesse) before wee could fetch them vp, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought so with them, that they did confesse it: but hee was faine to cause them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at seuerall times with extreme paine. Also hee made the old Flemming beleeue that hee would hang him; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled vp a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confesse, chusing rather to die, then hee would bee periured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with vs.

A good mind if he had bene in a good cause.

The third of May wee came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Pisca, where some of vs landed and tooke certaine houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennes: but the sea went so high, that wee could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of vs all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Southward of the line.

The bay of Pisca in 13. deg. $\frac{1}{3}$.

The fift of May wee departed from this harbour, leauing the Content our viceadmirall within at an Iland of seales, by which meanes at that time wee lost her companie.

An Iland of Seales.

The ninth wee gaue chase to a saile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica; The Content which was our viceadmirall being still lost: but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but lost it that night.

The

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) lost companie of our admirall. The Hugh Gallant lost companie of the fleete,

The eleuenth we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees ½, in which bay wee found a riuer of fresh water about eight of the clocke at night; and though we were but of small force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet wee went on shoare to fill water; where hauing filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboord, two or three of our companie which were on shoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, espied where there were foure or fiue hundred bagges of meale on an heape couered with a fewe reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good: which fell out well for vs that were then lost and stoode in neede of victuals: and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboord, and there stayed and rode vntill the afternoone. In which meane time the towne seeing vs ride there still, brought downe much cattell to the sea side to haue intised vs to come on shoare: but wee sawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelft day. and met not vntill the seuenteenth. 400 bags of meale found.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which standeth in 9 degrees and ½, where wee sawe horsemen: and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my selfe Francis Pretie, Arthur Warford, John Way Preacher, John Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, hauing euery man his harquebuze and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the sea side, where wee found a boate of fiue or sixe tunnes haled vp drie on the shoare about a cables length from the water: and with extreme labour wee lanched the barke; when it was on flote, Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the rest of our companie were fetching their things: but suddenly it was readie to sinke: And the Captaine and I stoode vp to the knees lading out water with our targets; but it sunke downe faster then wee were able to free it, insomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to saue our selues from drowning. When wee were out, wee stood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on shoare was sunke: for wee could no where see it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great surge that went by the shoare. Yet in the end wee spied it, and went aboord by two and two, and were driuen to wade vp to the arme-holes 60 paces into the sea before wee could get into the boate, by reason of the shoaldnesse: and then departed the foureteenth day in the morning. A bay in 9. degrees and ½. John Way a preacher.

The 16 wee tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but sixteene men of vs in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tuns, hauing foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonsaluo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with vs, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals: wherefore wee left her seuen leagues from the land very leake and ready to sinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line: wee sunke her boate and tooke away her foresaile and certaine victuals. A ship of 300 tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight. Seuen degrees of Southerly latitude.

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleete. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, molosses, maiz, Cordouan-skinnes, montego de Porco, many packes of pintados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and 1000 hennes: and the other ship was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chiefe marchandise in it, was worth twentie thousand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Christendome where wee might haue solde it. Wee filled all our ships with as much as wee could bestow of these goods: the rest wee burnt and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare. They met their fleete againe. Two rich ships taken. One shippe worth 20000 pounds.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paita, and being at an anker, our Generall landed with sixtie or seuentie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and draue them all to flight to the top of the hill which is ouer the towne, except a few slaues and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the gouernours to stay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, hauing with them a bloodie ensigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ships The bay of Paita in 5 degrees 4 min. A new fort in building.

and

and the shoare, our gunner shot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the shot fel among them, and draue them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them vp vpon an hill, and from thence shot among vs with their small shot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran vpon them, and chased them so fiercely vp the hilles for the space of an houre that wee draue them in the ende away perforce, and being got vp the hilles, wee found where they had layd all their stuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there vpon the mountaines. We also found the quantitie of 25 pounds weight in siluer in pieces of eight rials, and abundance of houshold stuffe and storehouses full of all kinde of wares: but our Generall would not suffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselues with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were prouided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were fiue men to one of vs: and wee had an English mile and an halfe to our ships. Thus wee came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and maruellous cleane kept in euery streete, with a towne-house or Guild hall in the middest, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. Wee set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of fiue or sixe thousand pounds: there was also a barke riding in the roade which wee set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Iland of Puna.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

25 pounds weight in siluer.

The towne of Paita had 200 houses in it. A barke set on fire.

The 25 day of May wee arriued at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where wee found a great shippe of the burthen of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. Wee sunke it, and went on shoare where the lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house maruellous well contriued with very many singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of euery chamber was framed a gallerie with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Iland on the other side, with a maruellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South sea are made vpon that Iland. This great Casique doth make all the Indians vpon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and hee himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a maruellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

The Iland of Puna within 2 degree the Equinoctial to the South. A great ship burnt.

Great store of cables made in Puna.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Iland, and neuer goeth on the ground vpon her feete: but holdeth it too base a thing for her: But when her pleasure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, shee is alwayes carried in a shadowe like vnto an horselitter vpon foure mens shoulders, with a veile or canopie ouer her for the sunne or the winde, hauing her gentlewomen still attending about her with a great troope of the best men of the Iland with her. But both shee and the lorde of the Iland with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Iland before wee could get to an anker, by reason wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and where gone ouer vnto the maine lande, hauing carried away with them to the summe of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a captaine of the Iland an Indian, which was left there with some other vpon the Iland vnder him, whom wee had taken at sea as wee were comming into the road, being in a balsa or canoa for a spie to see what wee were.

The 27 our General himselfe with certaine shot and some targettiers went ouer into the maine vnto the place where this foresayde Indian captaine which wee had taken had tolde vs that the Casique, which was the lord of all the Iland, was gone vnto, and had caried all his treasure with him: but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arriued there foure or fiue great balsas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall maruelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speake the trueth vpon his life: being then bound fast, hee answered being very much abashed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they should come, nor who they should bee: for there was neuer a man in any one of the balsas: and because hee had told our Generall before,

fore, that it was an easie matter to take the sayd Casique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or foure houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if hee found it not so, hee should hang him. Againe being demaunded to speake vpon his life what hee thought these Balsas should bee, hee answered that hee coulde not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 souldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiaquil, which was about 6 leagues from the saide yland, where two or three of the kings shippes were on the stocks in building, where are continually an hundred souldiers in garisons who had heard of vs, and had sent for sixtie more for feare of burning of the shippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas vnlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore souldiers not vntill then spoken of, with a braue courage animating his companie in the exployte, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods, vntill such time as hee came to the place; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the waters side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, hauing so short warning, that they left the meate both boyling and rosting at the fire and were fledde with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not bee found, being also in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and such things as wee thought good, and came away.

The towne of Guaiaquil.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Iland there by, whereas the sayd Casique which was the lord of Puna, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordouan leather all guilded ouer, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houshold stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conueyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the ships businesse.

A little Iland neere vnto Puna.

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful: but there are no mines of gold nor siluer in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the towne about the Casiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more vpon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Casiques house a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this maner: The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in euery codde there are seuen or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe.

The Ile of Puna is almost as big as the Ile of Wight. Cotton trees.

There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pōpions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow orenges sweete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with diuers other fruits.

An excellent orchard.

There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullockes, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are vsed continually to bee milked. They haue moreouer abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a maruellous bignesse.

There was also a very large and great church hard by the Casiques house, whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was maried to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and vpon his conuersion he caused the rest of his subiects to be Christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and fiue belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second grauing of their ships.

The second day of Iune in the morning, by and by after breake of day, euery one of the watch being gone abroad to seeke to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hennes, some for sheepe, some for goats, vpon the sudden there came down vpon vs an hundred

hundred Spanish souldiers with muskets and an ensigne, which were landed on the other side of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, euery one with weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whose name was Emmanuel, which fled from vs at our first landing there. Thus being taken at aduantage we had the worst: for our companie was not past sixteene or twentie; whereof they had slaine one or two before they were come to the houses: yet we skirmished with them an houre and an halfe: at the last being sore ouercharged with multitudes, we were driuen down from the hill to the waters side, and there kept them play a while, vntil in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himselfe being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short: for a shot strooke him to the heart: who feeling himselfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe presently dead. But soone after the enemie was driuen somewhat to retire from the bankes side to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it: And one of our men whose name was Robert Maddocke was shot through the head with his owne peece, being a snap-hance, as hee was hasting into the boate. But foure of vs were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my selfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steuen Gunner, and Richard Rose: which had our shot readie and retired our selues vnto a cliffe, vntill the boate came againe, which was presently after they had carried the rest abourd. There were sixe and fortie of the enemies slaine by vs, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into olde houses, which wee found afterward. Wee lost twelue men in maner following.

The first skirmish with the Spaniards.

Zacharie Saxie slaine honorably.

Robert Maddock slaine with his owne peece.

46 Spaniards and Indians slaine.

Slaine by the enemie.

1 Zacharie Saxie,
2 Neales Iohnson,
3 William Geirgifield,
4 Nicolas Hendie,
5 Henry Cooper.

1 Robert Maddocke, killed with his peece.

2 Henry Mawdly, burnt.
1 Edward the gunners man, } drowned.
2 Ambrose the musitian, }
1 Walter Tilliard, }
2 Edward Smith, } taken prisoners.
3 Henry Aselye, }

The selfe same day being the second of Iune, we went on shoare againe with seuentie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and draue them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards seruing with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee set fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, hauing in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made hauocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ships more which were in building on the stockes.

The second skirmish with the Spaniards.

The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

The third of Iune the Content which was our viceadmirall was haled on ground, to graue at the same place in despight of the Spaniards: and also our pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was new trimmed.

The fift day of Iune wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleuen dayes, and turned vp for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place also wee sunke our rereadmirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes.

They arriued at Puna the 25 of May.

The Hugh Gallant a barke of 40 tuns sunke.

The tenth day of the same moneth wee set the Indians on shoare, which we had taken before in a balsa as we were comming into the road of Puna.

Rio dolce.

The eleuenth day wee departed from the sayd Rio dolce.

The twelft of Iune wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our course Northwarde all that moneth.

The first of Iulie wee had sight of the coast of Nueua Espanna, being foure leagues distant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

The ninth of Iulie wee tooke a new ship of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serue his turne to water along the coast: for hee was one of the best coasters in the South sea. This Michael Sancius was a Prouensal, borne

Michael Sancius a Marsilian.

borne in Marseils, and was the first man that tolde vs newes of the great ship called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

There were sixe men more in this new shippe: we tooke her sailes, her ropes, and fire-wood, to serue our turnes, set her on fire, and kept the men. A great new ship burnt.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with aduise of vs and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius tolde vs: but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on shoare. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonsonate in the prouince of Guatimala; the new shippe, for feare we should haue taken her in the road, and the barke, to carrie newes of vs along the coast; which barke also wee set on fire. The second barke of aduise taken. Sonsonate in the prouince of Guatimala. A barke burnt.

The 26 day of Iuly wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the riuer of Copalita, where wee made account to water. And the same night wee departed with 30 men in the pinnesse, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesayd riuer; and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line. The riuer of Copalita. Agutulco in 15 degrees and 40 minutes Northward.

The 27 in the morning by the breake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and custome-house which was very faire and large: in which house were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; euery bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos; euery bag whereof is worth ten crownes. These cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like vnto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eate them, and make drinke of them. This the owner of the shippe tolde vs. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balme. After we had spoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the shippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce vnto vs, which before with the rest of all the townesmen was run away at our first comming; and at length came abourd our pinnesse vpon Captaine Hauers worde of safe returne. We carried him to the riuer of Copalita where our shippes rode: and when hee came to our Generall, hee caused him to bee set on shoare in safetie the same night, because hee came vpon the captaines word. A barke burnt. Anile. Cacaos. Aguatulco a towne of 100 houses burnt. Cacaos goe for money in Nueua Espanna.

The 28 day we set saile from Copalita, because the sea was so great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the same night into the roade of Aguatulco.

The 29 our Generall landed and went on shoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe abourd. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be vnderstood that a Mestizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother. Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30 men.

The second day of August, we had watered, and examined the said Mestizo, and set him on shore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the same night, which standeth as I sayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minuts to the Northward of the lyne. Our departure from Aguatulco.

Here wee ouerslipped the hauen of Acapulco, from whence the shippes are set foorth for the Philippinas.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with 30 of vs went with the pinnesse vnto an hauen called Puerto de Natiuidad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there should bee a pinnesse, but before wee could get thither the sayde pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was sent with letters of aduise concerning vs along the coast, of Nueua Galicia, whose horse wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, set fire on the houses, and burnt two newe shippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came abourd of our shippes againe. Puerto de Natiuidad in 19 degrees. The third porte of aduise taken. Puerto de Natiuidad burnt. Two new ships burnt.

The sixe and twentie day of August, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a fresh Riuer, along which riuer many plantans are growing: here is great abund- The riuer of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

ance of fresh fish. Heere also certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught some quantitie.

The second of September wee departed from Sant Iago at foure of the clocke in the euening. This bay of Sant Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eighteene minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

The bay of Malacca.

The 3 of September wee arriued in a litle bay a league to the Westwarde off Port de Nauidad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelue of the clocke our Generall landed with thirtie men or there about, and went vp to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about 20 or 30 houses and a Church, which we defaced and came abourd againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of vs.

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and sayled along the coast.

The road of Chaccalla.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which bay there are two litle houses by the waters side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The 9 in the morning our Generall sent vp Captaine Hauers with fortie men of vs before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went vnto a place about two leagues vp into the countrey in a most villainous desart path through the woods and wildernesse; and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three housholders with their wiues and children and some Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the sea side with vs.

Our Generall made their wiues to fetch vs Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The Isle of Sant Andrew.

The twelfth day wee arriued at a little Island called the Isle of Sant Andrewe, on which there is great store of fowle and wood: where wee dryed and salted as many of the fowles as we thought good: wee also killed there abundance of seales, and Iguanos which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which haue not seene them; but they are very good meate. Wee ridde here vntill the seuenteenth day, at which time wee departed.

Iguanos good meate.

Massatlan in 23 degrees, and an halfe.

The 24 day wee arriued in the roade of Massatlan, which standeth in 23 degrees ½, iust vnder the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great riuer within, but is barred at the mouth: and vpon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very euill filling of it; because at a lowe water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites vp into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

An island a league Northwards of Massatlan.

The seuen and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Massatlan and ran to an island which is a league to the Northward the sayd Massatlan, where wee trimmed our ships and new built our pinnesse: and there is a litle island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seales; where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was Domingo, being sent to wash shirtes with one of our mē to keep him, made a scape, & swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seen 30 or 40 Spaniards & Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there, which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was 11 leagues vp into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told vs. We found vpon the island where we trimmed our pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sande, where no water nor signe of water was before to be perceiued. Otherwise we had gone backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might haue bene occasion that we might haue missed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with vs, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall hauing had experience ones before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might haue filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would.

The escape of one Domingo, a Spaniard.

Chiametla.

Fresh water at 2 or 3 foote deepe in the sand.

We

We stayed in this island vntill the 9 day of October, at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight; and within the said cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire fresh riuer, about which many Indians vse to keepe: wee watered in the riuer and lay off and on from the saide cape of S. Lucar vntill the fourth of Nouember, and had the windes hanging still Westerly. The cape of S. Lucar on the point of California. Aguada Segura.

The 4 of Nouember the Desire and the Content, wherein were the number of Englishmen onely liuing, beating vp and downe vpon the headland of California, which standeth in 23 degrees and ⅓ to the Northward, betwene seuen and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going vp into the top espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape, whereupon hee cryed out with no small ioy to himselfe and the whole company, A sayle, A sayle, with which cheerefull word the master of the ship and diuers others of the company went also vp into the maine top, who perceiuing the speech to be very true gaue information vnto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: whereupon he gaue in charge presently vnto the whole company to put all things in readines, which being performed we gaue the chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best aduantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat vp vnto them, giuing them the broad side with our great ordinance and a volee of small shot, and presently layed the ship aboord, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the S. Anna, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the vttermost in our ship, we perceiued that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and hauing not one man to be seene, stood close vnder their fights, with lances, iauelings, rapiers, & targets, & an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw ouerboord vpon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put vs off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, & with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted euery man his furniture, and gaue them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutely vnto his close fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gaue them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies raking them through in diuers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, wherof some were vnder water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to saue their liues and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyse out their boate and to come aboord: which newes they were ful glad to heare of, and presently strooke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboord vnto our Generall: and falling downe vpon his knees, offered to haue kissed our Generals feete, and craued mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest vpon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe: and sent for the Captaine and their pilote, who at their comming vsed the like duetie and reuerence as the former did. The Generall of his great mercy & humanitie, promised their liues and good vsage. The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske & diuers other marchandize, and great store of al maner of victuals with the choyse of many conserues of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made knowne

California is in 23 degrees and two thirds.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and vs.

The second encounter.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anne yeeldeth.

One hundreth and two and twenty thousand pezos of gold. A pezo is 8s.

The marchandise in the great ship.

knowne to the Generall by the aforesaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to stay aboord the Desire, and on the 6 day of Nouember following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

The Spaniardes set on shore to the nũber of 190.

Here the whole company of the Spaniardes, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre riuer of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies vpon the maine land. Our generall also gaue them great store of victuals, of garuansos, peason, and some wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of plankes as should bee sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to euery man his portion. In deuision whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which neuerthelesse were after a sort pacified for the time.

Mutinie against the Generall.

On the 17 day of Nouember, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Maiestie, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had neuer seene the like before.

This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gaue him a royall reward, with prouision for his defence against the Indians and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Iapon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeers olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Iapon being a countrey most rich in siluer mynes, and hath also bene in the Philippinas.

Two boyes of Iapon.

Three boyes of Manilla.

Nicolas Roderigo, a Portugall.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coast of Nueua Espanna vnto the islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of Nouember aforesaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall caused the kings shippe to be set on fire, which hauing to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we saw burnt vnto the water, and then gaue them a piece of ordinance and set sayle ioyfully homewardes towardes England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eastnortheast: and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of vs, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking she would haue ouertaken vs, we lost her companie and neuer saw her after. Wee were sayling from this hauen of Aguada Segura in California vnto the iles of Ladrones the rest of Nouember, and all December, and so forth vntil the 3 of Ianuarie 1588, with a faire winde for the space 45 dayes: and we esteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues. The 3 day of Ianuary by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrones called the island of Guana, standing in 13 degrees ¼ toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come vp within 2 leagues of the island, where we met with 60 or 70 sailes of canoas full of Sauages, who came off to sea vnto vs, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and helde them vp vnto vs for to truck or exchange with vs; which when we perceiued, we made fast litle pieces of old iron vpon small cords and fishing lines,

A Spanish Pilote. Acapulco is the hauen where they set from to the Philippinas. Good watering at the Ladrones. The winde at Eastnortheast.

The Content, whereof Steuen Hare was master, left behind in the road.

The Island of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13 degrees and two thirds. Commodities of the iles of Ladrones.

lines, and so vered the iron vnto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast vnto the same line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them vntil they had satisfied themselues with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men saued themselues being in euery canoa 4, 6, or 8 persons all naked & excellent swimmers and diuers. They are of a tawny colour & marueilous fat, & bigger ordinarily of stature thē the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marueilous long: yet some of them haue it made vp and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & some with 2 knots, much like vnto their images which wee saw them haue carued in wood, and standing in the head of their boates like vnto the images of the deuill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that euer wee had seene: considering they were made and contriued without any edge-toole. They are not aboue halfe a yard in bredth and in length some seuen or eight yardes, and their heades and sternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starrebordside, with maste and sayle: their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde: These Sauages followed vs so long, that we could not be ridde of them: vntill in the end our General commanded some halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready; and himselfe strooke one of them and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea, and preuent vs by diuing.

The colour and stature of the people of the isles of Ladrones.

Their images.

Artificiall canoas.

Canoas sayling right against the winde.

The nimblenes of the people of the Ladrones.

The 14 day of Ianuary lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from 12 at night vntil foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the middest of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth East and West, trending farre into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleuen dayes with skant windes and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is short of the chiefest island of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of sixe or seuen hundred persons: which dwell in a towne vnwalled, which hath 3 or 4 small blocke houses, part made of wood, and part of stone beeing indeede of no great strength: they haue one or two small Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they haue yeerely trafficke from Acapulco in Nueua Espanna, and also 20 or 30 shippes from China and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for siluer, and giue waight for waight. These Sanguelos are men of marueilous capacitie in deuising and making all maner of things, especially in all handie craftes and sciences: and euery one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Christians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing & imbrodering vpon satten, silck, or lawne, either beaste, fowle, fish or worme, for liuelines and perfectnes, both in silke, siluer, gold, & pearle, they excell. Also the 14 day at night wee entred the streights betweene the island of Luçon, & the island of Camlaia.

Cabo del Spirito Santo, one of the isles of the Philippinas in 13 degrees.

From Guana an ile of The Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santo is 310 leagues.

The description of the town of Manilla.

Trade from Acapulco to Manilla.

Marchants of China.

Marchants called Sanguelos.

Siluer exchanged for siluer, and giue waight for waight.

The fifteenth of Ianuary wee fell with an island called Capul, and had betwixt the sayd island and another island but an narrowe passage, and a marueilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the island of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the shore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

The iland of Capul at which our men stayed 9 dayes.

Our shippe was no sooner come to an anker, but presently there came a canoa rowing aboord vs, wherein was one of the chief Casiques of the island whereof there be seue[n] who

One of the chiefe gouernours of the island came aboord vs.

who supposing that we were Spaniardes, brought vs potato rootes, which they call camotas, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gaue his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent sweete either rosted or boyled.

This Casiques skinne was carued and cut with sundry and many strakes and deuises all ouer his body. We kept him still aboord and caused him to send those men which brought him aboord backe to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboord: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboord and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they vsed the same order with vs which they doe with the Spaniardes. For they tooke for euery hog (which they cal Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for euery henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selues marueilously well.

Hennes and hogges.

The same day at night being the fifteenth of Ianuary 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugal, whom wee tooke out of the great Santa Anna at the Cape of California, desired to speake with our General in secret: which when our General vnderstood, he sent for him, & asked him what he had to say vnto him. The Portugal made him this answer, that although he had offēded his worship heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true seruice vnto him, and in respect thereof he neither could nor would cōceale such treason as was in working against him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great sant Anne for a Pilote, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it vp in his cheste, meaning to conuey it by the inhabitants of this island to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueua Espanna, and Nueua Galicia, and that they had taken many shippes and marchandize in them, and burnt diuers townes, and spoiled all that euer they could come vnto, and that they had taken the kings ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had set all the people on shore, taking himselfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such prouision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could vse any meanes to surprize vs being there at an anker, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwise if they let vs escape, within fewe yeeres they must make account to haue their towne besieged and sacked with an armie of English. This information being giuen, our Generall called for him, and charged him with these things, which at the first he vtterly denyed: but in the ende, the matter being made manifest and knowen of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of Ianuary.

The treason of the Spanish Pilote reuealed.

The copy of the Spanish Pilotes letter to the gouernour of Manilla, which was found in his cheste, and translated by Timothy Shorton.

Capul adioyning vpon the South isle of Manilla.

The North-west passage.

50 leagues from Manilla.

The Spanish Pilote hanged for his treacherie.

We roade for the space of nine dayes about this island of Capul, where we had diuerse kindes of fresh victuals, with excellent fresh water in euery bay, and great store of wood. The people of this island go almost all naked and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their wastes, of some kinde of linnen of their owne weauing, which is made of plantan leaues, and another stroope comming from their backe vnder their twistes, which couereth their priuie parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their nauels.

The manes of the people of Capul.

These people vse a strange kinde of order among them, which is this. Euery man and man-childe among them hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his priuie part, being split in the lower ende and riuetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a crowne: which is driuen through their priuities when they be yong, and the place groweth vp

A strange thing.

vp againe, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occasion serueth: and for the truth thereof we our selues haue taken one of these nailes from a sonne of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the same in his priuie member.

This custome was granted at the request of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obteined this before named of the magistrates. Moreouer all the males are circumcised, hauing the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. These people wholly worship the deuill, and often times haue conference with him, which appeareth vnto them in most vgly and monstrous shape. Circumcision.

On the 23 day of Ianuary, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused al the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more, which he had made to pay tribute vnto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes, potatoes and cocos,) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his company knowne vnto them, that they were English men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon spredde his Ensigne and sounded vp the drummes, which they much maruelled at: to conclude, they promised both themselues and all the islands thereabout to ayde him, whensoeuer hee shoulde come againe to ouercome the Spaniardes. Also our Generall gaue them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marueilous friendly, and rowed about our shippe to shewe vs pleasure marueilous swiftly: at the last our generall caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaues of vs. The inhabitants of Capul with all the islands adioyning, promise to ayde the English against the Spaniards.

The next day being the twentie foure of Ianuarie, wee sette sayle aboute sixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of Manilla, shaping our course North-west betweene the isle of Manilla, and the isle of Masbat. Our departure from the island of Capul. The isle of Masbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 islands, wee spied a Frigat vnder her two coarses, comming out betweene 2 other islands, which as we imagined came frō Manilla, sayling close aboord the shore along the maine island of Panama: we chased this frigat along the shore, & gat very fast vpon it, vntil in the end we came so neere that it stood in to the shore close by a winde, vntill shee was becalmed and was driuen to stricke her sayle, and banked vp with her oares: whereupon we came vnto an anker with our ship, a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the boat: thus we made after the Frigate which had hoysed saile and ran into a riuer, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boate came into very shallow water, where many weares and sticks were set vp in diuers places in the sea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made somewhat neere vnto vs, with 3 or 4 Indians in it: we called vnto them, but they would not come neerer vnto vs, but rowed from vs: whom wee durst not followe too farre for feare of bringing our selues to much to the leewarde of our ship. Here, as we looked about vs, we espied another Balsa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did set along as we do vsually set a barge with long staues or poles, which was builded vp with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares; wherein were about 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard: nowe as wee were come almost at the Balsa, wee ran a ground with our boate; but one or two of our men leaped ouer-boord and freed it againe presently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her aboord and tooke in to vs the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the sea and diued and rose farre off againe from vs. Presently vpon the taking of this canoa, there shewed vpon the sand a band of souldiers marching with an ensigne hauing a red Crosse like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new shippe of the kings, which was building in a riuer within the bay, and stayed there but for certain yrons that did serue for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for euery day. The island of Panama. Markes of shallow water. A Balsa is a great canoa. A Spaniard of Manilla taken. 50 or 60 Spaniards shew themselues. A newe shippe of the kings in building.

This band of men shot at vs from the shore with their muskets, but hyt none of vs, and wee

They manned out a Frigate after vs.

wee shot at them againe: they also manned a Frigate and sent it out after our boat to haue taken vs, but we with saile and oares went from them: and when they perceiued that they could not fetch vs, but that they must come within danger of the ordinance of our ship, they stood in with the shore againe and landed their men, and presently sent their Frigate about the point, but whether we knew not. So we came aboord with this one Spaniard, which was neither souldier nor sayler, but one that was come among the rest from Manilla, and had bene in the hospital there a long time before, and was a very simple soule, and such a one as could answere to very little that hee was asked, concerning the state of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceiued that the Spaniards had dispersed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in seueral steedes with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and straight trees do grow vpon it, fit for to make excellent good mastes for all sorts of ships. There are also mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the island is called the island of Negros: and is almost as bigge as England, standing in 9 degrees: the most part of it seemeth to be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

An hospitall in Manilla.

Mynes of very fine gold in the Island of Panama.

The island of Negros in 9 degrees.

Their departure from the Philippinas.

The 29 day of Ianuary aboute sixe of the clocke is the morning we set saile, sending our boate before vntil it was two of the clock in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a strait betwixt the said 2 islands of Panama, and the island of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fayre opening, trending Southwest and by South, at which time our boate came aboord, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish captaine which wee came from the euening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to prouide good store of gold: for he meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to haue landed his men, or else hee would haue seene him then: and so caused him to be set on shore.

Batochina.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we espied an island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

11 or 12 small ylands in 3 degrees 10 min. to the Southward.

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be suncke and haue the dry sands lying in the maine sea. These islands neere the Malucoes, stand in 3 degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

Islands in 4 degrees southward of the line.

On the 17 day, one Iohn Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene sicke of an olde disease a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other islands which had many small islands among them, standing 4 degrees to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of Februarie, being Ashwednesday Captaine Hauers dyed of a most feruent and pestilent ague, which held him furiously some 7 or 8 dayes, to the no small griefe of our Generall and of all the rest of the company, who caused two Falcons and one Sacre to be shot off, with all the small shotte in the ship, who after he was shrowded in a sheete and a prayer sayd, was heued ouer bord with great lamentation of vs all. Moreouer, presently after his death my selfe with diuers others in the ship fell marueilously sicke, and so continued in very great paine for the space of three weekes or a moneth by reason of the extreeme heat and vntemperatnesse of the Climate.

The death of captaine Hauers.

March 1588. Our arrival at Iaua maior.

The first day of March hauing passed through the Straights of Iaua minor and Iaua maior, wee came to an ancker vnder the Southwest parts of Iaua maior: where wee espied certaine of the people which were fishing by the sea side in a bay which was vnder the yland. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those fishers, which hauing espied our boat ranne on shoare into the wood for feare of our men: but our Generall caused his Negro to call vnto them: who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to goe

The Morisco or, Arabian tongue common in Iaua.

to

to the King and to certifie him of a shippe that was come to haue trafique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche iewels that hee had: for which hee should haue either golde or other marchandise in exchange. The fisher answered that we should haue all maner of victuals that wee would request. Thus the boat came abord againe. Within a while after wee went about to furnish our shippe throughly with wood and water.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne vnto vs with egges, hennes, fresh fish, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee should haue had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so farre to bee brought to vs where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed ancker and stoode in neerer for the towne: and as wee were vnder saile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde vs: whereupon wee shoke the shippe in the winde and stayed for the canoa vntill it came abord of vs, and stoode into the bay which was hard by and came to an ancker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded vp like vnto a Turkes Tuliban: he was all naked sauing about his waste, his breast was carued with the broade arrowe vpon it; hee went barefooted: he had an interpretour with him, which was a Mestizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could speake very good Portugese. This Secretarie signified vnto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, fresh fish, sugar-canes and wine: (which wine was as strong as any aquauitæ, and as cleare as any rocke water:) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as hee and his company would request, and that within the space of foure dayes. Our Generall vsed him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choyce of many and sundry conserues, wines both sweete and other, and caused his Musitians to make him musicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Englishmen; and that wee had bene at China and had had trafique there with them, and that wee were come thither to discouer, and purposed to goe to Malaca. The people of Iaua tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the yland which lay there as Factours continually to trafique with them, to buy Negros, cloues, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night abord our shippe. The same night, because they lay abord, in the euening at the setting of the watch, our Generall commanded euery man in the shippe to prouide his harquebuze and his shotte, and so with shooting off 40. or 50. small shot and one Sacre, himselfe set the watch with them. This was no small marueile vnto these heathen people, who had not commonly seene any shippe so furnished with men and Ordinance. The next morning wee dismissed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humanitie.

A King of Iaua his Secretary.

Niper wine.

Cloues, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities in Iaua maior.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the Kings canoas; but the winde being somewhat skant they could not get abord that night, but put into a bay vnder the yland vntill the next day, and presently after the breake of day there came to the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas so deepely laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great liue oxen, halfe a skore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were aliue, drakes, geese, eggs, plantans, sugar canes, sugar in plates, cocos, sweet oranges and sowre, lymes, great store of wine and aquauitæ, salt to season victuals withall, and almost all maner of victuals else, with diuers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people in one of these canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle stature, and men of marueilous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose ierkin, and hose, which came downe from the waste to the ancle, because of the vse of the Countrey, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to weare either hose or shoes on their feete:) they had on ech of them a very faire and a white lawne shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. These Portugales were no small ioy vnto our Generall and all the rest of our company: For we had not seene any Christian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall vsed and intreated them singularly well, with banquets and musicke:

Nine or 10. of the Kings canoas.

Two Portugales in Iaua.

sicke: They told vs that they were no lesse glad to see vs, then wee to see them, and enquired of the estate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were liuing or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall satisfied them in euery demaund; Assuring them, that their King was aliue, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come vnder the King of Portugall into the South sea, and had warred vpon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled and sunke all the ships along the coast that we could meete withall, to the number of eighteene or twentie sailes. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

Requisite of Don Antonio.

The state of Iaua.

On the other side they declared vnto vs the state of the yland of Iaua. First the plentifulnes and great choise and store of victuals of all sorts, & of all maner of fruits as before is set downe: Then the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the yland was Raia Bolamboam, who was a man had in great maiestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, sell, or exchange any thing with any other nation without speciall licence from their king: and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred wiues, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the country is, that whensoeuer the king doeth die, they take the body so dead and burne it and preserue the ashes of him, and within fiue dayes next after, the wiues of the said king so dead, according to the custome and vse of their countrey, euery one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was neerest vnto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eastward, and euery one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Crise, and is as sharpe as a rasor) stab themselues to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themselues in their owne blood, and falling groueling on their faces so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strang.

Raia Bolamboam.

The wiues kill themselues after their husbands deaths.

A strange order.

The men of themselues be very politique and subtile, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they vndertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example: if their king command them to vndertake any exploit, be it neuer so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die euery man in the execution of the same. For hee will cut off the heads of euery one of them which returne aliue without bringing of their purpose to passe: which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast parts of the world: for they neuer feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe vpon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or ouercome his enemie. Moreouer, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more apparelled.

Faire women in Iaua.

After they had thus described the state of the yland, and the orders and facions of the people; they tolde vs farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come vnto them, they would warrant him to haue all the Malucos at commandement, besides China, Sangles, and the yles of the Philippinas, and that hee might be assured to haue all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Iaua which brought vs victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leaues of vs with promise of all good entertainement at our returnes, and our Generall gaue them three great pieces of Ordinance at their departing. Thus the next day being the 16. of March we set saile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Esperança on the Southermost coast of Africa.

Don Antonio might be reconed as King in the East Indies.

They depart from Iaua the 16. of March 1588.

The rest of March and all the moneth of April wee spent in trauersing that mightie and vaste Sea, betweene the yle of Iaua and the maine of Africa, obseruing the heauens, the Crosier

Crosiers or South-pole, the other starres, the foules, which are markes vnto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempests, the raines & thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storme at the West, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stirre close by vnder the wind: and the storme continued al that day and al that night.

The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing North, and North and by West off vs, & about noone wee espied land to beare West off vs, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Esperança, wherof indeed we were short some 40. or 50. leagues: and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde we stood along to the Southeast vntill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazie and thicke vntil the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperança 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very easie to be knowen. For there are right ouer it three very high hilles standing but a smal way one off another, and the hiest standeth in the middest, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of Good hope beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso. Cabo Falso.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp at East a very stiffe gale, which helde vntill it was Saturday with as much winde as euer the ship could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee espied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Esperança, which is a reasonable hie land, & at the Westermost point a *litle* off the maine do shew two hammocks, the one vpon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the sea, yet low land betweene and adioyning vnto the sea. They double the Cape de Bona Speranza.

This cape of Buena Esperança is set down and accompted for two thousand leagues from the yland of laua in the Portugall sea carts: but it is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ship. We were in running of these eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues iust nine weekes. From laua to the Cape of Bona Speranza is but 1850. leagues.

The eighth day of Iune by breake of day we fel in sight of the yland of S. Helena, seuen or eight leagues short of it, hauing but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all: insomuch as we could not get vnto it that day, but stood off and on all that night. Iune 1588.

The next day being the 9. of Iune hauing a pretie easie gale of wind we stood in with the shore, our boat being sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone we came vnto an ancker in 12 fathoms water two or three cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth bay vnder the Northwest side of the yland. They anker at the yland of S. Helena the 9. of Iune.

This yland is very high land, and lieth in the maine sea standing as it were in the middest of the sea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia and the coast of Guinea: And is in 15. degrees and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperança betweene 5. and 6. hundreth leagues. S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward.

The same day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on shore, where wee found a marueilous faire & pleasant valley, wherein diuers handsome buildings and houses were set vp, and especially one which was a Church, which was tyled & whited on the outside very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the vpper end was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame hauing in it the picture of our Saviour CHRIST vpon the Crosse and the image of our Lady praying, with diuers other histories curiously painted in the same. The sides of the Church were all hanged with stained clothes hauing many deuises drawen in them.

There are two houses adioyning to the Church, on each side one, which serue for kitchins to dresse meate in with necessary roomes and houses of office: the couerings of the said houses are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the saide houses runneth a very good and holsome streame of fresh water.

There is also right ouer against the saide Church a faire causey made vp with stones reaching vnto a valley by the seaside, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great store of pompions and melons: And vpon the saide causey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells wherewith they ring to Masse; and hard vnto it is a Crosse set vp, which is squared, framed and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carued in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the fairest and largest lowe plot in all the yland, and it is marueilous sweete and pleasant, and planted in euery place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are fig trees, which beare fruit continually, & marueilous plentifully: for on euery tree you shal haue blossoms, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at ones: and it is so all the yere long: the reason is that the yland standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beare fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleasant walkes vnder and betweene them, and the saide walkes bee ouershadowed with the leaues of the trees: and in euery voyde place is planted parceley, sorell, basill, fenell, annis seede, mustard seede, radishes, and many speciall good hearbes: and the fresh water brooke runneth through diuers places of this orchard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

The great store of diuers excellent fruits in S. Helena.

This fresh water streame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refresh the whole yland, and almost euery tree in it. The yland is altogether high mountaines and steepe valleis, except it be in the tops of some hilles, and downe below in some of the valleis, where marueilous store of all these kinds of fruits before spoken of do grow: there is greater store growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis: but it is wonderfull laboursome and also dangerous trauciling vp vnto them and downe againe, by reason of the height and steepenesse of the hilles.

Abundance of partridges in S. Helena.

There is also vpon this yland great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great hast to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get vp into the steepe cliffes: we killed some of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bignesse and also in colour. For they be within a little as bigge as an hene, and are of an ashe colour, and liue in coules twelue, sixteen, and twentie together: you cannot go ten or twelue score but you shall see or spring one or two coules at the least.

Great store of fesants.

There are likewise no lesse store of fesants in the yland, which are also marueilous bigge and fat, surpassing those which are in our countrey in bignesse and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of.

Turkies in great quantitie.

Wee found moreouer in this place great store of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding numbers of goats.

There are in this yland thousands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wilde: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may beholde them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the country I wot not) are as big as an asse, with a maine like an horse and a beard hanging downe to the very ground: they wil clime vp the cliffes which are so steepe that a man would thinke it a thing vnpossible for any liuing thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them vpon the mountaines.

Plentie of swine.

Here are in like maner great store of swine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a marueilous bignes: they keepe altogether vpon the mountaines, and will very seldome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found asleepe, or otherwise, according to their kinde, be taken layed in the mire.

We found in the houses at our comming 3. slaues which were Negros, & one which was borne in the yland of Iaua, which tolde vs that the East Indian fleete, which were in number 5. sailes,

5. sailes, the least whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with spices and Calicut cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearles, were gone from the saide yland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This yland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreshing as they come from the East Indies. And when they come they haue all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might spend vp the fruit of the yland, except some very few sicke persons in their company, which they stand in doubt will not liue vntill they come home, whom they leaue there to refresh themselues, and take away the yeere following the other Fleete if they liue so long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the East Indies, then at their going thither, because they are throughly furnished with corne when they set out of Portugal, but are but meanely victualled at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

The 20. day of Iune hauing taken in wood & water and refreshed our selues with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set saile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile wee had the winde at Southeast, and we haled away Northwest and by west. The winde is commonly off the shore at this yland of S. Helena. Our departure from S. Helena.

On Wednesday being the thirde day of Iuly we went away Northwest the winde being still at Southeast; at which time we were in 1. degree and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line. Iuly 1588.

The twelfth day of the said moneth of Iuly it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and so continued vntill it was Munday being the 15. day of Iuly.

On Wednesday the 17. day of the abouesaid moneth wee had the winde skant at West northwest. Wee found the wind continually to blow at East, and Northeast, and Eastnortheast after we were in 3. or 4. degrees to the Northward; and it altered not vntill we came betweene 30. and 40. degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctial Line.

On Wednesday the 21. day of August the wind came vp at Southwest a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38. degrees of Northerly latitude.

On Friday in the morning being the 23. day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost ylands of the Açores.

On Saturday the 24. day of the said moneth by 5. of the clocke in the morning we fel in sight of the two ylands of Flores and Coruo standing in 39. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and sailed away Northeast. Coruo and Flores, two ylands of the Azores.

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, & declared vnto vs the ouerthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singuler reioycing and comfort of vs all.

The 9. of September, after a terrible tempest which caried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull fauour of the Almightie we recouered our long wished port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set foorth at the beginning of our voyage.

Certaine rare and special notes most properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candish next before described; concerning the heights, soundings, lyings of lands, distances of places, the variation of the Compasse, the iust length of time spent in sayling betweene diuers places, and their abode in them, as also the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the same, with the obseruation of the windes on seuerall coastes: Written by M. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, who was Master in The desire of M. Thomas Candish in his foresaid prosperous voyage about the world.

A note

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Barbarie.

INprimis Cape Cantin standeth in the latitude of	32. degr. 4. min.
Item the yland of Mogador standeth in	31. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape d'oro standeth in	30. degr. 20. min.
Item the ylands of the Canaries about	28. degr.
Item Cape Bojador standeth in	27. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Verde standeth in	14. degr. 30. min.
Item the Cape of Sierra Liona in	8. degr.
Item an yland called Ilha Verde in	7. degr. 30. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places from the coast of Brasill to the South sea.

INprimis Cape Frio standeth in the latitude of	23. degr. 30. min.
Item the yland of S. Sebastian in	24. degr.
Item Port desire standeth in	47. degr. 50. min.
Item Seales bay standeth in	48. degr. 20. min.
Item Port S. Iulian standeth in	50. degr.
Item The white riuer standeth in	50. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Ioy standeth in	52. degr. 40. min.
Item Port famine within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	53. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape froward within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	54. degr. 15. min.
Item Cape desire in the entring into the South sea standeth in	53. degr. 10. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Chili and Peru in the South sea.

	INprimis the yland of Mocha standeth in the latitude of	38. degr. 30. min.
	Item the yland of S. Mary in	37. degr. 15. min.
* Valparizo.	Item the bay of * Valpares in	33. degr. 40. min.
	Item the bay of Quintero in	33. degr. 20. min.
	Item Coquimbo in	29. degr. 30. min.
	Item Morro moreno in	23. degr. 20. min.
	Item Arica standeth in	18. degr. 30. min.
	Item the bay of Pisca standeth in	13. degr. 30. min.
	Item the bay of Lima standeth in	11. degr. 50. min.
	Item Santos standeth in	9. degr. 20. min.
	Item the bay of Cherrepe in	6. degr. 30. min.
	Item the bay of Paita in	5. degr. 4. min.
	Item the yland of Puna, in	2. degr. 50. min.
	Item Cape Sant Francisco to the North of the Equinoctiall, in	1. degr.

A note of the height of certaine places to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall line, on the coast of New Spaine.

	INprimis, Panama standeth in the latitude of	9. degrees.
	Item the yland called Isla de Canoas, in	9. degr. 10. min.
	Item Cape Blanco, in	10. degr. 10. min.
	Item Rio Lexo, in	12. degr. 40. min.
* Or, Guatulco.	Item * Aguatulco, in	15. degr. 50. min.
	Item Acapulco, in	17. degr. 20. min.
	Item Sant Iago, in	18. degr. 50. min.
	Item Cape de los Corrientes, in	20. degr. 30. min.
	Item the bay of Xalisco, in	21. degr. 30. min.
* Las tres Marias.	Item the ylands of the * Maries, in	21. degr. 20. min.
	Item the yland of Saint Andrew, in	22. degr.
	Item the ylands of Ciametlan, in	23. degr. 40. min.
	Item, that the Cape of Santa Clara on the point of California is in	23. degrees.

A note

A note of the heights of certaine places beginning from the ylands of the Ladrones and passing by the Philippinas, the Malucos, Iaua minor, Iaua maior, the Cape of Bona Sperança, and the yle of Santa Helena.

INprim. one of the ylands of the Ladrones called Guana standeth in	13. degr. 50. min.	
Item Cape De Spirito Santo on the yle of Luçon standeth in	13. degr.	
Item the yland of Capul in	12. degr. 30. min.	
Item that the yland of Seboyon standeth in	12. degr.	
Item that the Easterly end of the yland of * Pannay is in	11. degr.	Or Panuma.
Item that the opening betweene the South head of Pannay and the south head of Isla de los Negros is in	10. degr. 10. min.	
Item that the South-head of Isla de los Negros is in	9. degr. 10. min.	
Item that the North-head of the yland Mindanao is in	7. degr. 50. min.	
Item the South-head of Mindanao called Cape Cannel is in	6. degr. 40. min.	
Item the Cape of Batochina is in	10. min.	
* Item that 12. small ylands stand in	3. degr.	To the Southwards of the Line.
Item the latitude of two other ylands is in	4. degr. 10. min.	
Item the Westerly head of Iaua minor is toward the South in	8. degr. 30. min.	
Item the Easterly head of Iaua maior is toward the South in	8. degr. 20. min.	
Item Malaca standeth to the Northward in	2. degr.	
Item Cape Falso on the promontory of Africa, standeth in	34. degr. 20. min.	
Item the Cape of Bona Sperança standeth in	34. degr. 40. min.	
Item the yland of Santa Helena standeth in	15. degr. 40. min.	
Item the Cape of S. Augustine standeth Southward in	8. degr. 40. min.	

Soundings on the coast of Barbarie from Rio del Oro vnto Cape Blanco.

INprimis about 3. leagues off Rio del Oro you shall haue very faire shoulding, fine white sand 18. fathoms, and so alongst vnto Cape Blanco two or three leagues off the shore you shall haue 18. and 20. fathoms. And when you come within one league of the Cape you shall haue twelue or thirteene fathoms, browne sand, very faire shoulding. And if you will hall in with Cape Blanco, beware you come not within seuen or eight fathoms of the Cape: for there lyeth a sand off the Cape.

Also about 7. or eight leagues off the Cape lyeth a long should next hand Southwest and by South off the Cape.

Soundings on the coast of Guiny.

ITem, Going vnto Sierra Leona, hauing the cape Eastnortheast off you, 7. leagues off, you shall haue 22 fadome browne sand. And halling in you shall finde very faire shoalding. You may be bold to borrow on the Southermost shore: but take heed of a rocke that lieth in the faire way a good birth off the shore, but there is no feare of it: for it lieth aboue the water, and is distant two miles off the South shore.

Item, You may be bolde to borrow hard by the rocke; for on the North side going in there lieth one long sand which runneth Southeast and Northwest, and lieth distant from the South shore 2 leagues. And you shall anker in 14 or 15 fadoms hard by the shore.

Also going vnto the island called Ilha Verde, the which iland lieth 10 leagues to the Southward of Sierra Leona, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast: and you shall haue betweene them 9 or 10 fadome. And if you will anker at the sayd iland, you shall haue 5 or 6 fadome hard by the shore.

Also you must haue especiall care of a great current that setteth alongst the coast of Guiny to the Eastward.

Item, And if you be bound vnto the Southwards, you must go Westsouthwest off, for feare of the shoald that is called Madera Bomba, the which shoald is to the Southwards of the iland.

Soundings

Soundings on the coast of Brasil.

ITem, Vnto the Northwards of Cape Frio, the cape bearing southwest off you, about 17 or 18 leagues off, you shall haue 45 fadoms streamy ground: and running Southwest, you shall find 32 fadoms blacke sand: and then running Westsouthwest into a deepe bay, which lieth tenne leagues to the Northwards of the cape, you shall haue 22 fadoms oaze: that depth you shall haue all alongst, except you be farre into the bay; and then you shall haue 16 fadoms all oazie.

Item, To the Northwards of Cape Frio, about 6 or 7 leagues, you shall haue many small islands.

Item, To the Northwards of the cape 6. leagues, you shall haue two small islands one mile distant the one from the other, and they are distant from the maine fiue leagues. And betweene those ilands and the cape you shall haue very many islands hard aboord the maine.

Item, The cape bearing West of you two leagues off, you shall haue 55 fadoms oaze. Also you shall know when you are shot about the cape vnto the Southwards, by deeping of the water.

Also if you will go for S. Sebastian from the cape, you must go West and South, and Westsouthwest among. And the distance from the cape vnto S. Sebastian is 50 leagues. And being shot into the bay any thing nere the shore, you shall haue 24 fadoms all oazie.

And halling in for S. Sebastian, you shall know it by two little islands which be round: and those ilands lie from the iland of S. Sebastian next hand East and by South; and are distant the one from the other about foure leagues.

Also off the Southermost end of S. Sebastian, there lieth one iland about 6 leagues off; which iland is called the Alcatrarza, and there lie foure little ilands about it. Also you may know it by the trending of the land vnto the Southwards.

Item, If you will go in at the Northermost end of S. Sebastian, you must take heed of a sand that lieth on the Northeast part of the iland: but you may be bolde to borrow on the iland: for the sand lieth off the maine side. Also you may anker on the Northermost part of the iland in tenne fadoms; and the maine is distant from you where you shall ride two leagues off.

Item, If you will come in at the Southermost end of the iland of S. Sebastian, your course from the Alcatrarza is Southwest & Northeast, and their distance is 6 leagues the one from the other.

Item, Vnto the Southwards of the riuer of Plate, being in the latitude of 45 degrees and 60 leagues off the maine, you shall haue shoalding in 60 fadoms or 65 fadoms oazie sand: and then halling in for the shore Westsouthwest 16 leagues, you shall haue 50 fadoms oaze, and you shall haue faire shoalding all along.

Item, In the latitude of 47½ you shall see about one mile in length, not passing one league off the shore, a ledge of broken ground, but no danger. Also you shall haue very faire shoalding all along the coast; and the land lying South and North vntill you come vnto port Desire, which standeth in 48 degrees.

Item, If you will go into port Desire, on the North side there lieth one ledge of rocks about a league distant from the shore. Also on the North side at the mouth of the harborow, there lie a couple of rocks, which are at halfe flood vnder water: but be bolde to borrow on the Southermost shore; for there is no danger; and you shall haue no lesse then 6 fadoms water at a low water, the harborow lying East and West. Also you may know the harborow by one litle iland that lieth Southeast off the mouth of the harborow, and it is distant 4 leagues. Furthermore you may know the harborow by an high rocke that standeth on the South side; and this rocke is very much like a watch tower. Also if you be any thing in, you may anker in 5 fadoms at a low water.

Item, It floweth there South and North, and higheth at spring tides 3 fadoms and an halfe water; and in the offing the flood setteth to the Northward.

Item,

Item, In the latitude of 48 degrees 50 minuts you shall haue 44 fadoms blacke sand about 5 leagues off: and about 3 leagues off you shall haue 25 fadoms, and great shingle stones.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½ you shall haue sounding in 38 fadoms oazie sand.

Item, In the latitude of 51 degrees 10 minuts you shall haue soundings 4 leagues from the shore in 44 fadoms small blacke stones.

Soundings within the entrance of the Streights.

ITem, About two leagues from the Northermost shore you shall haue 38 fadoms blacke sand, and all along you shall haue deepe water, not lesse then 18 or 20 fadoms in the faire way.

Soundings on the coast of Chili in the South sea.

ITem, In the latitude of 36 degrees you shall haue soundings in 12 fadoms, 2 miles from the land browne sand.

Item, In the latitude of 35 degrees, you shall haue soundings one league off from the land in 10 fadoms white sand.

Soundings on the coast of New Spaine in the South sea.

ITem, In the latitude of 14 degrees to the North of the line, you shall haue soundings 4 leagues from the land in 30 fadoms, browne sand.

Item, From the latitude of 14 degrees vnto the latitude of 15 degrees, you shall haue faire shoalding 3 leagues from the land.

Soundings on the coast of Africa vnto the Eastward of the cape of Buena Esperança 40 leagues.

ITem, To the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperança 40 leagues, in the latitude of 34 degrees and 10 minuts, 8 leagues from the land, you shall haue 65 fadome, and browne sand.

A note of the lying of the land vnto the Southward of Port Desire.

INprimis, Seales bay standeth vnto the Southwards of Port Desire 12 leagues Southsouthwest. Furthermore, vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 3 leagues, you shall haue very low land. Also more vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 7 leagues, in the heighth of 48 degrees 40 minuts, you shall see a rocke 5 leagues off the shore, the land lying Southwest and by South.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½, you shall see a small flat Iland, about a league and an halfe off the shore, the land lying Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 49 degrees ½ vnto the latitude of 50 degrees, the land lieth South and by West, and is high land.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, the land lieth South and by West, North and by East.

Item, In the sayd latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, there goeth in an harborow, which is to be knowen by a long beache that lieth on the South side of the harborow. Moreouer, the sayd harborow standeth 12 leagues vnto the Northwards of Cape Ioy. Furthermore from the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 40 minuts (in which heighth standeth Cape Ioy) the land lieth Southsoutheast, and Northnorthwest.

Item, Comming from the Northwards, you shall see before you come to Cape Ioy, a very long beach, about the length of 8 leagues, being 5 leagues short of the cape vnto the Northwards. Also vnto the Southwards of the cape, you shall see another beach about a league long, adioyning hard vnder the cape: about which beach is the entrance of the

Streights of Magellan, the which Straights are in breadth sixe leagues ouer, from the cape vnto the South shore, lying South and by East.

The entrance of the streight. Item, From Cape Ioy, being the entrance of the streight of Magellan, vnto the first narrow passage of the sayd streight; the course is West and by North, and East and by South, and are distant 18 leagues; the land being in breadth from the one side to the other one league.

Item, From the first narrow vnto the second narrow passage, the course is West & by South, and East and by North; and the distance is 12 leagues: and in breadth the one side is from the other about two leagues ouer.

Item, From the second narrow vnto the ilands that be called Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin ilands, the distance is 5 leagues, and the course is Southwest and Northeast: the ilands being distant a league and an halfe the one from the other.

Item, From the sayd ilands vnto Port Famine is 16 leagues: the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast. Moreouer, from Port Famine vnto Cape Froward, the course is South and by West, and North and by East: and they are distant 8 leagues asunder.

The end of the streight. Item, From Cape Froward vnto S. Ieromes riuer, is 16 leagues: the course is Northwest and Southeast. Also from S. Ieromes riuer vnto the vttermost land on the South side, the which is called Cabo Deseado, the course is Northwest & somewhat to the Northward, and are distant 30 leagues. So the whole length of the streight of Magellan is 105 leagues.

A note of the lying of the lands in the South sea.

INprimis, There stand in the latitude of 52 degrees and 50 minuts, three or foure, ilands, about 8 leagues from Cabo Deseado: the course is Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast. And those ilands stand in the mouth of the streight of Magellan, at the going into the South sea.

Item, From the latitude of 52 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 51 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 38 degrees 30 minuts vnto the latitude of 37 degrees 14 minuts, the land lieth North and South.

The bay of Conception. Item, From the iland of S. Marie, being in the latitude of 37 degrees 14 min. vnto the heighth of 36 degrees 14 minuts, in which height standeth The bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance 12 leagues.

Item, From the latitude of 36 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 33 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 34 degrees you shall see about fiue miles off from the shore a banke of sand, on the which you shall haue but sheald water.

33 deg. 30 mi. In which height standeth Quintero. Item, From the latitude of 33 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

27 deg. 40 mi. In which height standeth Copiapo. Item, From the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, there lie two ilands distant 4 leagues asunder, and about one league from the maine.

Item, From the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 23 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

23 deg. 30 mi. In which height standeth Morro moreno. Item, From the latitude of 25 degrees vnto the latitude of 23 degrees and 30 minuts, the land is very high.

Item, From the latitude of 23 degrees vnto the latitude of 22 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item,

Item, From the latitude of 22 degrees vnto the latitude of 18 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West. 18 deg. 30. mi. In which height standeth Arica.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 18 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees vnto the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northwest and Southeast: in which heighth there lie two or three ilands, which ilands lie off a place where are two townes called Paraca, and Pisca. 13 deg. 30 mi. In which height standeth Paraca & Pisca.

Item, From the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, the land lieth Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast.

Item, From the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 6 degrees, the land lieth North and by West, South and by East. Also you shall see two ilands, which be called The Ilands of Lobos, that stand in the latitude of 6 degrees. 11 deg. 50 mi. In which height stand the Ilands of Lobos.

Item, From the latitude of 6 degrees, vnto the latitude of 5 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East. 5. degrees. In which height standeth Paita.

Item, From the latitude of 5 degrees vnto the latitude of 4 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and Southeast: in which height of 4 degrees standeth Cape Blanco.

Item, From the latitude of 4 degrees vnto the latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts (in which latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts standeth the iland of Puna) the course is Northeast and Southwest. 2. deg. 52 mi. In which height standeth the iland of Puna.

A note of the distance betweene certeine places on the coasts of Chili and Peru.

IN primis, From the iland of Mocha vnto the iland of S. Mary, the course is North and South, and the distance is 25 leagues. Leagues 25.

Item, From the iland of S. Mary vnto the bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance is 12 leagues. Leagues 12.

Item, From the bay of Conception vnto the port of Valpariso, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 80 leagues. Leagues 80.

Item, From the port of Valpariso vnto the bay of Quintero, the course is Northeast and by North, and Southwest and South, and the distance is 7 leagues. In which bay of Quintero there lieth one small iland. Leagues 7.

Item, From the bay of Quintero vnto the bay of Coquimbo, the course is Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 72 leagues: in which height stand two ilands. Leagues 72.

Item, From the bay of Coquimbo vnto the bay of Copiapo, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 55 leagues: in which height standeth one iland. Leagues 55.

Item, From the bay of Copiapo vnto the bay of Morro moreno, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 70 leagues. Leagues 70.

Item, From the bay of Morro moreno, vnto the bay of Arica, the course is North & by East, South & by West, and the distance is 90 leagues: in which bay of Arica standeth one small iland. Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Arica vnto the bay of Parraca, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 120 leagues: in which bay of Parraca stand three or foure ilands. Leagues 120.

Item, From the bay of Parraca vnto the bay of Lima, the course is Northwest and by North, Southeast and by South, and the distance is 35 leagues: in the bay of Lima is one iland. Leagues 35.

Item, From the bay of Lima vnto the bay of Cherrepe, the course is North & by West, South and by East, and the distance is 90 leagues. Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Cherrepe vnto the bay of Paita it is 45 leagues, the course is 20 leags Westnorthwest vnto two ilands that be called The ilands of Lobos, and from thence vnto the bay of Paita it is 25 leagues, the course is North and by East. Leagues 45.

Item, From Paita vnto Cape Blanco, the course is North and by West, South and by East, and the distance is 25 leagues. Leagues 25.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the iland of Puna, the course is Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest,

Leagues 25. Leagues in all 731. southwest, and the distance is 25 leagues: and you shall see one iland that is called Santa Clara, which standeth 10 leagues to the Southward of Puna.

A note of certeine places vnto the Northwards of the Line.

IN primis, From Cape Blanco vnto Cape S. Laurence, the course is North & by East,
Leagues 60. South and by West, and the distance 60 leagues.

Item, From Cape S. Lorenço vnto Cape S. Francisco, the course is North & by East,
Leagues 40. South and by West, and the distance is 40 leagues.

Item, From Cape S. Francisco vnto the cape that is called Cape Blanco, which cape is on the coast of New Spaine, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance
Leagues 160. is 160 leagues: and you shall haue a great current that setteth out of the bay of Panama; and the sayd current setteth South out.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the Port de Veles, the course is Northeast and Southwest,
Leagues 8. and the distance 8 leagues.

Item, From the Port de Veles vnto the port of S. Iohn, the course is Northwest and South-
Leagues 17. east, and the distance is 17 leagues.

Item, From the port of S. Iohn vnto Rio Lexo, the course is Northwest, and Southeast,
Leagues 40. and the distance is 40 leagues.

Item, From Rio Lexo vnto the gulfe of Fonsecco, the course is Westnorthwest, and East-
Leagues 14. southeast, and they are distant 14 leagues.

Item, In the mouth of Rio Lexo there lieth one iland, and you must goe in on the Northwest part of that iland; on the which iland you may be bolde for to borrow on: and you must goe from that iland Southeast vp.

Item, That in the gulfe of Fonsecco you shall haue lying ten ilands, whereof three be peopled with Indians, whereon you may haue water, wood, and salt.

Item, On the West side of the gulfe of Fonsecco there is one towne of Indians, which is called Mapal, in which towne there is great store of beeues.

Item, From the riuer Lexo vnto the bay of Sonsonate, the course is East and West, and
Leagues 60. the distance is 60 leagues.

Item, From the bay of Sonsonate vnto the port of Aguatulco, the course is Northwest and
Leagues 160. by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance 160 leagues.

Leagues 2. Item, From the bay of Coppeleto vnto the port of Aguatulco it is 2 leagues, the course is West and by North, East and by South.

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Angeles, the course is East and West,
Leagues 12. and they are distant 12 leagues.

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Acapulco, the course is West & by
Leagues 78. North, East and by South, and the distance is 78 leagues.

Item, From the port of Acapulco vnto the port of S. Iago, the course is West and by
Leagues 80. North, East and by South, and the distance is 80 leagues.

Item, From the port of S. Iago vnto the port of Natiuidad, the course is East and West,
Leagues 7. and the distance is 7 leagues.

Item, From the port of Natiuidad vnto port of the islands of Chiametla, the course is
Leagues 10. East and West, and the distance is 10 leagues.

Item, From the ilands of Chiametla vnto Cape de los Corrientes, the course is Northwest
Leagues 30. and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance is 30 leagues.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the bay of Xalisco, the course is Northnorth-
Leagues 18. east, and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 18 leagues.

Item, From the bay of Xalisco vnto the port of Chiametlan, the course is Northnortheast
Leagues 30. and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 30 leagues.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the ilands called Las tres Marias, the course
Leagues 20. is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 20 leagues.

Item,

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the cape of Santa Clara on the point of California, the course is Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, and the distance is 108 leagues. Leagues 108.

A note from the coast of America vnto the Westwards.

ITem, From the cape of Santa Clara vnto the ilands of The Ladrones, the course is West and by South, East and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1850 leagues. Leagues 1850.

Item, That the Southermost iland of the Ladrones standeth in the latitude of 12 degrees and 10 minuts, and from thence vnto the Northermost iland, the course is Northnortheast & Southsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 200 leagues: and the said Northermost iland standeth in 21 degrees 10 minuts.

Item, From one of the ilands of the Ladrones, which standeth in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts, which iland is called *Guaihaime, vnto the Cape de Spirito santo, which cape is vpon one of the ilands of the Philippinas, the course is West and to the Southwards, and the distance is 320 leagues. *Or Guana. Leagues 320.

Item, From the cape of Spirito santo vnto the mouth of the entrance of the Streights of the Philippinas, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 15 leagues. Leagues 15.

Item, From the mouth of the Streights vnto the iland of Capul, the course is Southwest and by West 6 leagues. Leagues 6.

Item, From the iland of Capul vnto the North head of the iland called Masbat, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues. Leagues 15.

Item, From the North head of the iland called Masbat vnto the iland called Seboion, the course is Westsouthwest and Eastnortheast, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues. Leagues 15. Leagues in all 2414.

A note of our course kept from the iland Seboion vnto the Southwards.

ITem, From the iland of Seboion vnto the East end of the iland called Pannay, the course is Southeast and by South, Northwest and by West, and the distance is 22 leagues. Leagues 22.

Item, That off the Easter end of the iland of Pannay there lie certeine small ilands, vnto the number of 12 or more, and you shall haue shoald water among them.

Item, From the Easter end of Pannay vnto a bay that is called The bay of Lago grande, on the same iland, the course is Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, and the distance is 18 leagues. Leagues 18.

Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto the iland that is called Ysla de los Negros, is the distance of 6 leagues Southeast and Northwest. Leagues 6.

Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto three small ilands that stand in the latitude of 10 degrees, the course is South and by West 12 leagues. Furthermore, from those three ilands vnto the Westermost end of Ysla de los Negros, the course is Southwest and Northeast 10 leagues, where we were cleere of the ilands of the Philippinas. Leagues 10.

Item, From the South end of Ysla de los Negros vnto the North head of the iland called Mindanao, the course is South and North, and the distance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30.

Item, From the North end of Mindanao vnto the South head of the sayd iland, which is called Cape Cannal, the course is South and by West, North and by East, and the distance is 26 leagues. Leagues 26.

Item, From the cape of Cannal betweene the South and the Westsouthwest about 10 or 12 leagues off you shall haue great store of small ilands, about the number of 24 or more. Leagues 12.

Item, From the cape of Cannal vnto the cape of Batochina, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and the distance is 100 leagues, and betweene them setteth a great current vnto the Eastward. Leagues 100.

Item, From the cape of Batochina vnto the West head of Iaua minor, the course is Southwest and by South, Northeast and by North, and the distance betweene them is 220 leagues. Leagues 220.

Item, From the West end of Iaua minor vnto the East end of Iaua maior, the course is West and by North, and East & by South, and the distance betweene them is 18 leagues: Leagues 18.

in

* This is the Ile of Baly.

in the which course there lieth one * iland betweene them, which iland is in length 14 leagues.

Item, From the East end of Iaua maior vnto the cape of Buena Esperança, the course is West and by South, and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 1800 leagues.

Leagues 1800.

Item, That Cape Falso standeth 30 leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Buena Esperança, & off the sayd Cape Falso you shal haue shoalding 20 leagues off in 80 or 90 fadoms, & the course is from Cape Falso vnto the cape of Buena Esperança Westnorthwest and Eastsoutheast.

Leagues 30.

Leagues in all are 2230.

A note of the distance and course from the cape of Buena Esperanza vnto the Northwards.

ITem, From the cape of Buena Esperança vnto the iland of Santa Helena, the course is Northwest, and Northwest and by West, and the distance betweene them is 600 leagues.

Leagues 600.

Item, From the iland of Santa Helena vnto the iland of Flores, the course betweene them is Northnorthwest, and Northwest and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1200 leagues.

Leagues 1200.

Item, From the iland of Flores vnto the lands end of England, the course is betweene the Eastnortheast, and the Northeast and by East, and the distance betweene them is foure hundred and fifty leagues.

A note of the variation of our Compasse.

IN primis, The variation of our compasse on the coast of New Spaine in the South sea in the latitude of 12 degrees, was one point to the Eastwards.

Item, the variation of our compasse betweene the cape of California and the ilands of the Philippinas, was one point and an halfe vnto the Eastward, that was, that the North did stand North and by East, and halfe a point vnto the East.

Item, The variation of our compasse betweene the ilands of Maluco and the cape of Buena Esperança, was two points and an halfe at the most to the Westward, that was, that the Northnortheast was our North.

A note of our time spent in sailing betweene certeine places out of England, 1586.

Of our shoale tenne dayes where we watered.

IN primis, We were sailing betweene England and the coast of Guinea from the 21 day of July vnto the 26 day of August vnto the hauen called Sierra leona, where we watered and stayed vntill the 6 day of September.

Item, Wee departed from the coast of Guinea for the coast of Brasil the 10 day of September, and wee had sight of the coast of Brasil the 26 day of October, being sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Frio: and from thence wee were sailing vnto the iland of S. Sebastian vntill the 31 and last day of October, where wee watered and set vp our pinnesse: and we ankered on the Northwest port of the iland in tenne fadoms, and stayed there vntill the 23 day of Nouember.

Of our shoale foure & twenty dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 23 day of Nouember we departed from the iland of Sant Sebastian, keeping our course South and by West vnto the port that is called Port Desire, where we arriued the 17 day of December; in which port we grained our shippe: and we stayed there vntill the 28 day of December, where we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Of our shoale eleuen dayes, where we grained our ships.

Item, The eight and twentieth day of December wee departed from the Port of Desire toward the Streight of Magellan, where wee arriued the third day of Ianuary: and wee remained in the Streights vntill the foure and twentieth day of February; where we watered in many places on the South side, hauing the winde all that while betweene the Westsouthwest and the Northwest.

Of our shoale two & fifte dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed out of the Streights the 24 day of February toward the iland of Mocha, which iland we had sight of the 14 day of March.

Item, The 14 day of March at night we ankered in the bay of Marroccos; where we rode in 9 fadoms water.

Item,

Item, The 15 day of March we ankered in the iland of Saint Marie, on the North part of the island in eight fadoms water, blacke sand, where we stayed foure dayes. Of our shode foure dayes.

Item, The 19 day of March we departed from the island of Saint Marie, and the same day we ankered in the bay of Conception, where we stayed vntill the next day: and there we rode in ten fadoms water, shingle stones.

Item, The 20 day of March we departed from the bay of Conception, and the thirtieth day of March we arriued in the bay of Quintero, where we watered: and there the first day of April we had twelue of our men slaine, being on land for water: and we stayed there sixe dayes: and we ankered in 7 fadoms water, white sand. Of our shode 6 dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed from the bay of Quintero the 5 day of April, and we arriued at the bay of Arica the 24 day of April, and we ankered in 7 fadoms water. Of our shode three dayes.

Item, The 27 day of April we departed from the bay of Arica, and the third day of May we arriued in the bay of Pisca, and we ankered in 4 fadoms water in oaze. Of our shode two dayes.

Item, The 5 day of May we departed from the bay of Pisca, and the 12 day we ankered in the bay of Cherrepe, where we ankered in 7 fadoms water, in white sand. Of our shode sixe dayes.

Item, The 18 day of May we departed from the bay of Cherrepe, and the 20 day of May we arriued in the bay of Payta, where we ankered in 6 fadoms water. Of our shode one day.

Item, The 20 day of May we departed from the bay of Paita, and the 26 day of May we ankered at the iland of Puna, and we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Item, From the iland of Puna we departed the fourth day of Iune vnto Rio dolce in the main, where we watered, and we ankered in 10 fadoms water, browne sand. Of our shode 9 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 12 day of Iune we departed from the place where we watered, being bound for the coast of New Spaine, and the 29 day of Iuly wee arriued in the port of Aguatulco, where wee watered, and ankered in 6 fadoms water. Of our shode 8. dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 3 day of August we departed from the port of Aguatulco, and the 26 day of August we arriued at the port of S. Iago, where wee watered, and stayed there vntill the second day of September, and ankered in 6 fadoms. Of our shode 7 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league vnto the Westwards of Natiuidad, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water. Of our shode one day.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natiuidad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xalisco, where we ankered in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day of September we departed from the bay of Xalisco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the island of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fadoms water. Of our shode three dayes.

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the island of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chiametlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered vnder the islands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms. Of our shode five dayes. Of our shode 2 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the islands of Chiametlan, and crossing ouer the mouth of Mar vermejo, the 14 day of October we had sight of the Cape of California. Of our shode twelue dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 15 day of October we lay off the cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of Nouember we tooke the great and rich ship called Santa Anna, comming from the Philippinas: and the 5 day of Nouember we put into the port of S. Lucas, where we put all the people on shore, and burnt the Santa Anna: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water. Of our shode 14 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 19 day of Nouember we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of Ianuary wee had sight of one of the islands of the Ladrones, which island is called The island of *Iwana, standing in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts.

* Guana.

Item, The 3 day of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Iwana, and the 14 day of Ianuarie we had sight of the cape of Spirito santo, and the same day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas: and the 15 day of Ianuary we ankered vnder the iland of Capul, on the which iland we watered and wooded. Of our shode nine dayes.

Item,

Spaniards building of a new ship in the Philippinas.

Item, The 24 of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Capul, and the 28 day of Ianuary we arriued in the bay of Lago grande, which bay is in the island of Pannay, where there were Spaniards building of a new ship.

Item, The 29 of Ianuary wee departed from the bay of Lago grande, and the same day at night wee were cleere from the islands of the Philippinas, shaping our course towards the ilands of Maluco.

Dayes 30.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the first day of March, we were nauigating between the West end of the island of Pannay and the West end of the island of Iaua minor.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we watered.

Item, The first day of March wee passed the Streights at the West head of the island of Iaua minor, and the 5 day of March we ankered in a bay at the Wester end of Iaua maior, where wee watered, and had great store of victuals from the towne of Polambo.

Iaua maior. Dayes 36. The cape of Buena Esperanza.

Item, The 16 day of March wee departed from the island of Iaua maior, and the 11 day of May we had sight of the land 40 leagues vnto the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperança, the land being low land.

A note from the cape of Buena Esperança vnto the Northwards.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

ITem, The 21 day of May wee departed from the cape of Buena Esperança, and the 8 day of Iune we ankered on the Northwest part of the iland of Santa Helena, where we watered, and made our abode 12 dayes.

Dayes 24.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 4 day of Iuly we passed vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The space of our nauigation betweene those ilands was threescore & fiue dayes.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 25 day of August in the morning wee had sight of the islands of Flores and Coruo in the latitude of 40 degrees.

Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arriued, after a long and terrible tempest, in the Narrow seas, in the hauen of Plimmouth in safetie, by the gracious and most mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praise and thankesgiuing now and for euer. Amen.

A note of our ankering in those places where we arriued after our departure from England 1586.

Fadoms 10.

IN primis, Wee ankered in the harborow of Sierra leona in 10 fadoms water: and a Northwest winde in that rode is the woorst that can blow.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker vnder the island that is called Ilha Verde in 6 fadoms water: and the winde being at the Westnorthwest is the woorst winde that can blow.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker vnder the island of S. Sebastian on the Northwest part in 10 fadoms: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 5.

Item, You may anker in Port Desire in 5 fadoms water, and a West and by South winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker vnder Cape Ioy without the mouth of the Streights of Magellan in 7 fadoms water.

Fadoms 25.

Item, You may anker within the Straights of Magellan, vntill you come vnto the first narrowing in 25 or 30 fadoms water, in the mid way of the Streights.

Fadoms 16.

Item, You may anker in the second narrow of the Streights in 16 fadoms water.

Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker vnder Penguin island on which side you please in 6 or 7 fadoms water.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in Port Famine in 5 or 6 fadoms water, and a Southsoutheast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 12.

Item, You may anker in Muskle coue, which coue is on the South side, and is 7 leagues to the Southwards of Cape Froward, and you shall ride in 12 fadoms

Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker in Elizabeth bay, which bay is on the North side of the Streights in 8 fadoms water.

Item.

Item, From Elizabeth bay vnto Cabo deseado, you may anker on both sides of the Streights in many places.

A note of our ankering after we were entred into the South sea.

IN primis, You may anker in the bay of Mocha in 7 or 8 fadoms water, and there a North-east winde is the woorst. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker on the North side of S. Mary island in nine fadoms water: and there a Northnorthwest winde is the woorst winde. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Conception vnder one small island in 9 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest winde is the woorst winde in that bay. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Quintero in 7 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest wind is the worst winde. Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Arica in 6 fadoms, and in that bay a Westnorthwest winde is the woorst winde. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Pisca and Paraca in fiue fadoms: and in that bay a North-northwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 5.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Cherepe in 8 fadoms, and there from the Northwest vnto the Southeast it is open. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Paita in 7 fadoms water: and there a Northnortheast wind is the woorst winde. Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker on the Northeast part of the island of Puna in 4 fadoms; and a North-east winde is the woorst. Fadoms 4.

Item, You may anker at Rio dolce, where wee watered, vnto the Eastwards of the island of Puna in 10 fadoms. Fadoms 10.

A note of what depths we ankered in on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, You may anker in the port of Aguatulco in sixe fadoms water: and a Southsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Iago in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of Natiuidad in 8 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 8.

Item, You may anker on the bay of Xalisco in 9 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 9.

Item, You may anker on the Northwest part of the island of S. Andrew in 17 fadoms water. Fadoms 17.

Item, You may anker vnder the island of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 4.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Lucas on the Cape of California in 12 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. Fadoms 12.

A note of what depths we ankered in, among the ilands of the Philippinas.

ITem, You may anker on the Southwest part of the island of Capul in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker all along the South part of the island of Panna in shoald water, in the depth of 10 or 12 fadoms. Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Lago grande in seuen fadoms water, which bay is on the South side of the island of Panna.

Item, You may anker at the East end of Iaua maior in 16 fadoms water, and an Eastsouth-east winde is the woorst. Fadoms 16.

Item, You may anker on the North part of the island of Santa Helena in 12 fadoms water. Fadoms 12.

A note of our finding of the winds for the most part of our voyage 1586.

IN primis, From the 21 day of Iuly vnto the 19 day of August we found the winde at Northnortheast, being in the latitude of 7 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of August vnto the 28 day of September, wee found the wind for the most part betweene the West and the Southwest, being in * 24 degrees.

* To vᵗ South side of the Equinoctiall.

Item, From the 28 day of September vnto the 30 day of October, we found the windes betweene the Northeast and the Eastnortheast.

Item, From the 23 of Nouember, from the island of S. Sebastian, vnto the 30 day of Nouember, we found the winde betweene the Southeast and the Southsoutheast, being in 36 degrees.

Item, From the 30 day of Nouember vnto the 6 day of December, we found the windes to be betweene the West and the Southwest.

Item, From the 6 day of December vnto the first day of Ianuary, we found the winds for the most part betweene the North and the Northeast, being then in the latitude of 52 degrees.

Item, From the first day of Ianuary vnto the 23 day of February, we found the windes to be betweene the Northwest and the Westsouthwest, wee being all that time in the Streights of Magellan.

Item, From the 23 day of February vnto the first day of March, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southeast, being then in the South sea in the latitude of 48 degrees.

Item, From the first day of March vnto the 7 day of March, we found the winde to be at the North and the Northnortheast in the latitude of 43 degrees.

Item, From the 7 day of March vnto the 14 day of March, wee found the windes to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 37 degrees.

1587. Item, From the 14 day of March vnto the 28 day of May, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 3 degrees to the South of the Line.

A note of the varying of our windes to the North of the Equinoctiall line on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, From the 28 day of May vnto the 5 day of Iuly, we found the winds for the most part to be betweene the Southsoutheast, and the Southsouthwest, being in the latitude of 10 degrees to the Northward of the Line on the coast of New Spaine.

Item, From the 5 day of Iuly vnto the 14 day of October, we found the windes for the most part to be at the Eastnortheast in the latitude of 23 degrees Northward, and almost vnder the tropicke of Cancer.

A note of the windes which we found betweene the coast of New Spaine and Islands of the Philippinas on the coast of Asia.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587 we departed from the cape of Santa Clara on the coast of California the 19 day of Nouember, and we found the winds to be betweene the East and the Eastnortheast, vntill the 29 day of Ianuary; departing then from the ilands of the Philippinas, being in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the 19 day of March, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the Northnortheast and the Northwest, being then among the Ilands of Maluco, in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of March vnto the 20 day of May, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the South and the Eastsoutheast, being then between the Ilands of Maluco, and the cape of Buena Esperança, in the latitude of 34 degrees to the South of the Line.

Item,

Item, From the 20 day of May vnto the 11 day of Iuly, we found the winds for the most part betweene the South and the Southeast, being then betweene the cape of Buena Esperança, and 15 degrees vnto the Southward of the line.

Item, From the 11 day of Iuly vnto the 18 day of August, we found the winds for the most part betweene the Northeast and Eastnortheast, being then betweene the latitude of 15 degrees to the Southward of the line, and 38 degrees vnto the Northwards of the line.

A letter of M. Thomas Candish to the right honourable the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maiesties most honourable Priuy Councell, touching the successe of his voyage about the world.

RIght honourable, as your fauour heretofore hath bene most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there be no meanes in me to deserue the same, yet the vttermost of my seruices shall not be wanting, whensoeuer it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your honour to make knowen vnto her Maiesty the desire I haue had to doe her Maiesty seruice in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleased God to giue her the victory ouer part of her enemies, so I trust yet long to see her ouerthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they haue mainteined and made their warres, are now perfectly discouered: and if it please her Maiesty, with a very small power she may take the spoile of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer mee to circompasse the whole globe of the world, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the cape de Buena Esperança. In which voyage I haue either discouered or brought certeine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that euer were knowen or discouered by any Christian. I nauigated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueua Espanna, where I made great spoiles: I burnt and sunke 19 sailes of ships small and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and spoiled: and had I not bene discouered vpon the coast, I had taken great quantitie of treasure. The matter of most profit vnto me was a great ship of the kings which I tooke at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, being one of the richest of merchandize that euer passed those seas, as the kings register and merchants accounts did shew: for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be solde. Which goods (for that my ships were not able to conteine the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the cape of California, being the vttermost part of all Nueua Espanna, I nauigated to the Islands of the Philippinas hard vpon the coast of China; of which countrey I haue brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited: for if I had not knowen sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that countrey, I should haue bene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like experience. I sailed along the Ilands of the Malucos, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our countrey men may haue trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselues. From thence I passed by the cape of Buena Esperança, and found out by the way homeward the iland of S. Helena, where the Portugals vse to relieue themselves: and from that iland God hath suffered me to returne into England. All which seruices with myselfe I humbly prostrate at her Maiesties feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reigne among vs: for at this day she is the most famous and victorious prince that liueth in the world.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your honour for my tediousnesse, I leaue your lordship to the tuition of the Almighty. Plimmouth this ninth of September 1588.

Your honours most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

Certeine notes or references taken out of the large map of China, brought home by M. Thomas Candish 1588.

THe great kingdome of the Mogores is vpon the Northwest, and falleth vpon Tanassarin beyond Malaca, and ioyneth vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and vse no fight but on horsebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugals.

2 A city, wherein is captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder him many men of warre: he maketh warre both against the Tartarians and the Mogores; lying betweene them: and lieth without the circuit of the wall.

3 Certeine hils, beyond which the Tartarians do inhabit, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continuall warres against them, so great, that sometimes there are slaine in a battell 100000 of men adioyning vpon Moscouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Cansas hath 4 great cities, and 20 small cities, and 77 townes & castles: it conteineth in length 55 leagues, it hath 362000 houses of great men that pay tribute, and 13900 men of warre: and hath 47000 horses, which are the kings, kept for his defence.

It is as colde at Paquin as in Flanders.

5 The great city of Paquin, where the king doth lie, hath belonging to it 8 great cities, and 18 small cities, with 118 townes and castles: it hath 418789 houses of great men, which pay tribute, it hath horsemen for the warre 258100. This city is in the latitude of 50 degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is vsually in Flanders.

6 The great city of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that passage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin hath 7 great cities, and 16 small, with 12 townes and castles, and one great city, to which many doe repaire to fight against the Tartars: it hath 17 leagues in length, and hath 164118 great houses, which pay tribute, and 96000 men of warre.

8 The prouince of Santo hath 6 great cities, and 14 small, with 90 townes and castles: it is 82 leagues long, and hath 77555 great houses, which pay tribute, 63808 horsemen, and 31000 footmen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7 great cities, and 13 small, and 90 townes and castles, being 470 leagues long, and 132958 great houses that pay tribute, 82800 men of warre. Out of this city commeth copper, quicke-siluer, and blacke lead.

* Or Quichew.

10 The prouince of * Cutchew hath 8 great cities, and 12 small, and 83 townes, which make armor to fight with the Iawes, which do inhabit beyond Cauchinchina: it is 100 leagues broad, and hath 32920 horsemen and footmen, with 405670 great houses which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payed.

11 The prouince of Languyn hath 14 great cities, and 17 small, and 95 townes and castles: it is 120 leagues ouer, and hath 962818 great houses which pay tribute, it hath 208900 men of warre, whereof there are 52500 Tartar horsemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath 14 great cities, and 19 small, 150 townes and castles, and is 210 leagues broad, and 53161 houses that pay tribute, and 71600 men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7 great cities, and 11 small, and 105 townes and castles, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath houses that pay tribute 139567, and men of warre 345632.

14 The prouince of Essiran hath 11 great cities, and 75 small, and 80 townes and castles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great houses that doe pay tribute 1242135, and 339000 men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doth ioyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that serueth the kingdome of China: and the Indians & the Chinians doe report this lake to be the whole world, and so they paint the sea, the moone, and the starres within it.

16 The prouince of Cansay hath 13 cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73 townes and castles, and is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1393629, and 12700 men of warre.

17 The

17 The prouince of Cuausa hath 12 great cities, 45 small, and 51 townes and castles: it is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1306390, and men of warre both footmen and horsemen 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath 14 great cities, and 36 small, and 34 townes and castles, and is 88 leagues broad, with 589296 great houses that pay tribute, and 15100 men of warre.

19 The prouince of Fuckin hath 8 great cities, and one principall city, and 54 townes and castles, and two great cities of garrison, to keepe watch vpon the Iapons, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath 5009532 great houses that pay tribute, and 4003225 men of the kings guard. Garisons against the Iapons.

20 The prouince of Canton hath 40 great cities, and 7 small, and 77 townes and castles, and a city that putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of Cauchinchina, and is 380 leagues in breadth, and hath 483383 great houses which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The port of Cauchinchina standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

22 The citie Champa standeth in fourteene degrees to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall.

23 The prouince of Enam hath 7. great cities, and 13. small and 90. townes and castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houses that pay tribute, and 15100. souldiers.

Horsemen 454528. Footmen 7459057.

The totall summe 7923785.

A briefe relation of a voyage of The Delight a ship of Bristoll one of the consorts of M. John Chidley esquire and M. Paul Wheele, made vnto the Straight of Magellan: with diuers accidents that happened vnto the company during their 6. weekes abode there: Begun in the yeere 1589. Written by W. Magoths.

THe fift of August 1589. the worshipfull M. Iohn Chidley of Chidley in the countie of Deuon esquire, with M. Paul Wheele and Captaine Andrew Mericke set forth from Plimmouth with three tall ships, the one called The wilde man of three hundred tunnes, wherein went for General the aforesaid M. Iohn Chidley and Beniamin Wood as Master, the other called The white Lion, whereof M. Paul Wheele was captaine and Iohn Ellis Master, of the burthen of 340. tunnes: the third The Delight of Bristol, wherein went M. Andrew Merick as Captaine, and Robert Burnet Master, with two pinnesses of 14. or 15. tunnes a piece. The Generall in his ship had 180. persons: M. Paul Wheele had 140, in our owne ship we were 91. men and boyes. Our voyage was intended by the Streight of Magellan for The South Sea, and chiefly for the famous prouince of Arauco on the coast of Chili. We kept company together to the vles of the Canaries and so forward to Cape Blanco standing neere the Northerly latitude of 20. degrees on the coast of Barbarie, where some of our people went on shoare finding nothing to their content. Within 12. dayes after our departure from this place The Delight, wherein I William Magoths was, lost the company of the other two great ships, and the two small pinnesses. Howbeit we constantly kept our course according to our directions along the coast of Brasil, and by the Riuer of Plate, without touching any where on land vntill we came to Port desire in the latitude of 48 degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctial. Before we arriued at this place there died of our company by Gods visitation of sundry diseases 16. persons. Wee stayed in this harborough 17. dayes to graue our ship & refresh our wearied people, hoping here to haue met with our consorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little springs of fresh water, which were vpon the Northwesterly part of the land, & lighted vpon good store of seales both old and yong. From hence we sailed toward the Streight of Magelan, and entred the same about the first of Ianuary. And comming to Penguin yland within the Streight we tooke and salted certaine hogsheads of Penguins, which must be eaten

M. Chidleys voyage intended partly for Arauco in Chili.

Cabo Blanco.

The Delight loseth the company of the rest of the Fleet.

Port desire.

Two springs of fresh water found at Port desire.

They enter into the Streight of Magelan.

with

with speed: for wee found them to be of no long continuance; we also furnished our selues with fresh water. And here at the last sending off our boat to the yland for the rest of our prouision, wee lost her and 15. men in her by force of foule weather; but what became of them we could not tel. Here also in this storme we lost two anckers. From hence we passed farther into the Streight, and by Port famine we spake with a Spaniard, who told vs that he had liued in those parts 6. yeeres, and that he was one of the 400. men that were sent thither by the king of Spaine in the yere 1582. to fortifie and inhabit there, to hinder the passage of all strangers that way into the South sea. But that and the other Spanish colonie being both destroyed by famine, he said he had liued in an house by himselfe a long time, and relieued himselfe with his caleeuer vntil our comming thither. Here we made a boat of the bords of our chests; which being finished wee sent 7. armed men in the same on land on the North shore, being wafted on land by the Sauages with certaine white skinnes; who as soone as they came on shore were presently killed by an 100. of the wilde people in the sight of 2. of our men, which rowed them on shoare, which two onely escaped backe againe to vs with the boat. After this traiterous slaughter of our men, we fell backe againe with our ship to the Northeastward of Port famine to a certaine road, where we refreshed our selues with muskles, and tooke in water & wood. At this time wee tooke in the Spaniard aforesaid, and so sailed forward againe into the Streight. Wee passed 7. or 8. times 10. leagues Westward beyond Cape Froward, being still encountered with mightie Northwest winds. These winds and the current were so vehement against vs, that they forced vs backe asmuch in two houres, as we were getting vp in 8. houres. Thus after wee had spent 6. weekes in the Streight striuing against the furie of the elements, and hauing at sundry times partly by casualtie, and partly by sicknes lost 38. of our best men, and 3. anckers, and nowe hauing but one ancker left vs, and small store of victuals, and, which was not the least mischiefe, diuers of our company raising dangerous mutinies: we consulted, though somewhat with the latest, for the safegard of our liues to returne while there was some small hope remayning: and so set saile out of The Streight homeward about the 14. of Februarie 1590. We returned backe againe by The riuer of Plate; and sailing neere the cost of Brasill we met with a Portugal ship of 80. tunnes, which rode at an ancker vpon the coast, who as soone as she descried vs to chase her, incontinently weyed, & ran her selfe on ground betweene the yland of S. Sebastian and the maine land. But we for want of a good boat, and by reason of the foule weather, were neither able to bord her, nor to goe on shore. Thence in extreeme misery we shaped our course for the yles of Cape Verde, and so passing to the yles of the Açores, the Canaries being something out of our course; the first land that wee mette withall in our Narrow sea was the yle of Alderney. And hauing now but sixe men of all our company left aliue, the Master and his two mates and chiefe Mariners being dead, wee ran in with Monuille de Hage eight miles to the West of Cherbourg in Normandie. Where the next day after our comming to an ancker, hauing but one in all left, being the last of August 1590. by the foule weather that rose the ancker came home, and our ship draue on the rocks: And the Normans which were commanded by the gouernor of Cherbourg (who came downe to vs that night) to haue layd out another ancker for her, neglecting his commandement, suffered her miserably to be splitted, with desire to enrich themselues by her wracke. Within few dayes after this last mischance foure of vs being Englishmen departed from Cherbourgh, and passed home for England in a barke of Weymouth, leauing the two strangers there behinde vs.

They loose 15. of their men by tempest.

A Spaniard taken at Portfamine.

Seuen of our men killed by the treason of the Sauages on the North shore.

They passed 7. or 8. times ten leagues Westward of Cape Froward.

They returne homeward.

The yle of S. Sebastian in 24. degr. of southerly latitude on the coast of Brasil.

They land at Monuille de Hage 8. miles West of Cherbourg.

The wracke of the ship by the malice of the Normans.

They arriue in England.

The names of vs sixe that returned of all our company were these.

1 William Magoths of Bristol.
2 Richard Bush.
3 Iohn Reade.
4 Richard Hodgkins of Westburie neere Bristol.

The

The two strangers.

5 Gabriel Valerosa a Portugal.
6 Peter, a Briton.

A petition made by certaine of the company of the Delight of Bristol vnto the Master of the said ship Robert Burnet, one of the consorts of M. Chidley, being in the Streights of Magellan the 12. of February 1589.

WE haue thought good to shew vnto you (being our Master) our whole mindes and griefes in writing: that whereas our Captaine Matthew Hawlse, and Walter Street doe beginne to take into the Captaines cabin this 12. of Febr. both bread and butter, (such as was put in for the prouision of the shippe and company) only to feed themselues, and a few others, which are of their messe: meaning thereby rather to sterue vs, then to keepe vs strong and in health: And likewise vpon the same, hee hath taken into his cabin certaine furniture, as swords, calecuers, and musquets: We therefore not well knowing their intents herein, except by certaine wordes cast out vnwares, wee may coniecture, that your death which God forbid, by them hath bene determined: doe all most humbly desire you being our Master, and hauing charge of the shippe, and vs, this present voyage committed vnto you, to consider: First, that by Gods visitation wee haue lost 16. men, and that so much the rather because they were not alotted such necessary prouision, as was in the ship to be had. Also to consider the great losse of 10. of our men with our boat at Penguin-yland within the Streights of Magellan: and of 7. good and seruiceable men besides neere Port famine: and of three anckers, and our Carpenter. Ouer and besides all these calamities to consider how you haue (without all reason and conscience) bene ouerthwarted, disgraced, and outcountenanced by your mate Street, and Matthew Hawlse: Also what danger you now are subiect vnto, your death hauing bene so often conspired, and what danger we should be in, if it were (which God forbid) effected. Furthermore, to weigh with your selfe the great want of many necessaries in our ship: namely that we haue but 6. sailers, (besides your selfe and your mate Street, whom wee dare not trust,) Also that wee haue but one ancker, likewise the lacke of our boate and a Carpenter, of ropes, of pitch, treynailes, bolts, and plankes, and the want of a skilfull Chirurgian. And whereas a view being taken of our prouision there was found but fiue moneths victuals of bread, meale, greets, and pease, and also but three moneths victuals of beefe, penguins and porke, three hogsheads of wine, ten gallons of aquauitæ (whereof the sicke men could not get any to relieue them,) foure hogsheads of syder and 18. flitches of bacon, &c. the company hath but three flitches. Also the said Captaine Hawlse and Street haue taken and seased vpon 17. potts of butter, with certaine cheese, and an hogshead of bread at a time, and haue bene thereof possessed to their owne priuate vses: And haue not onely immoderately spent the companies prouision in butter, cheese, aquauitæ, &c. but haue also consumed those sweete meates, which were layed vp in the shippe onely for the reliefe of sicke persons (themselues being healthy and sound, and withholding the said meates from others in their sickenesse) and euen at this time also (by reason of the small store of our prouision, wee being enforced to come to a shorter allowance) they the saide Captaine Hawlse and your mate Street, doe finde themselues agrieued at the very same allowance, wherewith other men are well contented. And although (besides our ordinary allowance, and more then all the rest of the company) they only haue their breakefasts permitted vnto them, yet they complaine that the company goeth about to famish them, whereas indeed they doe what lyeth in them to famish the company by feeding themselues fat, which doe no labour at all. These things being well weighed, you ought likewise to consider the long time that wee haue lien here in these Streights of Magellan, hauing bene at, and seuen or eight times, tenne leagues beyond Cape Froward, we haue had but a small gale of winde with vs: neither could wee come to an ancker, the water being so deepe: and (you know) the place is so dangerous, that wee were once embayed, and coulde scarce get out againe: And likewise,

likewise, What fogges and mists are here already? Much more here wil be, the winter and darke nights being at hand, & we hauing not so much as a boate to seeke out any roade to ride in, sauing a small weake boate made of mens chestes, in which it is not conuenient to goe on shoare in a forreine countrey, where wee must goe with force: and hauing but one ancker left vs, there is but little hope of life in vs, as you may sufficiently iudge, if wee should lose either the saide ancker or our boate, and therefore wee dare not put the same in danger for feare of loosing them. Also wee hauing lien here these sixe weekes and vpward, the winde hath continued in the North-west directly against our course, so that wee can no way hope to get through the Streights into the South sea this yeere, and if we could yet our prouision is not sufficient, hauing spent so much thereof, in this our lingring aboade. Nay wee haue scarcely victuals ynough to cary vs home into England, if they bee not vsed sparingly, and with very good gouernment. Therefore wee doe againe most humbly desire you to consider and haue regard vnto the premisses, as you tender your owne safetie and the safetie of vs which remaine aliue, that wee may (by Gods helpe) returne backe into England, rather then die here among wilde and sauage people: for if wee make any longer abode in this place, it will bee (without all doubt) to the vtter decay and losse, both of our selues, and of the shippe: and in returning backe, it may please God, that we may finde our fifteene men, and our boat at Penguin-yland (although this bee contrary to the mindes of Matthew Hawlse, and your mate Street) and hauing found them, wee doe not despaire in Gods mercie, but that in our returne home-ward, hee will send vs purchase sufficient, if wee would ioyne our selues together in prayer, and loue one another. And thus doing (as wee shalbe bound) euen so wee will also heartily pray for the continuance of your good estate, and wel-fare, and for the length of your dayes, to the pleasure of Almightie God.

Lastly, wee doe most humbly beseech you to consider, that (after the losse of so many men and all the casualties aforesaid, as we were taking in of water by Port Famine, our boate-swaine, the hooper, and William Magoths being on shoare) Matthew Hawlse did hallow to haue them in all the haste come on-bord: saying therewithall these words: He that will come in this voyage, must not make any reckoning to leaue two or three men on shore behinde him, whereas we had so lately lost all the foresaide men, hauing then but sixe sailers left vs on-bord. Also the saide Matthew Hawlse did cary a pistoll for the space of two dayes secretly vnder his gowne, intending therewithall to haue murthered Andrew Stoning, and William Combe, as by confession of Hawlse his man, William Martin, it is manifest: for the saide William Martine reported vnto two of his friends, viz. Richard Hungate, and Emanuel Dornel, that he kneeled vpon his knees one whole houre before Matthew Hawlse in his owne cabin, desiring him, for Gods cause, not to kill either of them, especially because the saide Stoning and Martin came both out of one towne. Also the said Hawlse, at our second time of watering in the place aforesaid, came into the Gunners roome to speake with you (your selfe with the master Gunner Thomas Browne, and his mate William Frier being then present) demanding of you, if he should send certaine men to Port famine being two leagues from the ship by land. Thomas Browne answered him presently, that he should send none, for feare least the wind might arise, and by that meanes we should loose so many of our men more: to whom Matthew Hawlse replied that it was not material, for that he had made choyce of a company for the very same purpose, whose names were Emmanuel Dornel, Richard Hungate, Paul Carie, John Dauis, Gabriel Valerosa, a Portugall, and Peter a Britaine, and the Spaniard which we had taken in at the same place, at our first time of watering. And thus we end, desiring God to sende vs well into our natiue countrey. In witnesse whereof wee haue subscribed our names.

The Spaniard taken in at Port Famine.

Thomas Browne, Gunner,
Iohn Morrice, &c.

The

The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish esquire, intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of China, with 3. tall ships, and two barks: Written by M. Iohn Iane, a man of good obseruation, imployed in the same, and many other voyages.

THe 26. of August 1591, wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barkes, The Galeon wherein M. Candish went himselfe being Admiral, The Roebucke vice-admirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Desire Rere-admirall whereof was Captaine M. Iohn Dauis (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinnesse, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

The 29. of Nouember wee fell with the bay of Saluador vpon the coast of Brasil 12. leagues on this side Cabo Frio, where wee were becalmed vntill the second of December: at which time wee tooke a small barke bound for the Riuer of Plate with sugar, haberdash wares, and Negros. The Master of this barke brought vs vnto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues West from Cabo Frio, where wee arriued the fift of December, and rifled sixe or seuen houses inhabited by Portugales. The 11. wee departed from this place, and the fourteenth we arriued at the yle of S. Sebastian: from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Dauis presently departed with The Desire and the blacke pinnesse, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15. at euening we anckered at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being discouered, wee were inforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a sterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Masse both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as prisoners. The cause why master Candish desired to take this towne was to supply his great wants: For being in Santos, and hauing it in quiet possession, wee stood in assurance to supply all needes in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our gouernour master Cocke, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsoeuer they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our prisoners were all set at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as pawnes to supply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left vnto vs nakedly bare, without people and prouision.

Boya de Saluador.

A barke taken.

Cabo Frio.

Isla de Placencia.

Isle de S. Sebastian.

The towne of Santos taken.

Eight or tenne dayes after master Candish himselfe came thither, where hee remained vntill the 22. of Ianuary, seeking by intreatie to haue that, whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to liue there, and were glad to receiue a fewe canisters or baskets of Cassaui meale; so that in euery condition wee went worse furnished from the towne, then when wee came vnto it. The 22. of Ianuary we departed from Santos, and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24. we set saile, shaping our course for the Streights of Magellan.

The towne of S. Vincent burnt.

The seuenth of February we had a very great storme, and the eighth our Fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest. Then our Captaine called vnto him the Master of our ship, whom hee found to be a very honest and sufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Desire, which is in the Southerly latitude of 48. degrees; hoping that the Generall would come thither, because that in his first voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could neuer get any direction what course to take in any such extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I haue heard him with griefe report. In sayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein master Cocke had endured great extremities, and had lost his boate, and therefore desired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very desperate case. Our Captaine hoised out his boate, and went abord him to know his estate, and returning tolde vs the hardnesse thereof, and desired the Master and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to loose The Roe-bucke, and so wee both arriued at Port Desire the sixth of March.

They arriue at Port Desire.

The 16. of March The Blacke pinnesse came vnto vs, but master Gilberts barke came not.

M. Adrian Gilberts barke returneth for England.

but returned home to England, hauing their Captaine abord the Roe-bucke without any prouision more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence abord our ship to remaine with our Captaine, by reason of the great friendshipp betweene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the road, and master Candish came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea; for his long boat and light-horseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnesse which he had built at Santos: and being abord The Desire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and spake most hardly of his company, and of diuers gentlemen that were with him, purposing no more to goe abord his owne ship, but to stay in The Desire. We all sorrowed to heare such hard speaches of our good friends; but hauing spoken with the gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceiue of them.

A pinnesse built at Santos.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Desire, master Candish being in The Desire with vs. The eighth of April 1592. wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious stormes betweene Port Desire and the Streight. The 14. we passed through the first Streight. The 16. we passed the second Streight being ten leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and ½. The 21. wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small coone with our ships, 4. leagues from the said Cape, vpon the South shoare, where wee remained vntil the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme stormes, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not hauing wherewith to couer their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but liuing by muskles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small reliefe of the ships store in meale sometimes. And all the sicke men in the Galeon were most vncharitably put a shore into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could skarcely indure it, where they ended their liues in the highest degree of misery, master Candish all this while being abord the Desire. In these great extremities of snow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he asked our Captaines opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the Northwest parts, in his 3. seuerall discoueries that way, imployed by the marchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this snowe was a matter of no long continuance, and gaue him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby hee could not much be preiudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithstanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purposed not to stay in the Streights, but to depart vpon some other voyage, or else to returne againe for Brasil. But his resolution was to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperança. The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay Gods fauour for a winde, and to indure all hardnesse whatsoeuer, rather then to giue ouer the voyage, considering they had bene here but a smal time, and because they were within fourtie leagues of the South sea, it grieued them now to returne; notwithstanding what hee purposed that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperança, and to giue ouer this voyage. Then our Captaine, after master Candish was come abord The Desire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremitie of his estate, the slendernesse of his prouisions, with the weakenesse of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the rest of your shippes (said hee) bee furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to performe your determination: for wee haue no more sailes then mastes, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is ouer head, and among seuentie and fiue persons, there is but the Master alone that can order the shippe, and but foureteene saylers. The rest are gentlemen, seruingmen, and artificers. Therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprize in hand. These perswasions did our Captaine not onely vse to master Candish, but also to master Cocke. In fine vpon a petition deliuered in writing by the chiefe of the whole company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Brasil.

They fall with the Streights of Magellan.

They returne from the Streights of Magellan.

So the 15. of May wee set saile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to haue our boat sunke at our sterne in the night, and to be split and sore spoiled, and to loose all our ores.

The

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Desire, in the night the Generall altered his course, as we suppose, by which occasion wee lost him: for in the euening he stood close by a winde to seaward, hauing the winde at Northnortheast, and wee standing the same way, the winde not altering, could not the next day see him: so that we then perswaded our selues, that hee was gone for Port Desire to relieue himselfe, or that hee had sustained some mischance at Sea, and was gone thither to remedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generals men vnto him, with the rest, and asked their opinion what was to bee done. Euery one sayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Desire. Then the Master being the Generals man, and carefull of his masters seruice, as also of good iudgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Desire, if wee shoulde there misse the Generall: for (saide hee) wee haue no boate to lande our selues, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare trust in so quicke streames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee stayed our course for Port Desire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinnesse, which had likewise lost the Fleete, being in very miserable case: so wee both concluded to seeke the Generall at Port Desire. The occasion of losing the Generall.

The sixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Desire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other necessaries for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow. But referring all to the prouidence and fatherly protection of the Almightie, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods fauour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Hauing mored our shippe with the pinnesses boate, wee landed vpon the South shore, where wee found a standing poole of fresh water, which by estimation might holde some tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then fortie tunnes of water, and yet we left the poole as full as wee found it. And because at our first being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perswaded our selues that God had sent it for our reliefe. Also there were such extraordinary low ebbes as we had neuer seene, whereby wee got muskles in great plentie. Likewise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes euery man caught as many as hee coulde eate: by which meanes wee preserued our ships victuals, and spent not any during the time of our abode here. They come againe to Port Desire the 26. of May. A quiet road. A poole of fresh water on the South side of Port Desire. Abundance of muskles and smelts.

Our Captaine and Master falling into the consideration of our estate and dispatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants so great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitte our shippe to set saile. For wee must needes set vp a Smiths forge, to make boltes, spikes, and nayles, besides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their best course to take the pinnesse, and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leauing the shippe and the rest of the company vntill the Generals returne; for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde vs. The Captaine and Master of the pinnesse being the Generals men were well contented with the motion.

But the Generall hauing in our shippe two most pestilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they vtterly misliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both shippes, vehemently perswading them, that our Captaine and Master would leaue them in the countrey to bee deuoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercilesse and without charitie: whereupon the whole company loyned in secret with them in a night to murther our Captaine and Master, with my selfe, and all those which they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muskets through the shippes side, and bullets made of siluer for the execution, if their other purposes should faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the bote-swaine of our shippe, who when hee knew the matter, and the slender ground thereof, reueiled it vnto our Master, and so to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in question, those two most murtherous fellowes were found out, whose names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith. A dangerous mutiny.

The Captaine being thus hardly beset in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was constrained to vse lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie: shewing, that

to doe the Generall seruice, vnto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cause why hee purposed to goe vnto him in the pinnesse, considering, that the pinnesse was so necessary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, because hee was fearefull of the shore in so great shippes. Whereupon all cried out with cursing and swearing, that the pinnesse should not goe vnlesse the shippe went. Then the Captaine desired them to shewe themselues Christians, and not so blasphemously to behaue themselues, without regard or thankesgiuing to God for their great deliuerance, and present sustenance bestowed vpon them, alleaging many examples of Gods sharpe punishment for such ingratitude; and withall promised to doe any thing that might stand with their good liking. By which gentle speaches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Master at the request of the company were content to forgiue this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in these wordes: The Lord iudge betweene you and mee: which after came to a most sharpe reuenge euen by the punishment of the Almightie. Thus by a generall consent it was concluded not to depart, but there to stay for the Generals returne. Then our Captaine and Master, seeing that they could not doe the Generall that seruice which they desired, made a motion to the companie, that they would lay downe vnder their handes the losing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then stoode: whereunto they consented, and wrote vnder their hands as followeth.

The testimoniall of the companie of The Desire touching their losing of their Generall, which appeareth to haue beene vtterly against their meanings.

THe 26 of August 1591 wee whose names bee here vnder written, with diuers others departed from Plimmouth vnder M. Thomas Candish our Generall, with 4 ships of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Desire, and The Black pinnesse, for the performance of a voyage into The South sea. The 19 of Nouember we fell with the bay of Saluador in Brasil. The 16 of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to reuictuall our selues, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of Ianuary we set saile from Santos, shaping our course for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent stormes the sayde fleete was parted: The Robuck and The Desire arriued in Porte Desire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinnesse arriued there also: and the 18 of the same our admirall came into the roade; with whom we departed the 20 of March in poore and weake estate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entred The Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South sea, where wee rode vntill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great store of snowe, with some gustie weather, the wind continuing still at Westnorthwest against vs. In this time wee were inforced for the preseruing of our victuals, to liue the most part vpon muskles, our prouision was so slender; so that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Brasil there to winter, & to procure victuals for this voyage against the next yeere. So we departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Desire 30 leagues off the shoare, the wind then at Northeast and by North, at fiue of the clock at night lying Northeast, wee suddenly cast about lying Southeast and by South, and sometimes Southeast: the whole fleete following the admirall, our ship comming vnder his lee shot ahead him, and so framed saile fit to keepe companie. This night wee were seuered, by what occasion wee protest wee know not, whither we lost them or they vs. In the morning we only saw The Black pinnesse, then supposing that the admirall had ouershot vs. All this day wee stoode to the Eastwards, hoping to find him, because it was not likely, that he would stand to the shoare againe so suddenly. But missing him towards night, we stood to the shoareward, hoping by that course to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent storme, with the winde at Northwest, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare saile, and this night we perished our maine tressle-trees, so that wee could no more vse our maine top-saile, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnesse likewise receiued a great leake, so that wee were inforced to seeke the next shoare for our reliefe. And because famine was like to bee the best ende, wee desired to goe for Port Desire, hoping with seales and penguins to relieue our selues, and

The maner how they lost their Generall.

and so to make shift to followe the Generall, or there to stay his comming from Brasil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the sea very loftie, so that our ship had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-shrowdes brake, so that if wee had not beene neere the shoare, it had beene impossible for vs to get out of the sea. And nowe being here mored in Port Desire, our shroudes are all rotten, not hauing a running rope whereto wee may trust, and being prouided onely of one shift of sailes all worne, our top-sailes not able to abide any stresse of weather, neither haue wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any store for the supplying of these wantes; and wee liue onely vpon seales and muskles, hauing but fiue hogsheads of porke within bourd, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke. And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our fleete, and to bring vs into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though otherwise we are hopelesse of comfort, yet because the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great fauour toward vs his creatures are farre beyond the scope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to haue deliuerance in this our deepe distresse. Also forasmuch as those vpon whom God will bestow the fauour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onely themselues remaine blamelesse, but also manifest the trueth of our actions, wee haue thought good in Christian charitie to lay downe vnder our hands the trueth of all our proceedings euen till the time of this our distresse.

Giuen in Port Desire the 2 of Iune 1592. Beseching the almightie God of his mercie to deliuer vs from this miserie, how or when it shall please his diuine Maiestie.

Iohn Dauis Captaine.	Thomas Watkins.
Randolph Cotton.	George Cunington.
Iohn Pery.	Iohn Whiting.
William Maber gunner.	Iames Ling.
Charles Parker.	The Boat-swain.
Rouland Miller.	Francis Smith.
Edward Smith.	Iohn Layes.
Thomas Purpet.	The Boat-swaines mate.
Matthew Stubbes.	Fisher.
Iohn Ienkinson.	Iohn Austin.
Thomas Edwards.	Francis Copstone.
Edward Granger.	Richard Garet.
Iohn Lewis.	Iames Euersby.
William Hayman.	Nicolas Parker.
George Straker.	Leonard.
Thomas Walbie.	Iohn Pick.
William Wyeth.	Benjamin.
Richard Alard.	William Maber.
Stephan Popham.	Iames Not.
Alexander Cole.	Christopher Hauser.

After they had deliuered this relation vnto our captaine vnder their handes, then wee began to trauell for our liues, and wee built vp a smiths forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nailes, boltes, and spikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the rest gathered muskles, and tooke smeltes for the whole companie. Three leagues from this harborough there is an Isle with foure small Isles about it, where there are great abundance of seales, and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded with the pinnesse, that she should sometimes goe thither to fetch seales for vs; vpon which condition wee would share our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed. So wee parted our poore store, and shee laboured to fetch vs seales to eate, wherewith wee liued when smeltes and muskles failed: for in the nepe streames wee could get no muskles. Thus in most miserable calamitie wee remained vntill the sixt of August, still keeping watch vpon the hils to looke for our Generall, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soule, as I thinke neuer flesh and blood endured

An Isle neere Port Desire abounding with seales and penguins.

dured more. Thus our miserie dayly increasing, time passing, and our hope of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Master were fully perswaded, that the Generall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: whereupon they thought no course more conuenient then to goe presently for The Streights, and there to stay his comming, for in that place hee could not passe, but of force wee must see him: whereunto the companie most willingly consented, as also the Captaine and master of the pinnesse; so that vpon this determinatian wee made all possible speede to depart.

They depart the second time from Port Desire for the Streights of Magellan.

The sixt of August wee set saile, and went to Penguin-isle, and the next day wee salted twentie hogsheads of seales, which was as much as our salt could possibly doe, and so wee departed for The Streights the poorest wretches that euer were created. The seuenth of August towarde night wee departed from Penguin-isles, shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had full confidence to meete with our Generall. The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driuen in among certaine Isles neuer before discouered by any knowen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare East and Northerly from The Streights: in which place, vnlesse it had pleased God of his wonderfull mercie to haue ceased the winde, wee must of necessitie haue perished. But the winde shifting to the East, wee directed our course for The Streights, and the 18 of August wee fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the same night we ankered ten leagues within the Cape. The 19 day wee passed the first and the second Streights. The 21 wee doubled Cape Froward. The 22 we ankered in Saluage coue, so named, because wee found many Saluages there: notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people goe naked, and liue in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very strong, and threw stones at vs of three or foure pound weight an incredible distance. The 24 in the morning wee departed from this coue, and the same day we came into the Northwest reach, which is the last reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankored in a good coue, within fourteene leagues of the South sea: in this place we purposed to stay for the General, for the streight in this place is scarce three miles broad, so that he could not passe but we must see him. After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of winter, our victuals consuming, (for our Seals stunke most vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greatest part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heauie distresse, our captaine and Master thought it the best course to depart from the Streights into the South sea, and to go for the Isle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldiuia in 37 degrees & a quarter, where we might haue reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and there stay for the Generall, for of necessity he must come by that Isle. So we departed the 13 of September, & came in sight of the South sea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recouered a coue 3 leagues within the streights from the South sea. Againe we put foorth, & being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at Westnorthwest, we were inforced againe into the streights only for want of sails; for we neuer durst beare saile in any stresse of weather, they were so weake: so againe we recouered the coue three leagues within the streights, where we indured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleased God to calme the storme, and wee vnriued our sheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ship to the trees close by the rockes. We laboured to recouer our ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay so deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane couered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the middest of these our troubles it pleased God that the wind came faire the first of October; whereupon with all expedition wee loosed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and so towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Desire, and had fiue oares of the pinnesse. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one strand helde: then wee praysed God; for we saw apparantly his mercies in preseruing vs. Being in the chanel, we riued our ropes, & againe rigged our ship, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured euen for the last gaspe of life.

Certaine Isles neuer before discouered fifty leagues northeast off The Streights.

The first and seeld Streight. Cape Froward. Saluage coue.

The northwest or last reach of the streights.

Their first entrance into ye South sea.

They enter the South sea the second time.

life. Here our company was deuided; some desired to go againe for Port Desire, and there to be set on shore, where they might trauell for their liues, and some stood with the Captaine & Master to proceed. Whereupon the Captaine sayd to the Master: Master, you see the wonderfull extremitie of our estate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South sea: some say in secret, as I am informed, that we vndertake these desperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainely make knowen vnto you, that the loue which I bare to the Generall caused mee first to enter into this action, whereby I haue not onely heaped vpon my head this bitter calamity now present, but also haue in some sort procured the dislike of my best friends in England, as it is not vnknown to some in this company. But now being thus intangled by the prouidence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I desire, that it may please his diuine Maiestie to show vs such mercifull fauour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwise: or if it be his wil, that our mortall being shal now take an ende, I rather desire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And because I see in reason, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity intreat you all, first to forgiue me in whatsoeuer I haue bin grieuous vnto you; secondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then vse hard speeches of him; and let vs be fully perswaded, that not for his cause & negligence, but for our own offences against the diuine Maiesty we are presently punished; lastly, let vs forgiue one another and be reconciled as children in loue & charity, and not think vpon the vanities of this life: so shall we in leauing this life liue with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find fauour with God. And now (good master) forasmuch as you haue bin in this voyage once before with your master the general, satisfie the cõpany of such truths, as are to you best knowen; & you the rest of the generals men, which likewise haue bin with him in his first voyage if you heare any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reprooue it, I pray you. And so I beseech the Lord to bestow his mercy vpon vs. Then the master began in these speeches: Captain, your request is very reasonable, & I referre to your iudgment my honest care, & great pains taken in the generals seruice, my loue towards him, & in what sort I haue discharged my duety, from the first day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I haue performed. You all knowe, that when I was extreamely sicke, the General was lost in my mates watch, as you haue well examined: sithens which time, in what anguish and griefe of minde I haue liued, God onely knoweth, and you are in some part a witnesse. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gainesay it: but this I assure you, if life may be preserued by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Isle of Santa Maria I doe assure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Also I will bring you to an Isle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee shall haue meale in great plenty, besides all our possibilitie of intercepting some shippes vpon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if wee returne there is nothing but death to be hoped for: therefore doe as you like, I am ready, but my desire is to proceede. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall consent of proceeding; and so the second of October we put into the South sea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Westnorthwest, and still increased in fury, so that wee were in great doubt what course to take: to put into the Streights wee durst not for lacke of ground-tackle: to beare sayle wee doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sayles so bad. The pinnesse came roome with vs, and tolde vs that shee had receiued many grieuous Seas, and that her ropes did euery houre fayle her, so as they could not tell what shift to make: wee being vnable in any sort to helpe them, stood vnder our coarses in view of the lee-shore, still expecting our ruinous end.

This Santos standeth vpon the coast of Peru in 9 deg. of Southerly latitude.

They enter the South sea the third time.

The fourth of October the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnesse being in the winde of vs, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had receiued some grieuous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with vs: but we durst not hull in that vnmercifull storme, but sometimes tried vnder our maine coarse, sometime

time with a haddock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea. This night wee lost the pinnesse, and neuer saw her againe.

The blacke pinnesse lost in the South sea.

The fift, our foresayle was split, and all to torne: then our Master tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship worke, and with our spritsaile we mended our foresayle, the storme continuing without all reason in fury, with haile, snowe, raine, and winde such and so mighty, as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ship did sinke or swimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men hauing giuen ouer to trauell, we yeelded ourselues to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very pensiue, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to mooue a ioint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grieuous sighs he concluded in these words: Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Iesus Christ be taken from me: and end our daies with speede, or shew vs some mercifull signe of thy loue and our preseruation. Hauing thus ended, he desired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere; so that he and the Master both obserued the true eleuation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recouer the Streights. Wherewithall our captaine and Master were so reuiued, & gaue such comfortable speeches to the company, that euery man reioiced, as though we had receiued a present deliuerance. The next day being the 11 of October, we saw Cabo Deseado being the cape on the South shore (the North shore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Isles, & sholds.) This cape being within two leages to leeward off vs, our master greatly doubted, that we could not double the same: whereupon the captain told him: You see there is no remedy, either we must double it, or before noon we must die: therefore loose your sails, and let vs put it to Gods mercy. The master being a man of good spirit resolutely made quicke dispatch & set saile. Our sailes had not bene halfe an houre aboord, but the footrope of our foresaile brake, so that nothing held but the oylet holes. The seas continually brake ouer the ships poope, and flew into the sailes with such violence, that we still expected the tearing of our sayles, or ouersetting of the ship, and withall to our vtter discomfort, wee perceiued that wee fell still more and more to leeward, so that wee could not double the cape: wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and so neere the shore, that the counter-suffe of the sea would rebound against the shippes side, so that wee were much dismayed with the horror of our present ende. Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond measure, our Master veared some of the maine sheate; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rocke, where wee thought shee would haue shored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; so that wee were somewhat farther from the shoare: and when we were come so farre as the cape, wee yeelded to death: yet our good God the Father of all mercies deliuered vs, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our shippe, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently tooke in our sayles, which onely God had preserued vnto vs: and when we were shot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of sayle, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in sixe houres wee were put fiue and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a sea answerable to the Ocean.

The Cape Deseado must dangerously doubled, after they had been nine dayes in the South sea.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and after wee had rested a little, our men were not able to mooue; their sinewes were stiffe, and their flesh dead, and many of them (which

is

is most lamentable to bee reported) were so eaten with lice, as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peason, yea and some as big as beanes. Being in this miserie we were constrained to put into a coone for the refreshing our men. Our Master knowing the shore and euery coone very perfectly, put in with the shore, and mored to the trees, as beforetime we had done, laying our ankor to the seaward. Here we continued vntil the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to stay through extremitie of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reasonable calme: but before night it blew most extreamely at Westnorthwest. The storme growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were constrained by discretion of the Captaine and Master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-darke night, when we could not see any shore, the chanell being in some places scarse three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee first passed through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered: which plat heeand the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had euery turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conueyed the ship through that crooked chanell: so that I conclude, the world hath not any so skilfull pilots for that place, as they are: for otherwise wee could neuer haue passed in such sort as we did.

An excellent plat of the Streights of Magellan.

The 25 wee came to an Island in the Streights named Penguin-isle, whither wee sent our boate to seeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme; so wee came to an ankor by the Island in seuen fadomes. While our boate was at shore, and we had great store of Penguins, there arose a sudden storme, so that our ship did driue ouer a breach and our boate sanke at the shore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on shore leapt in the boate, and freed the same, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recouered the ship: my selfe also was in the boate the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while driuing vpon the lee-shore, when wee came aboord, we helped to set sayle, and weighed the ankor; for before our comming they could scarse hoise vp their yardes, yet with much adoe they set their fore-coarse. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the seuen and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-isle being three leagues from Port Desire, the place which wee purposed to seeke for our reliefe.

Penguin-isle within three leagues of Port Desire.

When wee were come to this Isle wee sent our boate on shore, which returned laden with birdes and egges: and our men sayd that the Penguins were so thicke vpon the Isle, that shippes might be laden with them; for they could not goe without treading vpon the birds, whereat we greatly reioiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to go on shore, and to stay vpon the Isle, for the killing and drying of those Penguins, and promised after the ship was in harborough to send the rest, not onely for expedition, but also to saue the small store of victuals in the shippe. But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected, that this was a deuise of the Captaine to leaue his men on shore, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the rest to recouer their countrey: and when they remembered, that this was the place where they would haue slaine their Captaine and Master, surely (thought they) for reuenge hereof will they leaue vs on shore. Which when our Captaine vnderstood, hee vsed these speeches vnto them: I vnderstand that you are doubtfull of your security through the peruersenesse of your owne guilty consciences: it is an extreame griefe vnto me, that you should iudge mee blood-thirstie, in whome you haue seene nothing but kinde conuersation: if you haue found otherwise, speake boldly, and accuse mee of the wrongs that I haue done; if not, why do you then measure me by your owne vncharitable consciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the vtmost of your powers, to murther me and the master causeles, as God knoweth, which euil in this place we did remit you: & now I may conceiue without doing you wrong, that you againe purpose some euill in bringing these matters to repetition: but God hath so shortened your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you: it is for your Masters sake that I haue forborne you in your vnchristian practizes: and here I protest before God, that for his sake alone I will yet indure this iniury, and you shall in no sorte be preiudiced,

or in any thing be by me commanded: but when we come into England (if God so fauour vs) your master shall knowe your honesties; in the meane space be voide of these suspicions, for, God I call to witnes, reuenge is no part of my thought. They gaue him thanks, desiring to go into the harborough with the ship, which he granted. So there were ten left vpon the Isle, and the last of October we entred the harborough. Our Master at our last being here hauing taken carefull notice of euery creeke in the riuer, in a very conuenient place, vpon sandy oaze, ran the ship on ground, laying our ankor to seaward, and with our running ropes mored her to stakes vpon the shore, which hee had fastened for that purpose; where the ship remained till our departure.

They enter Port Desire the third time.

The third of Nouember our boat with water, wood, and as many as shee could carry, went for the Isle of Penguins: but being deepe, she durst not proceed, but returned againe the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townesend, Purpet, with fiue others, desired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were against the Isle, it being scarce a mile from the shore. The captaine bade them doe what they thought best, aduising them to take weapons with them: for (sayd he) although we haue not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Sauages. They answered, that here were great store of Deere, and Ostriches; but if there were Saluages, they would deuoure them: notwithstanding the captaine caused them to cary weapons, calieuers, swordes, and targets: so the sixt of Nouember they departed by land, and the bote by sea; but from that day to this day wee neuer heard of our men. The 11 while most of our men were at the Isle, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of Saluages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beasts, hauing vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared least they would set our ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marueiled: they came to windward of our ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke: but as soone as they came within our shot, we shot at them, & striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, so that we neuer heard nor saw more of them. Hereby we iudged that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men. When we considered what they were that thus were slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would haue murthered our Captaine & Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the iust iudgement of God, and made supplication to his diuine Maiesty to be mercifull vnto vs. While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Master went with the boat to discouer how farre this riuer did run, that if neede should enforce vs to leaue our ship, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther than 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they sent the boate to the Isle of Penguins; whereby wee vnderstood that the Penguins dryed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth vnder water with as great swiftnes as any fish. They liue vpon smelts, whereof there is great abundance vpon this coast: in eating they be neither fish nor flesh: they lay great egs, and the bird is of a reasonable bignes, very neere twise so big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared passing well with egs, Penguins, yong Seales, young Gulles, besides other birds, such as I know not: of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scuruygrasse, which wee fried with egs, vsing traine oyle in stead of butter. This herbe did so purge & blood, that it tooke away all kind of swellings, of which many died, & restored vs to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as whe we came first out of England. We stayed in this harbour vntil the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins; & the Captaine, the Master, and myselfe had made some salt, by laying salt water vpon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kerned. Thus God did feed vs eue as it were with Manna frō heauen.

Penguin Isle scarce a mile frō the maine.

Nine men lost.

A great multitude of Saluages with vizards, or faces like vnto dogs faces.

The riuer of Port Desire but 20 miles nauigable by boate.

The great benefit of the herbe called Scuruygrasse.

They stayed 7 weekes in Port Desire.

A pretty deuise to make salt.

The 22 of December we departed with our ship for the Isle, where with great difficulty, by the skilful industry of our Master we got 14000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboord: & had not our Master bene very expert in the set

of

of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place: but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the rest, and shaped our course for Brasil. Nowe our captaine rated our victuals, and brought vs to such allowance, as that our victuals might last sixe moneths; for our hope was, that within sixe moneths we might recouer our countrey, though our sailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces & a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to haue so twise a weeke, so that 5 ounces did serue for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three spoonfuls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peason, a pint betweene 4 men a day, and euery day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance; wherewith (we praise God) we liued, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of Ianuary we arriued at the Ile of Placencia in Brasill, the first place that outward bound we were at: and hauing made the sholde, our ship lying off at sea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went with the boat on shore, being a whole night before they could recouer it. The last of Ianuary at sun-rising they suddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houses, & by that meanes to recouer some Casaui-meale, or other victuals for our reliefe: but when they came to the houses, they were all razed, and burnt to the ground, so that we thought no man had remained on the Iland. Then the captaine went to the gardens, & brought from thence fruits & roots for the company, and came aboord the ship, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where we might more her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caske. Our case being very desperate, we presently laboured for dispatch away; some cut hoopes, which the coopers made, others laboured vpon the sailes and ship, euery man trauelling for his life, & still a guard was kept on shore to defend those that laboured, euery man hauing his weapon likewise by him. The 3 of February our men with 23 shot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from vs vpon the North shore, and fetched Cazaui-roots out of the ground, to relieue our company instead of bread; for we spent not of our meale while we staied here. The 5 of February being Munday, our captaine and master hasted the company to their labour; so some went with the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the rest laboured aboord. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed of murther & slaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one saying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert slaine; another answered, and I dreamed, that thou wert slaine: and this was general through the ship. The captaine hearing this, who likewise had dreamed very strangely himselfe, gaue very streight charge, that those which went on shore should take weapons with them, and saw them himselfe deliuered into the boat, & sent some of purpose to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietuesse, & when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods side (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazaui-roots, & dined: after dinner some slept, some washed themselues in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, & no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus sleeping & sporting, hauing gotten themselues into a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians & Portugales vpon them, and slew them sleeping: onely two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we vnderstood of this miserable massacre: with all speed we manned our boat, & landed to succour our men; but we found them slaine, & laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces vpward, and a crosse set by them: and withall we saw two very great pinnesses come from the riuer of Ienero very ful of men; whom we mistrusted came from thence to take vs: because there came from Ienero souldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was strong in it. Of 76 persons which departed in our ship out of England, we were now left but 27, hauing lost 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muskets, caliuers, powder, & shot. Our caske was all in decay, so that we could not take in more water than was in our ship, for want of caske, and that which we had was maruellous ill conditioned: and being there mored by trees for want of cables and ankers, we still expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our decks with our owne furniture, & to be assayled

A poore allowance of victuals.

The Ile of Placencia in Brasill.

Ominous and forewarning dreames.

Thirteene men lost at the Ile of Placencia by their owne extreme negligence.

assayled by them of Ienero: what distresse we were now driuen into, I am not able to expresse. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in such bad caske was to sterue at sea, & in staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choises; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we had tasted, & of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance & small shot in a readines, for any assalt that should come, & hauing a small gale of winde, we recouered the sea in most deepe distresse. Then bemoning our estate one to another, and recounting ouer all our extremities, nothing grieued vs more, then the losse of our men twise, first by the slaughter of the Canibals at Port Desire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And considering what they were that were lost, we found that al those that conspired the murthering of our captaine & master were now slain by saluages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at sea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary; so that 3 weekes we were grieuously vexed with crosse windes, & our water consuming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to Baya, & to submit themselues to the Portugales, rather then to die for thirst: but the captaine with faire perswasions altered their purpose of yeelding to the Portugales. In this distresse it pleased God to send vs raine in such plenty, as that we were wel watered, & in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere vnto the sun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, & there bred in thē a most lothsome & vgly worme of an inch long. This worme did so mightily increase, and deuoure our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should auoide famine, but be deuoured of these wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not deuour, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, shooes, hats, shirts, stockings: and for the ship they did so eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would vndoe vs, by gnawing through the ships side. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, master, and company to consume these vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased; so that at the last we could not sleepe for them, but they would eate our flesh, and bite like Mosquitos. In this wofull case, after we had passed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I thinke the like was neuer heard of: for in their ankles it began to swell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath, and then fell into their cods; and their cods and yardes did swell most grieuously, and most dreadfully to behold, so that they could neither stand, lie, nor goe. Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captain with extreme anguish of his soule, was in such wofull case, that he desired only a speedie end, and though he were scarce able to speake for sorrow, yet he perswaded them to patience, and to giue God thankes, & like dutifull children to accept of his chastisement. For all this diuers grew raging mad, & some died in most lothsome & furious paine. It were incredible to write our misery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine & one boy. The master being a man of good spirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, so that it grew not vpon him. To be short, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to moue. The captaine was in good health, the master indifferent, captaine Cotton and myselfe swolne and short winded, yet better then the rest that were sicke, and one boy in health: vpon vs 5 only the labour of the ship did stand. The captaine and master, as occasion serued, would take in, and heaue out the top-sailes, the master onely attended on the sprit-saile, and all of vs at the capsten without sheats and tacks. In fine our miserie and weaknesse was so great, that we could not take in, nor heaue out a saile: so our top-saile & sprit-sailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The master and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily distressed and monstrously grieued with the most wofull lamentation of our sick men. Thus as lost wanderers vpon the sea, the 11 of Iune 1593, it pleased God that we arriued at Bear-hauen in Ireland, and there ran the ship on shore: where the Irish men helped vs to take in our sailes, and to more our ship for flooting: which slender paines of theirs cost the captaine some ten pounds before he could haue the ship in safetie. Thus without victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided vs into Ireland, where the captaine left the master and three or foure of the company

Cabe Frio 30 leagues east off the Ile of Placencia.

A most strange and noisome kind of worme bred of vnsalted Penguins.

They arriue at Bear-hauen in Ireland the 11 of Iune 1593.

company to keepe the ship: and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had passage in an English fisher-boat to Padstow in Cornewall. In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserued, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent in the yere 1596 vnto the great Emperor of China by M. Richard Allot and M. Thomas Bromefield marchants of the citie of London, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ships, to wit, The Beare, The Beares whelpe, and the Beniamin; set forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir Robert Duddely, and committed vnto the command and conduct of M. Beniamin Wood, a man of approoued skill in nauigation: who, together with his ships and company (because we haue heard no certaine newes of them since the moneth of February next after their departure) we do suppose, may be arriued vpon some part of the coast of China, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour, or perhaps may haue some treacherie wrought against them by the Portugales of Macao, or the Spaniards of the Philippinas.

ELizabetha Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & Christianæ fidei contra omnes falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuictissima propugnatrix &c. Altissimo, Serenissimóq; Principi, potentissimo magni regni Chinæ dominatori, summo in illis Asiæ partibus Insulísq; adiacentibus imperatori, & magno in orientalibus mundi regionibus Monarchæ, salutem, multósq; cum omni optimarum rerũ copia & affluentia lætos & fœlices annos. Cum honesti & fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad serenitatem vestram perferunt, Richardus Allott & Thomas Bromefield, ciuitatis nostræ Londini in dicto nostro regno Angliæ mercatores, impensè a nobis efflagitauerint, vt eorum studia ad imperij vestri regiones (commercij gracia) nauigandi commendaremus: Cúmq; regni vestri fortiter prudentérq; administrati fama, per vniuersam terrarũ orbem disseminata & diuulgata, subditos hos nostros inuitauerit, non solum vt dominationis vestræ regiones inuisant, sed vt regni vestri legibus & institutis, dum in illis mundi partibus cõmorati fuerint, regendos se & moderandos permittant, prout mercatores decet, qui mercimoniorũ commutandorum causa ad tam longè dissitas, nec adhuc nostro orbi satis cognitas regiones, penetrare cupiunt, illud vnum spectantes, vt mercimonia sua, mercimoniorũq; quorundam, quibus ditionis nostræ regiones abundant, exemplaria quædã siue specimina, serenitatis vestræ subditorũmq; vestrorũ conspectui offerant, & diligenter cognoscere studeant, si quæ aliæ sint apud nos merces quæ vestro vsui inseruiant, quas honesto & vbique terrarum licito commercij ritu alijs mercibus (quarum in imperij vestri regionib⁹, tam artis quam naturæ beneficio magna copia est) commutare possint. Nos æquissimis honestorum hominum precibus acquiescentes, quia nihil ex iustissimo hoc mercaturæ vsu incommodi siue dispendij oriturum, sed plurimũ potius emolumenti vtriusq; regni tum principibus tum subditis prouenturum existimamus, dum earũ rerum quibus abundamus exportatione, & aliarum quibus egemus inuectione, æquissimis precijs iuuari vtrinque & locupletari possimus; Serenissimam Maiestatem vestram rogamus, vt subditis his nostris, cum mercimoniorum vendendorum & permutandorum gratia, ad imperij vestri stationes, portus, loca, oppida, ciuitates accesserint, eundi, redeundi, & cum subditis vestris negotiandi, plena & libera fiat potestas: Illísq; huiusmodi libertates, immunitates, & priuilegia, quæ aliorum principum subditis, apud vos mercaturam exercentibus, concedi solent, serenitatis vestræ clementia inuiolata conseruentur; & nos vicissim, non tantùm omnia amicæ principis officia serenitati vestræ deferemus, sed ad maiorem communis inter nos subditósq; nostros amicitiæ & cõmercij propagationem, subditis vestris omnibus & singulis, si serenissimæ Maiestati vestræ ita visum fuerit, plenam & integram in ditionis nostræ quascunq; regiones veniendi, commorandi, negotiandi, & reuertendi, potestatem per præsentes has literas nostras libentissimè concedimus. Quæ omnia & singula regij nostri sigilli appositione communiri fecimus. Deus opt. max. cœli & terræ conditor, regiam Maiestatem vestram diutissimè seruet incolumem. Datæ in Palatio nostro Grenouici xj. mensis Iulij Anno Christi 1596. annóq; nostri regni xxxviij.

The

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, the most mightie defendresse of the true & christian faith against all that falsely professe the name of Christ &c. To the most high and soueraigne Prince the most puissant Gouernour of the great kingdome of China, the chiefest Emperour in those parts of Asia and of the Ilands adioyning, and the great monarke of the orientall regions of the world; wisheth health, and many ioyfull and happy yeeres, with all plenty and abundance of things most acceptable. Whereas our honest and faithfull subiects which bring these letters vnto your Highnesse, Richard Allot & Thomas Bromefield, marchants of our citie of London in our foresaid kingdome of England, haue made most earnest suit vnto vs, that we would commend their desires and endeuours of sayling to the regions of your Empire for traffiques sake: whereas also the fame of your kingdome so strongly and prudently gouerned, being dispersed and published ouer the face of the whole earth, hath inuited these our subiects not onely to visite your Highnesse dominions, but also to permit themselues to be ruled and gouerned by the lawes and constitutions of your kingdome during the time of their abode in those partes of the world, as it becommeth marchants, who for exchange of marchandize are desirous to trauell vnto regions so farre distant and not hitherto sufficiently knowen vnto these nations of the world, hauing this regard onely, that they may present their wares and certaine examples or musters of diuers kinds of marchandizes, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, vnto the view of your Highnesse and of your subiects, & that they may indeuour to know, whether here be any other marchandize with vs fit for your vse, which (according to the honest & lawfull custome of traffique in all countries) they may exchange for other commodities, whereof in the parts of your Empire there is great plentie both naturall and artificiall: We yeelding vnto the most reasonable requests of these honest men, because we doe suppose that by this most iust intercourse of traffique, no inconuenience nor losse, but rather most exceeding benefite will redound vnto the Princes and subiects of both kingdomes, while by the carrying foorth of those commodities wherewith we abound, and the bringing home of others which we want, wee may on either side at most easie rates helpe and inrich one another; doe craue of your most soueraigne Maiestie, that these our subiects, when they shall come for traffiques sake vnto any the stations, portes, places, townes or cities of your Empire, they may haue full and free libertie of egresse and regresse, and of dealing in trade of marchandize with your subiects, may by your Highnesse clemency most firmely enioy all such freedomes, immunities, and priuileges, as are vsually granted to the subiects of other Princes which exercise traffique in your dominions; and we on the other side will not onely performe all the offices of a well-willing Prince vnto your Highnesse, but also for the greater increase of mutuall loue and commerce between vs and our subiects, by these present letters of ours doe most willingly grant vnto all and euery your subiects (if it shall seeme good vnto your Highnesse) full and entire libertie vnto any of the partes of our dominions to resort, there to abide and traffique, and thence to returne. All and euery of which premisses we haue caused to be confirmed by annexing hereunto our royall seale. God most mercifull and almighty, the Creator of heauen and earth, continually protect your kingly Maiestie. Giuen in our palace at Greenwich the 11 of the moneth of July, in the yeere of Christ 1596, and the eight and thirtie yeere of our reigne.

THREE

THREE SEVERALL TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING THE MIGHTY KINGDOM OF CORAY, TRIBUTARY TO THE KING OF CHINA, AND BORTHERING VPON HIS NORTHEAST FRONTIERS, CALLED BY THE PORTUGALES CORIA, AND BY THEM ESTEEMED AT THE FIRST AN ILAND, BUT SINCE FOUND TO ADIOYNE WITH THE MAINE NOT MANY DAYES IOURNEY FROM PAQUI THE METROPOLITAN CITIE OF CHINA. THE MORE PERFECT DISCOUERY WHEREOF AND OF THE COAST OF TARTARIA NORTHWARD, MAY IN TIME BRING GREAT LIGHT (IF NOT FULL CERTAINTIE) EITHER OF A NORTHWEST OR A NORTHEAST PASSAGE FROM EUROPE TO THOSE RICH COUNTRIES. COLLECTED OUT OF THE PORTUGALE IESUITES YEERELY IAPONIAN EPISTLES DATED 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c.

The first testimony containing a resolute determination of Quabacondono the great Monarch of all Iapan, to inuade and conquere China by the way of Coray, being a country diuided from the Iles of Iapan onely by an arme of the sea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other necessaries for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epistles of father Frier Lewis Frois, dated 1590.

QVabacondono hauing subdued all the petie kingdomes of Iapan, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier Lewis Frois writeth in his Iaponian Epistles of the foresaid yeere) grew so proud and insolent that he seemed another Lucifer; so farre foorth, that he made a solemne vow and othe, that he would passe the sea in his owne person to conquere China: and for this purpose hee made great preparations, saying, that since hee is become Lorde of all Iapan, he hath nothing now to doe but to conquere China, and that although he should end his life in that enterprize, he is not to giue ouer the same. For he hopeth to leaue behinde him hereby so great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto. And though hee could not conquere the same, and should ende his life in the action, yet should he alwayes remaine immortall with this glory. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will throughly attempt the same. And for his more secure passage thither, he is determined to leaue behinde him two Gouernours (after his maner) in the parts of Miacó with the administration of Finqua; and of those of his Monarchie he saith that he will take with him all the great Iaponish Lords, or at the least all his principall subiects, and leaue in his dominions such guard and garisons as shall seeme best vnto him. And so hauing passed the winter, he meaneth to come to these partes of Ximo, for from hence he is to set forth his armie, & to passe to the land of Coray, which the Portugales call Coria, being deuided from Iapan with an arme of the sea. And although the Portugales in times past thought, that it was an Ile or Peninsula, yet is it firme lande, which ioyneth vnto the kingdome of Paquí. And he hath now stricken such a terror with his name in the countrey of Coray, that the king thereof hath sent his ambassadors hither to yeelde vnto him a kind of homage, as he required; which ambassadors are now in the city of Miacó. And by this Peninsula of Coray he may passe with his army by land in fewe dayes iourney vnto the citie of Paquí, being the principall citie where the king of China hath his residence. And as the Chinians be weake, and the people of Iapan so valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in this expedition, it may fall out according to his expectation.

Ximo. Coray conteineth land with Paquí.

From Coray an armie may passe by land in few dayes to Paquí the chiefe citie of China.

But whatsoeuer become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cause great alterations in these partes of Ximo, especially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the princedomes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Christianity: and he told Don Protasio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remoone these lordes, and deliuer their gouernments vnto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Christianitie; neither should we haue

haue any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the custome of Iapan in the alterations of estates and kingdomes (which they call Cuningaia) to remooue all the nobilitie and gentry, and to leaue onely the base people and labourers, committing them to the gouernment of Ethnicks, wee shall hereby also leese our houses, and the Christians shall be dispersed with their lords; whom sometimes he handleth in such sort, that he giueth them nothing to susteine themselues, and so they remaine with all their followers, as men banished, and vtterly ruined.

The second Testimonie containing the huge leuies and preparations of Quabacondono, as also his warres and conquests, and the successe thereof in the kingdome of Coray. Together with a description of the same kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of gouernment: and also of the shipping of China, Iapan, and Coray, with mention of certaine isles thereunto adjacent, and other particulars very memorable. Out of the Epistles of the aforesaid Father Fryer Luis Frois dated 1591, and 1592.

ABout this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre against China in execution, assembled sundry of his nobles and captaines, vnto whom he declared his intent; who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary opinion, yet all of them without any pretense of difficulty approued his determination. For he had giuen out that he would not abstaine from this warre, although his owne sonne should rise from death to life and request him; yea whosoeuer would mooue any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be seene, but prouision of ships, armour, munition, and other necessaries for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his subiects, willed euery one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, inioyning and appointing to each one, what numbers they should bring. In all these kingdomes of Ximo he hath nominated 4 of his especiall fauourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will haue to be heads ouer all these new kingdomes, notwithstanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good prouidence) two are Christians, to wit, Augustine Eucunocamindono gouernour of half the kingdom of Finga, & Cainocami the son of Quambioindono gouernour of the greater part of the kingdome of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranosuque gouernour of the halfe of the kingdom of Finga and Augustins mortall enemie; and Iconocami gouernour of the residue of the kingdome of Bugen, and an enemie both to Augustine and Cainocami. And Quabacondono hath commanded all the Christian lordes of Teximo to follow Christian gouernours. Whereupon the lord Protasius was there with 2000 souldiers; & Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Augustins sonne in law, which lately became a Christian, with a thousand. Also he appointed that the gouernours of Firando and Goto should follow Augustine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Christians to their subiects. Wherefore Augustine was to conduct 15000 souldiers, besides mariners, slaues, and other base people to cary the baggage of the army, all which being as great a number as the former, so soone as they arriued in the kingdom of Coray, were made souldiers, and bore armes. Vnto the said Augustine, Quabacondono, in token of singular fauour, granted the first assault or inuasion of the kingdome of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the same, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues distant from Coray) till they should bee aduertized from Augustine: which thing procured vnto Augustine great enuie and disdaine from them all; howbeit (as you shall forthwith vnderstand) it prooued in the end most honourable vnto him. The other Christian gouernour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 souldiers; so that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted vnto 10000, besides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was most ioyful newes to vs, and to all the Christians. Of the Ethnick lords Quabacondono appointed the gouernour of Riosogo together with Foranosuque to march with 8000: and likewise the king of Saçeuma and Iconocami with as many. And amongst all he gaue the

first

first and chiefe place vnto Augustine. All the other souldiers of Iapan hee caused to accompanie his owne person: the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundreth thousand persons; of whom two hundred thousand were souldiers.

The order prescribed in this whole armie was, that first they should make their entrance by the kingdome of Coray, which is almost an island, one ende whereof ioyneth vpon the maine lande of China; which though it be a seuerall kingdome of it selfe, yet is it subiect and tributarie vnto the king of China. And because this kingdom of Coray is diuided but by an arme of the sea frō Iapan, Quabacondono determined to subdue the same, for that it so aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the easier inuade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chief port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelue leagues distant from Firando, there should be erected a mightie great castle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to stay, till newes were brought of the successe of the aforesaid 4 gouernours or captaines. Hee appointed also another castle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another island situate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third castle in Ceuxima, that his passage might be the more commodious. The charge of building these castles he imposed vpon the 4 aforesaid gouernours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo their associates to assist them; all which so applyed that busines, that in 6 moneths space it was wholly finished. The castle of Nangoia was enuironed with a double wall of square and beautifull stone, with broad and deepe ditches like vnto Miacó. The innermost wall being lesse then the other two was 100 fathom square, within the compasse whereof wer so many houses built both for the lordes, and their followers, and also for marchants shoppes, and victualers houses, distinguished with broad and direct streetes, that it seemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miacó to Nangoia, at the ende of euery dayes iourney, all the lords and gouernours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his iurisdiction new and stately palaces from the ground, so that for 20 dayes together he lodged euery night with all his traine in one of those palaces. And because these things were done at the very same time when the expedition into the kingdome of Coray was in hand, all Iapan was so grieuously oppressed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charges) as it was most intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready euery one is to do him seruice: which appeareth by these magnificent stately buildings reared vp in so short a space, which in Europe would haue required a long time and huge expences. In the meane season it was commonly giuen out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would haue most vnfortunate successe, as being a matter wrought by constraint, and that it would be an occasion of manifold dissentions in Iapan: for no man there was, but misliked of this warre: yea, all the lordes were in great hope, that some one man at length would step foorth and restore their libertie; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his hand to that businesse. Wherefore they were all (though to their great griefe and lamentation) violently constrained to prosecute the enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boasted that hee would make great alterations of kingdomes, and would bestow vpon them the kingdoms of Coray and China; and vnto the lord Protasius hee hath promised 3 kingdomes: but he with all the other lords giuing him great thankes, had much rather retaine a smal portion of their estate in Iapan, then to hunt after all those kingdomes which he promiseth.

A description of Coray.

And whereas Quabacondono had by proclamation published, that he would personally be present at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere; troups and armies of men began to resort from all the quarters of Iapan to these parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For so long as Quabacondono remained at Miacó, we might stay in these parts of Ximo without any danger: but after he began to come this way, it seemed impossible for our state to continue whole and sound, and we were put into no small perplexitie. For the Christian lordes aduised vs, that sithence Quabacondono was come so neere, all our companie that liued in the Colledge, in the house of Probation, and in the Seminary, should depart to some other place. And the Christians from Miacó writ dayly vnto vs, that wee shoulde pull downe our

houses and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Cansaco, and that the fathers of Europe should return vnto Nangasaque in the secular habite of Portugals, but that the Iaponian Fryers should retire themselues vnto seueral houses of Christians, that so they might al remaine safe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grieuous and subiect to many difficulties, so did it afford vs but small comfort. In brief the Father visitor talking of this matter with Eucunocamindono, the lord Protasius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the same fortitude of minde, being constant in their first opinion: neither would they giue any other counsel or direction, then that the fathers should keepe themselues secret, and should only forsake their houses at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would haue some of their kinsemen remaine. It was also thought conuenient, that the number of the Seminary should bee diminished, and that of 90 there should onely remaine 50 in our scholes, namely such as studied the Latine tongue. With the Father Visitour there came vnto Nangasaque certaine Fathers and Friers, which were said to be of Fungo and Firando. For the sayde Father vnder the name of a Legate might retaine them with him more openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with some pastime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and also might declare, with how great confidence and securitie of minde hee tooke vpon him this expedition for China; and likewise to obscure the most renowmed fame of a certaine hunting and hawking performed of olde by that mightie Prince Ioritono, who was Emperour ouer all Iapan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of diuers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, hee departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had so good successe, that hee caught aboue 30000. fowles of all sortes; amongst which were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his greater recreation, and for the more solemnitie of the game, there were also added many dead fowles, which the Iaponians with certaine poulders or compositions know how to preserue sweete in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabacondono returned with great pompe vnto Miacó: before whom went great multitudes which carried those thousandes of fowles vpon guilded canes. Next after these followed many horsemen sumptuously attired, carying a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horses by the reines, most richly trapped. Next of all were brought Coscis or Littiers very stately adorned: after which was carryed Quabacondono himselfe in a Littier of another fashion, like vnto those which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with most curious and singular workemanship, and was presented vnto him by the Father Visitour, and seemeth exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of solemnitie hee vseth the same. Last of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles brauely mounted on horsebacke, and gorgeously attired, thereby the more to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant sort beeing welcomed by the way, with the shoute and applause of infinite swarmes of people, entred the citie of Miacó.

A meane to keepe dead birds sweete in their feathers a long time.

Now when the time of sayling towardes China approched, Quabacondono determined first to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his successour, and gouernour of all Iapan, to the ende hee might supply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to transferre vnto his sayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himselfe, calling him by the name of Taicusama, that is to say, Great lord. Which dignitie was in such sort translated, that albeit he assigned vnto his nephew large reuenues, together with that princely title, yet himselfe remained the very same that he was before. The day of the sayd translation being appointed, hee summoned all the Princes of Iapan to appeare, and to sweare obedience vnto this his nephew: Who with great pompe going vnto the Dairi to receiue that dignitie at his hande, had surrendred vnto him the Castle of Miacó, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he set forward on his iourney to Nangoia, hauing before giuen order, that Augustine should passe ouer into the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines should remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came vnto Nangoia, where the companies of the other lordes beeing numbered,

bered, were founde to bee 200000. persons, besides those that were conducted by the foure foresayde gouernours. In the meane season Augustine with his forces, and with a Fleete of eight hundred Ships, arriued at Coray. In whose armie the lord Protasius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. souldiers, yet for the goodnesse of his armour, and the beautie of his ships, he was admired of all men. At their very first entrance they wonne 2. castles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans reposed great confidence; for they were enuironed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of souldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. spannes and ½. long, which in stead of bullets discharged with a terrible noise woodden arrowes headed with forked points of yron: but the sayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a small distance off, and the Iaponians being furnished with brazen ordinance vnknowen vnto the Corayans, they presently draue them from their walles, and with ladders made for the same purpose of great canes, they forthwith scaled the same, and planted their ensignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a short time making resistance, but after a while betaking themselues to dishonorable flight, 5000 men of their part being slaine, and of Augustines but 100. and 400. wounded. Augustine perceiuing that the Corayans could not endure any long assault, determined to take vpon himselfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not staying for the gouernours his associates, to march vp into the heart of the kingdome, and to the principall City; vnto which determination all the lordes that were with him gaue their consent. This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in some sort, a rash enterprise of Augustine: but yet it argueth a wise and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was so greenous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the successe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the surprize of the two Castles, they brought Augustine in suspition among their friends, that hee ambitiously affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing beeing knowen vnto Quabacondono, he was so troubled in mind euen before he came to Nangoia, that suddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to set sayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondono was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Castles taken, and that Augustine pursuing the victorie proceeded on towards the Miaco, that is to say, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to inuade the same also (all which Augustine himselfe wrote, and requested him to send the other captaines and commanders to assayle the kingdom on all sides, and to furnish the castles which he had taken and should take, with garisons of souldiers, because as yet he had not men enough to hold those fortresses which he had wonne) he was surprized with such vnspeakable ioy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Iapan he had no subiect comparable to Augustine: and that neither Nabunanga, nor himselfe euer knewe any man indued with so valiant and couragious a mind. I (saith he) knowing against whom and with what forces I waged warre, subdued by litle and litle all Iapan vnto me: but Augustine in so short a time and with so small forces, hath boldely set his foote in a forren region, and with most glorious victory hath subdued the mightie kingdome of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdomes, and wil make him next vnto my selfe the greatest Prince in all Iapan. Hee added farther, that now his owne sonne seemed to bee risen from the death; and that whosoeuer durst either disgrace or extenuate the deedes of Augustine, he would grieuously punish him, not respecting whether hee did it vpon reason or malice. By this speach the name and report of Augustine grew so honourable amongst all men, that those which most enuied his estate, durst not speake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

A Fleete of 800. ships.

Their gunnes charged with forked arrowes.

The signification of Miaco.

This kingdome of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in bredth 60. leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and strength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet because they pay tribute to the king of China, and exercise traffique with his subiects, they doe after a sort imitate the Lawes, apparell, customes, and gouernement of the Chinians. They border on one side vpon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom sometimes they haue peace, and sometimes warre: but with the Chinians they haue continuall peace. They are speciall good bow-men;

The length and breath of Coray.

but at other weapons, because they haue but few, and those bad, they are nothing so skilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Iaponians, who by reason of their warres are continually exercised in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furnished with yron-peeces, with lances, and with excellent swordes. Onely in shipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reason of the hugenesse of their Ships which they vse vpon the sea. Wherefore, if they were to ioyne battels by sea, there is no doubt but that both the foresayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now because they knewe nothing of the comming of the Iaponian armie, or for that they doubted that their sea-forces were the stronger, or els because God was determined to punish them, he suffered them to be destitute of all the defence of their shipping, so that the Iaponians without any resistance landed vpon their dominions.

The people of Coray and China stronger in shipping, then they of Iapan.

Now the fame of Augustines victory causing the armie notably to increase, and the Mariners, and many others which caryed burthens (as they were trained vp in warre from their childhood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captiues supplied their baser offices: so great a terrour possessed all the people of Coray where Augustine came, that all the castles and fortresses which hee passed by were forsaken by their garisons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Christians sent from Ceuxima and Nangoia shaped their course for Coray, Augustine had pitched his campe neere vnto the foresaid principall citie: of the which being come within 3. dayes iourney, he was encountered by 90000. men; whom at the very first assault, hauing slaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But approching very neere vnto the citie, and hauing passed a riuer, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow passage against 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were slaine, and a great number drowned in the riuer. Heere while Augustine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might somewhat refresh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray seeing himselfe besieged by his enemie, and that many other Iaponian lordes with strong armies inuaded his kingdome on all sides, determined to haue his citie strengthened with garisons, and to retire himselfe into the in-land of China. Which by reason of the abundance of horses that he had, he was able right commodiously to performe. Whereupon the second or third day after, Augustine without any resistance entred the head-city, being presented with great store of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Augustine, with other captaines his associates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victory vnto himselfe: for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet they found all things performed to their hands.

The king of Coray fleeth out of his principall citie.

Quabacondono being aduertised of this second victory, yeelded as much honour vnto Augustine as he could possibly deuise, speaking so highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his associates, as if but the tenth part of his faire promises come to effect, they shall be farre greater then they are, and Augustine (next vnto himselfe) shall be the principall person in all Iapan. And now he is become so famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Iapan, that at all their meetings and assemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Augustine, who in twentie dayes space hath subdued so mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Iapan. And all the Nobles account him a most happy man, being astonished at the immortall renowme which he hath attained vnto by this exploite: yea, and Quabacondono sent forthwith vnto him, as vnto the conquerour and vanquisher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged sword and a horse, which among the Iaponians is a pledge of the most peerelesse honour that can possibly be done to a man: and this very gift did Nabunanga in times past send vnto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battel wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great euent the power of the Christians God, and his prouidence towards his children is knowen not onely to the Christians, but euen to the very Ethnicks themselues, for that in the heate of such extreme persecution it hath pleased his diuine Maiestie to lay the honour of all this warre vpon Christian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they wil proue more mighty and famous then euer they were.

Hence

Hence it commeth to passe that the Portugals ship come from China, hath wintered in Iapan: by which occasion the presence of the father Visitour hath bene a great comfort not onely to vs, but to all the other Christians, who in regarde of the departure of so many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they should haue bene left vterly forsaken and destitute, had not the father Visitour, in whom they reposed all their confidence, remayned here. But the singular prouidence and loue of God towards vs appeared in this, that hee would haue the sayd Ship, contrary to their vsuall custome, to winter in Iapan. For when Quabacondono hauing obteined that victorie, was determined to returne vnto Ximo, they were all shrowded vnder the protection of the foresayd Father; who hearing that hee was entred into Nangoia, caused Frier Iohn Rodorigues and the gouernour of the Portugal ship to salute and welcome him. For the Christians of Miacó, which succeeded in their roomes that went for Coray, aduised him in their letters so to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondono to see the Portugals captaine General attended vpon by so many Portugals sumptuously attired, and comming with so many shippes in the company of Frier Iohn Rodoriguez: and hee asked the Frier how the father Visitour did? And whether the presents to the Vice-roy liked him? As also, that hee tooke it in very good part that the Father had wintered in Iapan, and that the Frier should stay with him. Afterward writing an answere to the father, he declared therein the great fauour which he bore to the captaine of the ship. Whom, hauing familiarly entertained him for the space of 2. houres, hee dismissed with euident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Rodoriguez staying behinde aboue a moneth, attempted very often to speake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes most kindly vsed. Afterward by reason of sicknesse hee returned to Nangasaque; whereupon Quabacondono demaunded why he was not cured at the same place where himselfe remained? Iacuino answered, that beeing a stranger, hee was to bee cured with such diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had: with which answere hee was satisfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reason of the ambassage, Quabacondono waxeth euery day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occasions of troubles and afflictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath giuen out, that if he haue good successe with his warre against China, he will make great alterations of estates, in assigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Christian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughout Iapan: which thing might redound to the ruine and destruction of all Christianitie heere, neither should the Christians finde in Iapan any place of refuge. And albeit Augustine had certainly informed the father Visitour of the sayde alteration of estates, and Iacuine had written vnto Augustine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the states or gouernments of Ximo, and so consequently the state of Augustine, and of the Christian princes of Arima and Omura: yea, and that the said two princes had notice thereof: yet almightie God with the eyes of his infinite mercy hath vouchsafed to regard the prayers of his faithfull seruants (who for this cause were most perplexed and sorowfull) and to prouide this remedie following.

The Corayans hauing intelligence, that their king and the forces which hee caried with him were in safety, went the greatest part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themselues in the mountains and woods, remaining there with such hate and indignation against the Iaponians, that with promise of safe conduct they could by no meanes be drawen out of their starting holes. Wherefore albeit the Iaponians haue all the castles and places of defence in their owne possession, yet because they want people to tille the ground, and to doe them other necessary seruices, they cannot chuse but forgoe all that which they haue woon. Moreouer, the common high wayes are so pestered with theeues and murtherers, that vnlesse the Iaponians march in whole troopes all together, they are suddenly oppressed with swarmes of Corayans issuing foorth of the woods. Many of the Corayans also haue retired themselues vnto the neighbour-islands, from whence with numbers of great ships, to the mighty losse of the Iaponians, they assaile their small and weake ones, and haue already sunke many of them. Wherefore all the Iaponian lords which remaine in Coray haue written

Iland neere vnto Coray.

written vnto Quabacondono, that his army must for a certaine time in no wise remooue from the place where it is, for auoyding of such imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Vpon these aduertisements Quabacondono being ready to take his iourney to Coray, to diuide the whole kingdome, was hindred from his purpose, and sent most friendly letters to all his nobles, willing them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their estates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eased of exceeding great care and griefe. For albeit there is no great trust to be giuen to his words, yet we hope that this yere he wil not meddle: what he wil doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this present there are aboue 200000. Iaponian souldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are diuided throughout the whole kingdom. Augustine lieth vpon the very extreame frontiers of China: but because the Chinians are separated from the kingdome of Coray with a mighty riuer of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ships, and haue planted innumerable troopes of men vpon the shore, the successe of the warre remayneth most doubtfull and vncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Iaponians will proceede any farther this yeere or no.

A mighty riuer of 3. leags broad.

The third testimony of Coray, signifying (amongst other notable and politicall obseruations) the later successe of the warres of Iapan against Coray; and to what end Quabacondono still mainteineth garisons in that kingdome. Out of the Epistles of Father Organtino Brixiano, bearing date from Iapan Anno 1594.

THe whole Empire of Iapan is now in the handes of this king Quabacondono: and (which hath not bene knowen since the first creation thereof) there is not the bredth of one foote throughout all the whole Island, which is not absolutely subiect vnto him. And hee reigneth in so great peace and tranquilitie, that if his successors follow the same course of gouernment, there is no likelihood of future sedition or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he vseth to establish continuall peace and concord among the Iaponians, are very great and effectuall.

One is, that after he hath passed his publique promise, he neuer putteth any of his aduersaries to death, which his predecessour Nabunanga performed not: for he hauing subdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and gouernours to the sword. But this king granteth vnto them not only life, but also yerely reuenues, whereby to maintaine themselues in an honest and meane estate: in which regarde they all rest contented, and willingly submit themselues.

Another is, in that he hath brought the husbandmen and pesants (by whose assistance & wealth all the pety-kingdoms were after a sort susteined) vnto such extreme pouerty, that they haue scarce wherewithall to keepe life and soule together: as likewise hee hath bereaued them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, because hee hath most streightly forbidden all contentions, seditions, frayes, and skirmishes. For whosoeuer be found culpable of this crime, they dye euery man of them on both parties. If any escape by flight, their kinsefolks are punished in their stead; and for lacke of them, their seruants; and for defalt of both their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are punished and suffer death: but hence it commeth to passe, that many innocent persons are constrained to die. And this seueritie is the cause, why there are at this present so seldome frayes and contentions in Iapan.

The fourth is, that in administring of iustice hee is most vpright, without all respect either to his owne kindred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzij, bee they neuer so famous: and being once aduertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himselfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his subiects to haue any concubines. For which cause not many dayes agoe, hee banished a Bonzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie most neere vnto himselfe. And being informed that all the Bonzij of Miacó kept concubines, hee would haue put them all to death, had not the gouernour of Miacó promised, that hee would vndertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee caused all the Bonzij euery

moneth

moneth to bee sworne, that they should liue honestly vpon paine of death: as also hee hath sworne the heads or superiors of all their religious houses vnder paine of death, to giue vp their names whom they most suspect of the foresayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward estate) liue in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee suffereth none of his souldiers, nor his great lordes to liue in idlenesse. If there be no warres for their imployment, hee occupieth them in building of stately palaces, and in raising new fortresses, or in repairing and strengthening of olde, and also in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Iapan, and to his owne lasting honour. So that at this present neere vnto Miacó there are thirtie thousand men imployed about the building of one castle; and in the citie of Bozacca aboue an hundred thousand: which imployments afforde them neither place nor time to practise any rebellions.

The sixt is his altering of gouernments: for hee remooueth his gouernours from one extreme part of Iapan to another.

The seuenth, for that vnto his souldiers (besides the ordinarie pay continually allotted vnto them for their seruice) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne costes. Wherof it commeth to passe, that hee effecteth whatsoeuer hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enemie was not vanquished, according to his owne desire: this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre surmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garisons, as well to keepe his honour, as to constraine the Chinians to sue for peace. The warre of Iapan against Coray and China.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and restraineth persons of ambitious and aspiring mindes, who (as hee coniectureth) after his death might worke some innouations in the common wealth, or disturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, because hee hath on no side within foure or fiue dayes iourney of Miacó, any mightie or industrious captaine or gouernour.

The tenth and last is, for that hee hath brought his yeerely reuenues to two millions of gold.

By these courses and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee established in all these kingdomes, and also that a fit way will be prepared, for the conuersion of all the great lordes vnto Christian religion.

A briefe note concerning an extreme Northerne prouince of Iapan called Zuegara, situate thirtie dayes iourney from Miacó, which argueth the Isle of Iapan to be of greater extension Northward, then it is ordinarily described in maps, or supposed to be: together with mention of a certaine nation of Tartars called Ieza inhabiting on the maine to the North of China, neuer heard of in these parts before: taken out of an Epistle written 1596 from Iapan by Fryer Luis Frois vnto Claudius Aquauiua, &c. Printed in Latine at Mentz in Germanie 1599.

NOt many dayes ago was baptized a certaine honourable personage called Iohn Vongui the sonne of Taigarandono, who is gouernour of a certaine princedome situate on the borders of Iapan towardes the North, being distant from Miacó thirtie dayes iourney.

And after a fewe lines it followeth.

This Taigorandono being the most Northerly gouernour in all Iapan hath traffique with the Iezi, who are a nation of Tartars, which from the maine continent resort vnto the Isle of Mateumai, being about twelue or fifteene leagues distant from the foresayd Northerly princedome of Zuegara; where they sell fishes, the skinnes of beasts, and certaine herbes of the sea vsed by the Iaponians for foode, with other such like commodities. On the other side the said Iezi Tartari buy of the Iaponians, cloth to make them garments, with weapons and other instruments. These Tartars (they say) are a most barbarous kinde of people, of a browne colour, with long haire on their heads and beardes like the Moscouites: they liue by hunting and fishing, and neglect husbandry. This Northerly princedome of Zuegara (as the sayd gouernour reported to our Fathers) aboundeth with excellent grapes both black The Isle of Mateumai. Iezi a nation of Tartars dwelling on the continent to the North of China vsing cloth.

and

and white, which without the labour of man grow naturally in all places, and he promised the Fathers to bring some of these vines to Miacó, that they might be planted there.

Aduertisements touching the shippes that goe from Siuil to the Indies of Spaine; together with some notes of the Contractation house in Siuil.

The Pilot. YOur Pilot must be examined in the Contractation house, and allowed by such as be appointed for the examination of Pilots, that hee be a sufficient man to take the charge in hand, and that which belongeth thereunto, and to gouerne and lead the same ship directly by his onely commandement to such ports as are conuenient for the voyage that hee taketh in hand.

The Master. You must haue a Master, that must giue in sureties to the value of 6000 dukats: and such as be his sureties must be landed men, and their lands worth to the value of that summe aforesayd, if the sayd ship be betweene three or foure hundred tunnes. And if shee be more or lesse of burthen, then he must giue sureties of a greater summe or lesse, according to the proportion of her burden.

He shall in all his voyage giue a iust and true accompt of all such goods, and marchandizes, as shall in all that voyage come into the ship: as also of such plate and money, as shalbe registred in the Kings Register, appertayning to the King, or any other particuler marchant: and if any default be, hee or his sureties are to pay all such losses as thereof shall growe: as also to see the mariners payed well and truely, the third part of all such fraights, as the sayde shippe shall get going and comming.

The ship being fraighted by her merchants, the Master shall take order that there be sufficient mariners abourd her to take in such lading from time to time, as the marchant shall

The Purser. send to her: And also the Purser must be a man sufficient of abilitie to take, & to giue account of all such goods, marchandize, siluer and golde, as shall come in and out of the sayd shippe that present voyage, as also giue sureties of 1500 dukats at the least to come backe from the Indies in the said shippe, and not to tarrie there, if hee liue.

A Romager. The Master must prouide a perfect mariner called a Romager, to raunge, and bestow all marchandize in such place as is conuenient: and that it be not put in place, where it may perish for lack that it be not fast, sure, and drie, according to the qualitie and forme of the sayd marchandize.

The Masters mate. When it is all bestowed, and the shippe able to beare no more, than a mariner called the Countermaster, or Masters mate, hath charge to locke fast the hatches, that none of the marchants wines, or oyles, or any other kind of marchandize be robbed or spoyled by the mariners. And if it fortune that any bee so spoyled, then the mariners are to pay for it out of the third part of all the whole fraight of the shippe that doth appertaine to the sayd marchants.

The chiefe Iudges of the Contractation house. Visitors being skilfull mariners. The names and markes of men taken. The shippe being laden, goeth to the port wherehence she saileth to goe towards the Indies called S. Lucar, and there one of the chiefe Iudges of the Contractation house commeth downe to dispatch the shippes that goe together in that fleete. And that Iudge goeth abourd euery ship, and with him hee doth carrie an expert mariner or two called Visitors of the shippes, to know whether the sayd shippe or ships be well tackled: whether they haue men sufficient: and in euery ship euery mans name is taken, and if he haue any marke in the face, or hand or arme, it is written by a Notarie (as well as his name) appertaining to the Contractation house, appointed for these causes. Also the Master is bound to bring backe euery mariner againe, and to leaue none behinde him there, vpon great paines, vnlesse he be a passenger appointed by the King at the court, and bringeth his licence from thence for the same purpose.

The Pragmatica or orders of the Contractation house. The ship must be well appointed with ordinance of brasse, and yron, according to The orders of their house, of that there must want nothing, and euery ship is appointed according to her burthen in all kinde of artillerie, as peeces of brasse and yron, hand-guns, crossbowes, pikes, swords, daggers, targets, and for all ordinance double shot, with powder, with

with new cables and ankers sufficient for the voyage. And moreouer it is ordeined, that the shippes haue double sailes, that is, that they bee thorowly sayled, and moreouer all newe sayles of fore-sayle, and maine-sayle, of coarse, and bonnet newe made, and kept in some driefat or chest in the same ship; that if the weather take the one from them, the other may be in readines.

Euery ship must haue their master sworne before the sayd Iudge of the Contratacion, that all this is in a readinesse in the shippe, as also so many newe pipes of fresh water, so many buttes of good rackt wine, so many kintals of bread, so many iarres of oyle, so many iarres or Botijas of vineger, so much flesh, so much fish, and such quantitie of euery kinde of victuall, as the burthen of the shippe requireth, wherein euery shippe according to her greatnesse is appointed by The ordinances of the house: Also so many gunners, so many mariners, so many gromettes, so many pages, and so many souldiers. Then all these aforesaide matters being vnder Register by the notarie and all things prepared for the voyage, the Iudge doeth command the masters to hoyse vp the yards acrosse vnto the howndes of the mastes; and many times, if they perceiue the shippe to be walty and ouerladen, as many couetous masters doe, then hee hangeth the boates in the fore and maine tackle, to see whether the sayd shippe will make any helde downewarde, in laying downe her side: if she doe helde, he commandeth barkes abourd, to discharge her of such lading, as is thought to be too much in her: and there can no ship depart before they cary the Register of the said Iudges, howe that shee goeth by their order: and euery shippe carieth her owne Register, and in the Register the quantitie of al the goods that are laden in her, and if there be any more goods, they be forfayted in the Indies, both shippe and goods.

Prouision of victuals vpon othe.

The Register of euery ship.

The masters are bound to keepe the course that the Admiral doeth leade, and euery shippe to follow her, and shee must goe alwayes in the Sea before all the rest of the fleete, and by night cary light, that all may knowe where she goeth. The viceadmirall must come behinde all, and so euery shippe in the fleete before her: if any be ill of sayle, all are bounde to fit their sayles in such order, that they goe no faster then she doeth.

The two ships of warre to waft the fleet in time of peace.

The Admiral and the viceadmirall goe neuer but halfe laden, but very well armed of men, and artillery, three times double and more then any of the other haue: because they may help to defend all the rest, if neede doe require: and the dead freight of these two shippes is alwayes borne vpon the whole goods that are laden in the fleete, as also at the least there be two hundred souldiers in euery of these two shippes besides the mariners, great gunners, gromettes, and other officers.

The voyages bee so appointed, that alwayes they goe and come in the best of Summer, and bee there all the winter in the ports to discharge their lading and recharge backe againe. Note.

The ships that are Admirall and viceadmirall be neither the greatest nor the smallest shippes, but of 3 hundreth or 4 hundreth tunnes at the most: but they be very good saylers, and strong chosen for the purpose, to sayle well and to beare good store of ordinance. In these two shippes are alwayes going and comming, two good knights men of warre, and Captaines and souldiers expert in the warres.

And in euery other ship is a Captaine, which ruleth in all causes of controuersie, or fights in the seas; the Pilot directeth onely in gouernment and leading the shippe to her port. A Captaine in euery ship.

All the Captaines, Masters, Pilots, Maryners, and passengers, and all others bee obedient to the two shippes, so appoynted to passe: they doe, as in all other commandements what is by them appoynted, hauing power to hang, or doe any iustice vpon any man, as to them seemeth good at sea, and this is the last commandement vpon payne of death, if the General please.

Concerning the Contractation house, there are therein sixe Iudges of the highest sort. Sixe Iudges.

There are visitours of shippes, as it is sayd before, to see whether the ships goe in order well, and sufficient in al things: and what manner of men the Masters of the ships and Pilots are, whether they be able to answere to all such articles, as the reader is able to obiecte Foure visitours. The reader of the arte of Nauigation.

vnto them, in matters of Nauigation: if they be not found sufficient, they are not admitted to take charge.

The master must knowe whether the ship be sufficiently calked, tackled, and furnished in all things accordingly, as with mastes, sayles, cables, ankers, and all other necessary furniture: that at such time as any of the high iudges with their ordinary visitours appointed for such causes doe come, there be nothing found out of order or lacking, according to The booke of orders, which euery shippe proportionable to her burthen ought to haue, which is not vnknowen to any of the masters, being in writing common among them: and all the charge giuen to the Master and Pilot serueth onely to conduct the ship from port to port.

The booke of orders, called in Spanish Pragmatica, common in writing among the masters.

The counter Master, or masters mate is obedient in all things whereunto hee shall bee commanded by the master and Pilote, and at his commandement are all the maryners of the ship.

The shippes commonly goe deeper laden from Spaine, then our shippes doe in any voyage.

The order of the Carena giuen to the ships that go out of Spaine, to the Indies.

THe shippe of what burthen soeuer shee bee must giue a Carena, as they call it in the Spanish tongue, which is in English, shee must be throughly calked, and fortified, as well with carpenters to set knees into her, and any other tymbers appertaining to the strengthening of a shippe, as with calking: which is to put occam into her sides; and that kinde of calking is not vsed, as ours is here in England; but first before they put in any threede of occam, they with certaine crooked yrons, with an hammer in one hande, and the crooked yron in the other, doe forcibly pull out all the olde threede that hath bene in the shippe the voyage before, and so driue in new.

Calking with thinne plates of lead.

If the seame of the shippe be worne to any bredth, as many olde shippes be, by reason of often raking them, vpon that seame there is clapt a piece of caste leade, nayled vpon the calking, and seame with speciall nayles, which leade is cast a handes bredth, and as thinne as may bee for the same purpose, and at euery voyage it is taken off and renued, and by that meanes their shippes are very stanch a yeere or two.

The Calker or Carenero.

The Carenero or the Calker doeth giue in suerties, that if the shippe so cast ouer, as they doe commonly vse to cast them, in such sort as any man may goe drie vpon the keele, as I haue done, and without any butte, pipe, or any other kinde of timber vnder her sides, more then with counter-poyze of stones in her, made within certaine timber as though it were a cheste; and with the stones the Carenero doeth bring her as hee will, high and low, leaning, or rysing: and if shee miscarrie in her Carena, then is the Carenero bound, if it bee either by fire, water, or sinking, or any other misfortune, to pay for the valew of the ship.

The Carena of a shippe of one hundred tunnes being done so substantially as they vse to doe it, will cost two hundred Duckets, of two hundred tunnes, foure hundred Duckets, of three hundred tunnes, sixe hundred Duckets, and so according to the greatnesse of the shippe.

It would be done here in England for one third part of the money, by reason that the necessaries that goe to it are better cheape here by much, and the calkers farre better cheape by two parts.

This Carena may not be giuen at any hand but in a riuer where no tempest can arise, as in this riuer of London in such a place, where at al times the sayd ship may ride aflote: it may not be done in any dangerous harbour, where the winde may bring vp the waues of the Sea, neither where the Sea may heaue and set.

The calking of Siuill is so substantially done, that in one day one calker doeth not throughly calke past one yarde and an halfe in one seame, or two yardes at the most, and to that he doeth, the master calker is at hand to ouersee him, and this done, the Carenero doeth with his ballast set her vpright, and so shee beginneth to lade.

Examen

Examen de los maestros y Pilotos, que nauegan en las flotas de Espanna para las Indias del mar oceano, escrito por Pedro Dias Piloto, natural de la Isla de la Palma, 1586.

PRimeramente pide al Piloto mayor, que es al presente Alonso de Chiauez, que lo admita al examen, por quanto es natural y sufficiente para ello. Alonso de Chiuez Piloto mayor.

Manda el Piloto mayor, que haga enformacion, de como es marinero, y platico de aquella parte, de que se quiere examinar. Luego presenta cinco o seis testigos de los Pilotos examinados, de como es buen marinero, y sufficiente para ser Piloto, y como es natural de los Reynos de Espanna ; y que no es de casta de Moro, ni Iudeo, ni Negro.

Y hecha la enformacion, presenta la al Piloto mayor. Y visto el Piloto maior la enformacion ser buena, manda que el Cathedratico Rodrigo Zamorano lo admita a la Cathedra. Y alli se juntan a vezes quatorze o quinze que pretendé examinarse, y acuden alli a vna casa, que El Cathedratico tiene para aquello efeto, a las ocho de la mannana, y estan dos oras, y otras dos a la tarde. El Cathedratico tiene por costumbre de leer en la Cathedra vna ora, y otra ora ocupan en preguntarse los vnos a los otros muchas cosas conuenientes a la arte de nauegar en presencia del Cathedratico. Y el que no responde a proposito, El Cathedratico le emienda, y le dize de la manera que es cada cosa. Y este estudio dura dos meses, en los quales no ha de falta de ir dos vezes al dia, como dicho. Rodrigo Zamorano Cathedratico.

Y despues de auer oido la Cathedra estos dos meses, van a la Sala del Examen, que es en la Contratacion. Y alli esta el Piloto mayor, y los de mas pilotos, qui son por lo menos veinte cinco : y alli estando todos assentados por su orden, manda el Piloto mayor, que lean las enformaciones ; y despues de auer leidas las enformaciones o testimonios, pregunta el piloto maior al piloto y maestro, que se quiere examinar, de que parte de las Indias se quiere examinar ? Y luego el piloto responde, que de Nueua Espanna, o de Nombre de Dios. Y otros, que no son platicos de estas tierras, dizen, que de Santo Domingo, y Puerto rico, y Cuba y luego demanda el Piloto maior, que tienda la carta en la mesa, y en presencia de los demas pilotos parta de la barra de San Lucar para las Islas de Canaria, y de alli para las Indias, hasta Llegar a aquella parte de donde se examina, y buelue para Espanna, a tornar, a la Barra de San Lucar, de donde partio. La Sala del examen.

Y el Piloto mayor le preguntas Que si yendo nauegando por la mar le diese vn viento contrario, que remedio haria para que su nao no trabajasse tanto en la mar ? Y el le responde lo mejor que entiende. Luego le pregunta vno de los pilotos por las reglas del Sol, y de la Estrella del norte, y que cuenta le hara en todo tiempo del anno ? A lo qual ha de responder el piloto que se examina a todo aquello que le preguntaren. Y luego le pregunta otro por las sennas de las tierras que estuuieren en el camino, hasta Llegar al puerto de donde se examina. Y luego pregunta otro, que si con tormenta se le quebrasse los arboles, Que remedio haria ? Y otros le preguntan, Que si la nao abriesse vn agua, a donde peligrassen las vidas, que remedio haria para tomarla con menos riesgo ? Y otros le preguntan, que si le faltasse el timon, que remedio haria ? Y otros le preguntan por la cuenta de la Luna, y de las mareas. Y otros le preguntan, Que si lo tomasse vn corsario, y lo dexasse sin carta y sin astrolabio, y otros instrumentos para tomar la altura del Sol y de la Estrella del norte, que orden tendria para hazer los ? Otros le preguntan otras preguntas necessarias a vn marinero, que quiere ser piloto. A todo esto esta attento, respondiendo a todo. Y despues que todos le an preguntado todo lo necessario, le mandan, que salga fuera de la sala, paraque a solas dé cada vno su boto debaxo de iuramento en vn libro, que prometen de dezir verdad. Y luego ponen dentro de vn vaso de plata, que alli esta para aquel efeto, tantas hauas, y tantos garuanços, como ai pilotos dentro de la sala : y va cada vno por su orden ; y el que le parece que es sufficiente, saca vna haue, y el que le parece, que no lo es, saca vn garuanço. Y despues que todos an sacado, mira el piloto mayor los botos que tiene ; y si halla que tiena tantos botos en su fauor como en contrario, manda que haga otro viaje : y si tiene mas botos en su fauor, que en contrario, luego le dan vna carta del examen firmada del piloto mayor, y del Cathedratico, y del Escriuano, y sellada con el sello de la Contratacion. La manera de elexion de los maestros, y pilotos. Carta del examen.

cion. Y teniendo esta carta, luego da de presente al piloto mayor, y al Cathedratico para guantes y gallinas, cõforme que cada vno puede, que es de ordinario dos o tres ducados. Y luego se puede concertar por piloto en qualquier nauio que quisiere, para aquella parte dedonde se examino. Y si hallare en las Indias algun nauio que tenga piloto no examinado, lo puede botar fuera, y venir el piloto examinado en el nauio por el mismo concierte, que el otro piloto tenia hecho.

Sueldo de los pilotos.

Suelen Llevar los pilotos de partido y concierte por vn viaje de yr y boluer, conforme que es el nauio. Si es de ciento tonelladas, dozientos ducados, y dozientos y cinquenta; y si es de quatrocientas o de quinientas, Lleua de partido; y mas, todos los dias que estuuiere en tierra, quatro reales para su comida. Y las naos grandes siempre Lleuan los pilotos mas viejos, porque el son mas experimentados y mejores pilotos que los mançebos, que comiençan a nauegar, y a ser pilotos.

Maestros y sus officios.

El piloto no tiene mas trabajo ni mas cuidado que en la nauegacion: porque los maestros de los nauios tienen cuidado de fretar, y adereçar sus naos, y pagar a los marineros, y hazer todo lo que es menester para su nao: porque el piloto no viene a la nao, si no es quando los visitadores vienen a visitarla, si tiene todo lo necessario para el viage.

Los quatro visitadores, y su officio.

Los visitadores son quatro hombres qui estan puestos por el rey, y estos son hombres muy entendidos, y vienen a visitar los nauios, antes que tomen carga, por ver si estan bien adereçados para hazer el viage. Y despues que estan los nauios cargados, bueluen otra vez a visitarlos, por ver si tienen todas las cosas necessarias, conforme a la Prematica; y si tienen todos los marineros, y bastimentos, y poluere, y artilleria, y balas, y todo lo de mas necessario para el viaje. Y si alguna cosa les falta, les mandan con graues penas que lo compren, antes que salgan del puerto.

Prematica.

Escriuano y su officio.

Suelen Lleuar los nauios que van a las Indias vn escriuano que tiene cargo de tomar por memoria todas las mercaderias que se cargan en la nao, y tomar las marcas, para por ellas entregar la carga a sus duennos, despues de auer acabado su viaje: y sirue tanbien, si un hombre caesse enfermo, para hazer testamiento y otros recaudos que se suelen hazer delante un escriuano: y gana por su sueldo en un viaje tanto como dos marineros.

Primero nauio de auiso.

Segundo nauio de auiso.

Tiene el general de las flotas por costumbre, despues que Llega a las Indias, de embiar vn navio de aviso, para dar relacion al rey, de como ha Llegado. Y despues que estan prestas para partir despacha otrio nauio de auiso, para hazer relacion, de como estan ya prestas para partir, con otras particularidades.

Dos naos de guerra.

Van en las flotas dos naos grandes, la vna por Capitana, y la otra por Almiranta, cada vna de seiscientas y de sietecientas tonelladas, que no Lleuan mas que bastimentos y soldados para defensa de la defensa de la demas flota: y Lleua cada vna como docientos soldados: y estas se pagan de las mercaderias que vienen en la flota a vno por ciento, y algunas vezes a vno y medio por ciento.

Ay en la casa de la Contratacion de Seuilla vna tabla que sirue de Arançel, escrita con letras de oro; en que stan aualiadas todas las mercaderias que se embarcan para las Indias.

EN esta tabla se puede saber quantas botijas hazen vna tonellada de vino y quantos quintales y quantos bariles, y quantos coffres sea vna tonellada.

Y todas mercaderias estan alli taxadas, para pagar los derechos al rey, y el flete al maestro.

Y alli esta puesto que ningun maestro puede Lleuar a las Indias ningun passagero, ni frayle, ni clerigo, ni otras personas, ni estranieros de los reynos de Espanna, sin licencia del Rey.

Y mas, que no puerde Lleuar mercaderias fuera de la Prematica, y todo lo que Lleuaren, lo Lleuen registrado, so pena de la vida.

Y mas, que ningun maestro ni piloto puede Lleuar instrumentos que no sean firmados por el piloto mayor Alonço de Chiaues, y el cosmografo Cathedratico Roderigo Zamorano: como son la carta, el astrolabio, la balestilla, y el regimiento.

Y mas,

Y mas, que yendo en la compannia de la flota, obedescan al General, y no hagan mas de lo que el mandare, so pena de la vida.

The same in English.

The examination of the Masters and Pilots which saile in the Fleetes of Spaine to the West Indies: Written in the Spanish tongue by Pedro Dias a Spanish pilot taken by Sir Richard Grinville 1585.

FIrst they make suit vnto the Pilot maior (who at this present is called Alonço de Chiauez) that he would admit them to examination, because they are naturall Spaniards, and sufficient for the same.

Hereupon the Pilot maior commandeth the party to be examined, to giue information that he is a mariner, and well practized in those parts, about which hee desireth to be examined. And then immediately he bringeth fiue or sixe pilots before examined to giue testimonie that he is a good mariner, and sufficient to become a pilot, that he is a Spaniard borne, and that he is not of the race of the Moores, Iewes or Negros. The witnesse of fiue or sixe pilots.

Hauing made this information, hee presenteth it vnto the Pilot maior. And the Pilot maior seeing the information to be good, willeth the Kings publique reader of nauigation (who is now Roderigo Zamorano) to admit him to his lectures. Whither there doe resort foureteene or fifteene persons that desire to be examined: and they come to a certaine house which the Kings reader hath appointed vnto him for the same purpose, at eight of the clocke in the morning: and then they stay two houres, and two houres likewise in the afternoone: in one of which houres Zamorano readeth vnto them, and in the other they aske one another many particulars concerning the art of nauigation in the presence of the said King's reader: and him that answereth not to the purpose the sayd reader instructeth more perfectly, and telleth him how euery thing is. And this exercise continueth two moneths, during which time the examinates must not faile to bee present twise in a day, as is aforesaid. The pilots admission to the lectures of the Kings reader. They heare the Kings readers lectures two houres a day for two moneths. Their disputations of the art of nauigation before the King's reader who is their moderatour.

And hauing heard the Kings reader those two moneths, they resort then vnto the hall of examination which is in the Contractation house, where there are assembled the Pilot maior and diuers other pilots, to the number of 25 at the least; who all sitting there in order, the pilot maior demandeth of him that would be examined, of what part of the Indies he desireth to be examined: Whereto the examinate answereth, that he would bee examined concerning Nueua Espanna or of Nombre de Dios and Tierra Firma. And others that are not experienced in those partes, craue to be examined of Santo Domingo, Puerto rico and Cuba. The hall of examination. The maner of the yong pilots examination.

Then the Pilot maior commandeth the examinate to spread a sea-chart vpon the table, and in the presence of the other pilots to depart or shewe the course from the barre of Sant Lucar to the Canarie Islands, and from thence to the Indies, till he come to that place whereof he is to bee examined, and then also to returne backe to the barre of Sant Lucar in Spaine, from whence he departed. Also the Pilot maior asketh him, if when he saileth vpon the sea, hee be taken with a contrary wind, what remedie he is to vse, that his ship be not too much turmoiled vpon the sea: And the examinate answereth him aswell as he can.

Then one of the other pilotes opposeth him about the rules of the Sunne and of the North-starre, and how hee ought to vse the declination of the Sunne at all times of the yeere: whom the examinate is bound to answere in euery thing that hee demandeth. Then another asketh him of the signes and markes of those lands which lye in his way to that hauen whereof he is examined. And then another demandeth, that if his mastes should be broken by tempest, what remedy hee would vse: Others aske him, if his ship should take a leake, to the hazarding of the liues of himselfe and his company, what remedy, if his rudder should chance to faile: Others oppose him about the account of the Moone and of the tides: Others aske him if a Pirate should take him and leaue him destitute of his Chart, his Astrolabe, and his other instruments seruing to take the height of the Sunne and of the starre, what course hee would take

take in that extremitie: Others demand other questions needfull for a mariner to know, which desireth to be a pilot. Vnto all which the examinate is very attentiue, and answereth to euery particular.

The maner of their election.

After they haue all asked him so much as they think expedient, they bid him depart out of the hall, to the ende that euery one of them may seuerally bee sworne vpon a booke, that they will speake the trueth. Then they put into a certaine vessell of siluer standing there for the same purpose so many beanes and so many peason as there are pilots within the hall: and euery one putting his hand into the vessell in order, he that thinketh the partie examined to be sufficient, taketh vp a beane, and he that thinketh him not sufficient, taketh vp a pease. And after that all haue taken out what they please, the Pilot maior looketh what voyces the examinate hath: and if he finde him to haue as many voyces for him as against him, he commandeth him to make another voyage: but if he hath more voyces for him then against him, then they giue him letters testimoniall of his examination signed by the Pilot maior, by the Kings reader, and the secretary, and sealed with the seale of the Contractation house. And vpon the receipt of these letters testimoniall, the new pilot giueth a present vnto the Pilot maior, and the Kings reader, for their gloues and hennes, euery one according to his abilitie, which is ordinarily some two or three ducats.

Letters testimoniall of euery new pilots examination and approbation, vnder the hands of the Pilot maior, the Kings reader, and the secretary, and seale of the Contractation house.

And then he may take vpon him to be pilot in any ship whatsoeuer, vnto that place for which he was examined: and if he finde in the Indies any ship vnder the charge of a pilot not before examined, hee may put him out of his office, and may himself take charge of that ship for the same wages that the other pilot agreed for.

The pilots wages for making a voyage outward and homeward is according to the burthen of the ship. If she be of 100 tunnes, hee hath 200 or 250 ducats: and if shee bee of 400 or 500 tunnes, he taketh for his wages 500 or 550 ducates: and if she be bigger he hath a greater allowance: ouer and besides all which, he hath euery day while he remaineth on land, foure reals for his diet. And the greater shippes are alwayes committed vnto the more ancient pilots, because they are of greater experience and better skill, then the yonger sort which newly take vpon them to be pilots.

The pilot vndertaketh no farther travell nor care, but in directing the course or nauigation: for the masters of the ships take charge of the freighting and preparing their ships, and to pay the mariners, and to doe all things needefull for the ship; for the pilot commeth not vnto the shippe, vntill the visitours come to visite the same, to see whether he hath all things necessary for the voyage.

Foure Visitours.

The visitours are foure men which are appoynted by the King, and these are men of great vnderstanding: and they come to visite the shippes before they take in their lading, to see whether they be well prepared to make the voyage. And after the ships bee laden, they returne againe to visite them the second time, to see whether they haue all things necessary, according to the orders of the Contractation house: and whether they haue all their mariners, victuals, pouder, shot, and ordinance, and all other things necessary for the voyage. And if they want any thing, they charge them vpon grieuous penalties, to prouide the same before they set out of the hauen.

The orders of the Contractation house.

The ships that goe to the Indies are wont eche of them to haue with them a Notarie, whose charge is to keepe a note of remembrance of all the marchandize which is laden in the ship, and to take the marks thereof, therby to deliuer the commodities in the ship to their particular owners, after they haue finished their voyage, and he serueth likewise to make willes, and other instruments, which are wont to be made by a Notarie, if any man chanceth to fall sicke. And his wages in eche voyage is as much as the wages of two mariners.

The Generall of the fleetes vseth continually, after hee is arriued in the Indies, to send into Spaine a barke of Auiso, to aduertise the King of the state of his arriuall; And after the fleetes be ready to come home, he dispatcheth another pinnesse of Auiso to certifie them how the fleetes are now ready to set saile, with other particularities. There go with the fleetes two great ships, the one as Admirall, the other as Viceadmirall, of the burthen of 400 or 500 tunnes, which carry nothing but victuals and souldiers for the wafting of the rest of the fleete,

The first barke of Auiso.

The second barke of Auiso.

fleete, and these are payd out of the marchandize which come in the Fleete, after the rate of one in the hundred, and sometime at one and an halfe in the hundred.

There is in the Contractation house of Siuil a table which serueth for an Arançel or table of rate or taxation, written in letters of gold, wherein the values of all kind of marchandize, which are embarqued for the Indies, are set downe.

A table of rates, &c. set vp in the Contractation house.

BY this table a man may know how many Botijas or iarres make a tunne of wine, or how many packes, or how many quintals, or how many barrels, or how many chests make a tunne.

And all marchandize haue their rates set downe, to pay the King his customes and the Master his due fraight.

And therein is set vp in writing that no Master may carry any passenger to the Indies, without licence, especially no learned men, nor any fryer, or clergymen, nor any body else without licence of the King: nor any strangers not born in the Kingdomes of Spaine. Moreouer, that they may not carry away any marchandize not comprized in the foresaid orders, vnder paine of death: and that all goods which they carry with them, they ought to carry the same registered; vnder paine of death.

Furthermore, that no Master nor pilot may carry any Chart, nor Astrolabe, nor Crosse-staffe, nor regiment, without they bee signed and sealed by the Pilot maior Alonço de Chiauez and the Cosmographer the Kings reader Rodrigo Zamorano.

Moreouer, that going in company with the fleete, they doe and obey all such things, as their Generall shall command them, vnder paine of death.

Written by me Pedro Dias borne in the isle of Palma one of the Canaries, vpon the request and gratification of M. Richard Hakluyt, in February 1586.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

HAKLUYT'S COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES.

THE

DISCOVERIES OF THE WORLD,

FROM

THEIR FIRST ORIGINALL,

VNTO

THE YEERE OF OUR LORD, 1555.

BRIEFLY WRITTEN IN THE PORTUGALL TONGUE,

BY ANTONIE GALVANO,

GOUERNOUR OF TERNATE, THE CHIEFE ISLAND OF THE MALUCOS.

CORRECTED, QUOTED, AND NOW PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH

BY RICHARD HAKLUYT,

SOMETIMES STUDENT OF CHRISTCHURCH IN OXFORD.

Londini,

IMPENSIS G. BISHOP.

1601.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR ROBERT CECILL KNIGHT,

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIUERIES, THE WOORTHY CHANCELLOUR OF THE VNIVERSITIE OF CAMBRIDGE, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIVIE COUNSELL.

RIght Honorable, while I went about to publish our English Voyages and Discoueries, I was aduised by master WALTER COPE, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding that in his opinion that course woulde prooue most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although in that worke then vnder the presse I could not conueniently alter my course, yet holding his aduise, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I heere present vnto your Honour a briefe Treatie most agreeable to the same. The authour whereof was one Antonie Galuano, a Portugall gentleman: of whose pietie towards God, equitie towards men, fidelity to his Prince, loue to his countrey, skill in sea causes, experience in Histories, liberalitie towards his nation, vigilance, valour, wisedome and diligence in restoring & settling the decaied state of The Isles of Maluco, (where he remained sixe or seuen yeeres gouernour,) if it please your Honour to read Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Ioannes Maffeius in their Histories of The East Indies, you shall finde more written in his singular commendation, then a large Epistle can well comprehend.

THE WORKE THOUGH SMALL IN BULKE CONTAINETH SO MUCH RARE AND PROFITABLE MATTER, AS I KNOW NOT WHERE TO SEEKE THE LIKE, WITHIN SO NARROW AND STREITE A COMPASSE. For heerein is orderly declared, who were The first Discouerours of the world since the time of the flood: by what waies from age to age the spicerie, drugs, and riches of the East were conueied into The West: what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely the changes of Empires and gouernments: The ceasing of all traffick for many yeeres by The Gothes inuasion of the Romane Empire: The rising vp of The Mahumetane sect; with their ouerrunning of Afrike and Spaine: The renewing againe, after many yeeres disturbance, of the trafficke and entercourse of The East Indies; first by the Califas of the aforesaid sect: and eftsoones by The Venetians, Ienowais and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie by Iohn the first king of Portugall of that name in the yeere of our Lord 1415. whose third sonne Don Henry (which he had by the vertuous Ladie Philippa, daughter of Iohn of Gante, and sister to Henry the fourth, king of England) was the first beginner of all the Portugall discoueries, and continued the same for the space of fortie and three yeeres euen to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of Portugall found out with much patience and constancie the last way of the bringing the Spicerie into Europe by The Cape of Buona Sperança; and for these hundred yeeres past haue become the chiefe Lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeuours, The Antiles and The west Indies began to be discouered by The kings of Spaine. The infancies of both which most important enterprises, The progresse of the same from time to time, the discoueries of Islands, riuers, baies and harbours, of many rich prouinces, kingdomes, and countries; The erecting of castles in sundry conuenient Islands and places, with the drawing of trafficke vnto the same, where, when, by whom, and by whose authority is heere succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it please your Honour at your conuenient leisure to take a sea card or a mappe of the world, and carie your eie vpon the coast of Africa from Cape de Non, lying on the

mayne

mayne in 29. degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the Cape of Buona Speranca till you come to the mouth of The Redde Sea, and passing thence along by the countrey of Arabia crosse ouer to India, and doubling Cape Comory compasse the gulfe of Bengala, & shooting by the citie of Malacca through The streite of Cincapura, coast al the south of Asia to the northeast part of China, and comprehend in this view all the Islands from The Açores and Madera in the West, to The Malucoes, The Phillippinas, and Iapan in the East: you shall heere finde by order, who were the first discouerours, conquerours and planters in euery place: as also the natures and commodities of the soyles, togither with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants. And that which I mention of the Orient, is likewise to be vnderstood of The Occident.

Now touching the translation, it may please you sir, to be aduertised that it was first done into our language by some honest and well affected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could atteine vnto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me aboue these twelue yeeres. In all which space though I haue made much inquirie, and sent to Lisbon, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could neuer obtaine the originall copie; whereby I might reforme the manifold errours of the translator. For whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defectiue in all three; especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedie, but to haue recourse vnto the originall histories, (which as it appeereth are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by) out of which the authour himselfe drew the greatest part of this discourse. And in very deede it cost me more trauaile to search out the grounds thereof, and to annexe the marginall quotations vnto the worke, then the translation of many such bookes would haue put me vnto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther vse; to wit, that such as haue leasure sufficient, and are desirous to reade these things more at large, (for breuitie oftentimes breedeth obscuritie) may fully satisfie their desires by hauing recourse by the helpe thereof to the pure fountaines, out of which those waters which are drawne are for the most part most sweete and holsome. Now if any man shall maruel, that in these Discoueries of The World for the space almost of fower thousand yeeres here set downe, our nation is scarce fower times mentioned: Hee is to vnderstand, that when this authour ended this discourse, (which was about the yeere of Grace 1555.)there was little extant of our mens trauailes. And for ought I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if my selfe had not vndertaken that heauie burden, being neuer therein entertained to any purpose, vntill I had recourse vnto your selfe, by whose speciall fauour and bountifull patronage I haue been often much encouraged, and as it were reuiued. Which trauailes of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and haue been made for the most part to places first discouered by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the aduenturers, will then be more fit to be reduced into briefe epitomes, by my selfe or some other endued with an honest zeale of the honour of our countrey. In the meane season nothing doubting of your fauourable acceptation of this my labour, I humbly beseech the authour of all goodnes to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserue your Honour to the profitable seruice of her Maiestie, and to the common benefit and good of the Realme. From London this 29. of October 1601.

Your Honors Chaplein, in all dutie
most readie to be commanded,
RICHARD HAKLUYT.

FRANCIS DE SOUSA TAVARES

VNTO THE

HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE

DON IOHN DUKE OF AVEIRO.

ANtonie Galuano vpon his death bed left vnto me in his testament among his papers this booke. And because I am certaine he ordained it to bee presented vnto your Grace, I haue thought good herein to fulfill his wil & testament, though in other things I haue done nothing, the fault remaining not in me. And by all reason this treatie ought to be set foorth by a Portugall, seeing it intreateth of the variable waies from whence the pepper and spices came in times past into our partes, and also of all the nauigations and discoueries in the old time: In both of which things the Portugals haue most trauailed. In this treatie and in nine or ten bookes of things touching Maluco and India (which the Cardinall willed me to giue to Damian de Goes, saying that he should content me, for otherwise I could not deliuer them) this true Portugall occupied himselfe against the vnfortunate and sorrowfull times which he had been in (which were all ended before all our daies and times:) for when he receiued the captainship and fortresses of Maluco, all the kings and gouernours of all the Ilands about being agreed to make war against the Portugals, vntill such time as they might driue them all out of the countrey, he fought against them all with onely 130. Portugals, when they were all together, and strong in Tidore; and he gaue them the ouerthrow and killed their king, and one Ternate, the principal author of that war, and he tooke from them their fortresse: so vpon this victorie they submitted themselues, and came vnder the obeisance and seruice of our king of Portugall. Herein two things happened of great admiration: The first, that all the kings and gouernours of Maluco agreed togither against vs, a thing that neuer fell out, nor yet credible to be like to happen: for they are euer at variance among themselues: The second, that the captaine of Maluco with onely his ordinarie soldiers should haue the victorie against so many being all together. For sometimes it happeneth that some of the captaines of Maluco with many extraordinarie soldiers besides their ordinarie, yea and with the aide of al the Kings and Lords of Maluco in their fauour and aide went against one King onely of them, and came backe againe with losse. So there may be reckoned three notable things done in India, I say of qualitie: (but of more quantitie and importance there haue been others): which were the taking of Muar by Emmanuel Falcon, and the winning of Bitam by Peter Mascarenas, and this, whereof we presently treate. For all these three deedes seemed to be impossible to be atchieued, considering the small quantitie of soldiers which the captaines had in giuing the enterprise against so many; with the order and maner by them ordained how and which waies to obtaine their purpose as well by their enimies as by themselues. And they could not be atchieued otherwise but by vsing a meane and order not thought of at the first by the Portugals, nor yet euer suspected by their enimies. And, besides this, his father and fower of his brethren were all slaine in the kings seruice: And he now being the last of his linage, caried with him into Maluco woorth ten thousand crusadoes, which he spent not in idlenes, nor yet in play, but onely in bringing of many kings and innumerable townes vnto our holy faith, and in the preseruing of Maluco, employing all his power and strength that all the cloues might come vnto the hands of the kings highnes: which with Maluco yeelded vnto him euery yeere fiue hundred thousand crusadoes; being all to his great preiudice, let, and hinderance. For if he had gathered cloues for himselfe, as the captaines of Maluco haue done and doe, then he had come home very rich. But when he came home into Portugall in great hope (such is the simplicitie

Antonie Galuano Captaine of Maluco.

Variance vsually among the kings of Maluco.

1.
2.
3.

Good seruice full ill rewarded.

simplicitie of the best natures) to be rewarded for his good seruice, and to be more fauoured and honored, then if he had brought home with him an hundred thousand crusadoes, he was greatly deceiued. For he found neither fauour, nor yet honor, but onely among the poore and miserable, to wit, in an hospitall: where he was kept seuenteene yeeres vntill the hower of his death; and there he had allowed vnto him his winding sheete to burie him in: and the brotherhood of the Couent prepared for his buriall as for a poore courtier cast off by all men, leauing himselfe indebted in two thousand crusadoes, whereof part came out of India, and part thereof many of his friends had lent him to maintaine him in the hospitall: for in all these seuenteene yeeres he had not of his highnes for to helpe himselfe with so much as a riall of plate, nor yet I of the bookes which I deliuered receiued any thing to discharge his will with. Yet for all this, euen as vpon the prosperitie of his victories he neuer made any boast, so likewise in his aduersities his great stomacke did nothing abate his hart. As there are good proofes that with so many and so continuall disgraces as he suffered, he neuer vnto the hower of his death left off to raise and to augment the yeerely rent vnto a Counto: which some made strange and would not giue eare vnto: So that euen as he was extreme painfull in the performance of his seruice, so he was the like in the things sounding vnto the perfecting of the same, which was the cause that he was brought vnto the state that he died in. For he could not see the qualitie of the time, but onely those of his great seruice, by reason of the great charges that it stood him in. And his saying was, That he was borne, not for to say that his constellation was in the wars victorious, but in the ouercomming of kings by the arte of warfare, readines in resoluing, prudence in conseruing, and great loialtie and patience with many seruices vnto his king and master. In which of all these he had most contentation it cannot easily be determined. Wherefore your noble Grace may see, that this treatie and the others were made with sighes and afflictions which his inferiour will might haue raised vp in him against his superiour reason. Neither was he willing to take for his remedie that which that great Turke Zelim sonne to the great Mahumet did, (for he tooke Constantinople and died in Rome) who vsed to make himselfe drunke, because he would not remember the great estate which he lost: nor yet woulde he giue eare vnto those things which many of his friends would tell him, wishing he would settle his mind out of the kingdome: (for otherwise he should neuer be able to liue:) whereunto he answered, that in this point he would rather be compared vnto the great Timocles the Athenian, then to be like the excellent Romane Coriolanus. Which is a goodly example of a true and faithfull Portugall. (Though it were not so as I doe say, yet I doe heare, that the hospitals be full of the most faithfull subiects to their prince and countrey.) Wherefore by all reason this treatie ought to be of your Grace fauoured, setting apart all ouersights, if there be any, in this worke, of the author: I being not able to attaine vnto the vnderstanding of the contrary. God prosper your Grace with long life and increase of honour.

A Counto is 20000. crusadoes.

Orvther Themiocles.

AN

EXCELLENT TREATISE

OF

ANTONIE GALVANO, PORTUGALL,

CONTAINING THE

MOST ANCIENT AND MODERNE

DISCOUERIES OF THE WORLD

ESPECIALLY BY

NAUIGATION,

ACCORDING TO THE COURSE OF TIMES FROM THE FLOOD VNTILL THE YEERE OF GRACE 1555.

WHile I had a desire to gather together some olde and some new discoueries, which haue béene made by sea and by land, with their iust times and situations; they séemed to be two things of so great difficultie, that being cõfused in the authors of them, I determined once to desist frõ any such purpose. For touching the course of time the Hebrewes declare, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 1656. yéeres. The Seuentie Interpreters make mention of 2242. And S. Augustine reckoneth 2262. In the situations likewise there be many differences. For there neuer sailed together in one fléete at sea from ten pilots to the number of 100. but that some of them found themselues by reckoning in one longitude and other some in another. But considering better with my selfe, that the difficulties are opened, and the differences amended by others of more exact iudgement and vnderstanding therein, I purposed notwithstanding to procéede in this worke of Discoueries. Augustine de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 15. cap. 20.

Some there be that say, that the world hath fully béene discouered: and they alleage this reason, that as it hath beene peopled and inhabited, so it might be frequented, and nauigable, and the rather for that the men in that age were of a longer life, and of lawes and languages almost one.

There be others of a contrarie opinion to this, holding that all the earth could not be knowne, nor the people conuersant one with another. For though it had béene so once, yet the same would haue béene lost againe by the malice of men, and the want of iustice among the inhabitants of the earth. But bicause the best and most famous discoueries were made by sea, and that principally in our times, I desire to knowe, who were the first discouerers since the time of the flood. Contrarie opinions touching the discouerie of the world. Who were the first discouerers since the flood.

Some affirme that they were the Gréekes, others say, the Phœnicians, others also the Egyptians. The people of India agrée not hereunto; affirming that they were the first sailed by sea: namely the * Tabencos, which now we call the Chinois. And they alleage for the proofe of this, that they be ŷ Lords of the Indiaes euen vnto the Cape of Bona Sperança, & the island of S. Laurence, which is inhabited by them, and al along the sea; as also the Iauaes, Timores, Celebes, Macasares, Malucos, Borneos, Mindanaos, Luçones, Lequeos, Iapones, and other Islands being many in number, and the firme lands of Cauchin-China, Laos, Bramas, Pegu, Arracones, till you come vnto Bengala: And besides this, New Spaine, Peru, Brasill, the Antiles, with the rest adioyning vnto them, as appéereth by the fashions and maners of the men and women, and by their proportions, hauing small eies, flat noses, with other proportions to be seene. And to this day many of these Ilands and countreies are called by the names of Batochina, Bocho-China, which is as much to say, as the countreies of China. Further it appéereth by histories, that the arke of Noe rested vpon the north parts of the mountaines of Armenia, which stands in 40. degrées and vpwards: and that immediately thereupon Scythia was first peopled, for that it is an high land, and appéered first after the flood. And séeing the prouince and countrey of the Tabencos is one of the chiefest of all Tartarie, as they report, it is to be thought that they were of the most ancient inhabitants, and men of the most ancient nauigations, the seas being as calme as the riuers be in those parts lying betwéene the Tropicks, where the daies and nights do not much differ, as well in the howers, as in ŷ temperature: where there blow no outragious windes, to cause the waters to rise or to be troubled. And by late experience it is found, that the small barks wherein they saile haue onely a great high bough in the middest of the barke, standing in stéed both of mast and saile, and the master holdeth onely an oare in his hand to stirre withall: and so they saile swiftly along the coast; and the rest of the passengers sit onely vpon certaine poles, which are fastened in the barke, which they call Catamarones, and so they passe without rowing.

* The people of China say they were the first sailers by sea.

The inhabitants of the West Indies descended from China.

The seas betweene the Tropicks very calme.

An high bough in stead of mast and saile.

It is further said, that the people of China were sometimes Lords of the most part of Scythia, and sailed ordinarily along that coast, which séemeth to reach vnto 70. degrées toward the north. Cornelius Nepos is the author of this; who particularly affirmeth, that in the time that Metellus the fellowe Consul of Afranius, was Proconsul in France, the king of Sueuia sent vnto him certaine Indians, which came thither in a ship from this countrey, comming by the north and by the flats of Germanie. And it is probable that they were people of China, for that they from 20. 30. and 40. degrées vpwards haue strong ships and clynchers, that can well brooke the seas, and indure the cold and intemperature of such northerly regions. As for Cambaia there is shipping also in it, and the people by report haue vsed the seas many yéeres: but it seemeth not that they were any of them which came into France: for that they trafficke onely to Cairo, and are men in déed of little trafficke and lesse clothing.

Pomponius Mela, lib. 3. Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 67.

As for those which escaped the destruction of the flood, they were therewith so amazed, that they durst not descend into the plaines and lowe countreies, but kept the hils. And we reade of Nimrode, who 130. yéeres after the flood built the Tower of Babell, intending thereby to saue himselfe, if there should come any more such floods.

Ioseph. Antiquit. Iudaic. lib. 1. ca. 5.

Therefore it seemeth, that they which first came to be sailers were those which dwell in the east in the prouince of China: although others contrariwise hold them which dwell in the west as in Syria, to haue vsed the trade of the sea soonest after the flood. But this contention about the antiquitie of nauigation I leaue to the Scythians and Egyptians, who were at great variance and difference in this matter: for each of them chalenged vnto themselues the honour of the first sea trauaile. But omitting all iars and differences thereabouts, I will apply my selfe to my purposed discourse, and speake of that which histories haue left in record.

Iustinus lib. 1.

Berosus. The first nauigation after the flood 143.

THere be some wel séene in Antiquities, which say that in the 143. yéere after the flood, Tubal came by sea into Spaine, whereby it séemeth that in those times nauigations were vsed into our parts out of Ethiopia.

And

And they also say farther, that not long after this, the Quéene Semyramis went against the Indians in that riuer whereof they tooke their name, and therein gaue battaile vnto the king Stabrobates, wherein he lost a thousand ships. Which being credible by the ancient historie, prooueth manifestly that in those parts, in those times were many ships, and the seas frequented in good numbers. Diodorus Siculus lib. 2. cap. 5.

In the 650. yéere after the flood there was a king in Spaine named Hesperus, who in his time as it is reported went and discouered as far as Cape Verde, & the Island of S. Thomas, whereof he was prince: And Gonsaluo Fernandes of Ouiedo the Chronicler of Antiquities affirmeth, that in his time the Islands of the West Indies were discouered, and called somewhat after his name Hesperides: and he alleageth many reasons to prooue it, reporting particularly that in 40. daies they sailed from Cape Verde vnto those Islands. Berosus. Gonsaluo Fernandes Oniedo lib. 2. cap. 3. Generalls Hist. Plinius lib. 6. cap. 32.

There are others that say that the like was done from this Cape vnto the Islands of S. Thomas, and the Isle De Principe, and that they be the Hesperides, and not the Antiles: And they doe not differ far from reason: séeing in those times and many yéeres after they did vse to saile onely along the coast, not passing through the maine Ocean sea: for they had neither altitude nor compasse then in vse, nor any mariners so expert. The ancient nauigation was along the coast, and not far into the maine Ocean.

It cannot be denied, but that there were many countries, Islands, Capes, Isthmos, and points, which now are grown out of knowledge; because the names of them are found in histories. But the age of the world and force of waters haue wasted and consumed them, and separated one countrey from another, both in Europe, Asia, Africa, New Spaine, Peru, and other places. Length of time and force of waters haue much altered the situation of manie places.

Plato saith in his dialogue of Timæus, that there were in ancient times in the Ocean sea Atlanticke certaine great Islands and countries named Atlantides greater then Afrike and Europe: and that the kings of those parts were Lords of a great part of this our countrey: but with certaine great tempests the sea did ouerflow it, and it remained as mud and shingle; so that in a long time after no ships could passe that way. Plato in Timæo.

It is also recorded in histories, that fast by the Island of Cadiz towards the Straights of Gibraltar there was a certaine Island which was called Aphrodisias, well inhabited and planted with many gardens and orchards, and yet at this day we haue no knowledge of this Aphrodisias, but only a bare mention of it in ancient authors. The said Island of Cadiz is further said to haue béen so large and big, that it did ioine with the firme land of Spaine. Plinius lib. 4. cap. 22.

The Islands of the Açores were sometimes a point of the mountaines of Estrella, which ioine vnto the sea ouer the towne of Syntra: And also from Sierra Verde or the gréene mountaine, which adioineth vnto the water, hard by the citie of Sasin in the land of Cucu (which is the selfe same Island of Mouchin, where Algarbe is) come the Islands of Porto Santo and Madera. The Islands of the Açores sometimes ioined to the firme land.

For it is held as a true and vndoubted veritie, that all Islands haue their roots running from the firme land, though they be neuer so farre from the continent: for otherwise they could not stand firme. All Islands haue their rootes running from the maine land.

There are other histories which say, that from Spaine vnto Ceuta in Barbarie men sometimes trauailed on foote vpon drie land, and that the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica did ioine the one with the other, as also did Sicilia with Italie, and Negroponto with Græcia. Eratosthenes apud Strabonem lib. 1. pag. 26.

We reade also that there were found hulles of ships, ankers of iron, and other memorials of shipping vpon the mountaines of Sussa farre within the land: where as it séemeth now no sált water or sea euer came. Hulls of ships and ankers found on mountaines farre within land.

In India also, and in the land of Malabar, although now there be great store of people, yet many writers affirme that it was once a maine sea vnto the foote of the mountaines; and that the Cape of Comarim, and the Island of Zeilan were all one thing: As also that the Island of Samatra did ioine with the land of Malacca by the flats of Caypasia; and not farre frō thence there stands now a little Island, which few yéeres past was part of the firme land that is ouer against it.

Furthermore it is to be séene, how Ptolemey in his tables doth set the land of Malacca to the south of the line in thrée or fower degrées of latitude, whereas now it is at the point

thereof, being called Ientana, in one degrée on the north side, as appéereth in the Straight of Cincapura, where daily they doe passe through vnto the coast of Sian and China, where the Island of Aynan standeth, which also they say did ioine hard to the land of China: and Ptolemey placeth it on the north side far from the line, standing now aboue 20. degrees from it towards the north, as Asia and Europe now stand.

Well it may be that in time past the land of Malacca and China did end beyond the line on the south side, as Ptolemey doth set them foorth: because it might ioine with the point of the land called Ientana, with the Islands of Bintan, Banca, & Salitres being many that waies, & the land might be all slime & oaze; And so ℣ point of China, might ioine with the Islands of the Luçones, Borneos, Lequeos, Mindanaos, & others which stand in this parallele: they also as yet hauing in opinion that the Island of Samatra did ioine with laua by the chanell of Sunda, and the Islands of Bali, Aujaue, Cambaua, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulua, Vintara, Rosalaguin, and others that be in this parallele and altitude did all ioine with laua; and so they séeme outwardly to those that descrie them. For at this day the Islands stand so néere the one to the other, that they séeme all but one firme land; and whosoeuer passeth betwéene some of them, may touch with their hand the boughs of the trees on the one and on the other side also. And to come néerer to the matter, it is not long since, that in the east the Islands of Banda were diuers of them ouerflowen and drowned by the sea: And so likewise in China about nine score miles of firme ground is now become a lake, as it is reported. Which is not to be thought maruellous; considering that which Ptolemey and others haue written in such cases; which here I omit, to returne to my purpose.

At this Ile of Bali the Hollanders were 1596. and haue largely described it.

Nine score miles of firme ground lately drowned in China.

After the flood 800. yéeres we reade that the citie of Troy was builded by the Dardans; and that before that time they brought out of the Indies into Europe by the Red sea, spices, drugs, and many other kindes of marchandises, which were there more abundant, then now they be. Whereunto if credit may be giuen, we may conceaue that the sea was of old haunted and frequented, séeing that then they of the East had so much and so great trafficke with them of the West, that they brought their marchandise vnto an hauen which was named Arsinoe, being that which at this day is called Suez, standing in 30. degrées on the north part of the Arabian Gulfe. It is also by authors farther written, that from this hauen of Arsinoe or Suez, these marchandises were carried by Carauans or great companies of carriers vpon camels, asses, and mules, vnto the Leuant sea vnto a city called Cassou, standing on the coast in 32. degrées of latitude, yeelding vnto euery degrée 17. leagues and an halfe, as the maner is. And there are by account from the one sea to the other 55. leagues, or 165. miles. These carriers, by reason of the heate of the countrey, trauailed in the night onely, directing themselues by stars and by marks of postes and canes, which they vsed to sticke in the ground as they went. But after that, because this course and iourney had many inconueniences, they changed and altered the same twise, to finde out the most commodious way.

800. yeeres after the flood was trade of spices by the Red sea.

Arsinoe, now called Suez.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

Strabo lib. 17. pag. 560.

900. yéeres or there about after the flood, and before the destruction of Troy, there was a king in Egypt called Sesostris, who perceiuing that the former courses and passages for the carrying of marchandises by men & beasts, were chargeable to the one & most painfull to the other, prouided to haue a way or streame cut out of the land from the Red sea vnto an arme of the riuer Nilus which ruēeth vnto the Citie Heroum; that by the meanes thereof ships might passe and repasse with their marchandises from India into Europe, and not be discharged till they came into Italie. So that this Sesostris was the first king, which built great caracks to trauaile this way. But this enterprise for all that tooke little effect. For if it had, Africa had then béen made as an Island all compassed with water, being no more ground betwéene sea and sea, then the space of 20. leagues or 60. miles.

900. yeeres after the flood. Strabo lib. 17.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

About this time the Grœcians gathered together an army or fléete, which now is called Argonautica, whereof Iason and Alceus were captains general. Some say they went from the Isle of Creta, others from Grœcia. But whence soeuer they departed, they sailed through the Proponticke sea, and Saint Georges Sléeue vnto the Euxine sea, where some perished, and Iason thereupon returned backe into Greece. Alceus reported that he was driuen

Diodorus Siculus lib. 4. cap. 4.

driuen with a tempest to the lake Mæotis, where he was forsaken of al his company, and they which escaped with great trauaile, passed through by land vnto the Ocean sea of Almaine, where they tooke shipping, passing the coasts of Saxonie, Frisland, Holland, Flanders, France, Spaine, Italie, and so returned vnto Peloponesus and Greece, discouering the most part of the coast of Europe. The lake Mæotis. Shipping of great antiquitie in the Germaine sea.

Strabo, alleaging Aristonicus the Grammarian, sheweth that after the destruction of Troy Menelaus the king came out of the straights of the Leuant seas into the sea Atlanticke and coasted Africa and Guinea, and doubled the Cape of Bona Sperança, and so in time arriued in India. Of which voyage of his there may be many more particulars gathered out of the histories. This Mediterrane sea was also sometimes called The Adriaticke, The Ægæan, and the Herculean sea, with other names, according to the lands, coasts & Islands which it passeth by, running into the great sea Atlanticke, along the coast of Africa. Strabo lib. 1. pag. 26.

In the yéere 1300. after the flood Solomon caused a nauie to be prepared on the Red sea, at an hauen called Ezeon Geber, to saile to the East India, where by opinion stande the Islands called Tharsis and Ophir. This nauie was thrée yéeres on this voyage, and then returned, and brought with them gold, siluer, cypres, &c. Whereby it séemeth that those places, and Islands were those, which now be called the Luçones, Lequeos, and Chinaes. For we know few other parts from whence some of those things are brought, or wherein nauigation was so long since vsed. 1. of Kings 9. 2. Chron. 8.

It is left vs also in histories, that a king of Egypt called Neco, desiring greatly to ioyne the Red sea with the riuer Nilus, commanded the Phœnicians to saile from the straight of Mecca to the farther end of the Mediterrane sea, to sée if it did make any turne backe againe vnto Egypt. Which commandement they obeied, sailing towards the south all along the coast and countrey of Melinde, Quiloa, Sofala, till they came to the Cape of Bona Esperança, finding the sea continually on the left hand: But when they had doubled the Cape, and found the coast continually on the right hand, they maruailed much at it. Notwithstanding they continued their course forward toward the north al along the coast of Guiney and the Mediterrane sea, till they came backe againe into Egypt, whence they first went out. In which discouerie they remained two yéeres. And these are thought to be the first, that compassed by sea all the coast of Afrike, and sailed round about it. Herodotus lib. 4.

In the yéere 590. before the incarnation of Christ there went out of Spaine a fleete of Carthaginian marchants vpon their owne proper costs and charges, which sailed toward the west through the high seas to sée if they could finde any land: and they sailed so farre, that they found at last the Islands, which we now call the Antiles and Noua Spagna: which Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouiedo saith were then discouered, although Christopher Columbus afterwards by his trauaile got more exact knowledge of them, and hath left vs an euident notice where they be. But all these historians, which wrote of these Antiles before, as of doubtfull and vncertaine things, and of places vndiscouered, doe now plainly confesse the same to be the countrey of Noua Spagna. Aristoteles lib. de mirandis in natura auditis. Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouiedo lib. 2. cap. 3. of his generall historie.

In the yéere 520. before the incarnation, and after the setting out of the aforesaid army, Cambyses king of Persia tooke Egypt, after whom succéeded Darius the sonne of Histaspis, and he determined to make an end of the enterprise which king Sesostris had begun, if they had not told him that the Red sea was higher then the land of Egypt, and that by meanes of the salt sea comming into the riuer Nilus, all the prouince would haue béen lost and vndone for hunger and thirst. For the fresh water of the riuer Nilus doth ouerflowe the whole countrey, and the inhabitants haue no other water then that for their drinke: whereupon he left his first purpose of prosecuting that enterprise. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1 cap. 3.

Now by the way I shall not swarue much from my matter, if I speake a word or two of some things incident to this discourse. The Egyptians say that they had in their countrey certaine vermine like vnto rats, whereof many be halfe like earth and the other halfe like a vermine. One kinde of them kéepe the water, and another kinde the land. For my part I thinke that these be they, which breake the serpents egges, whereof there are many in the riuer A digression. Plinius lib. 9. cap. 58. de mirabilibus Nili.

riuer Nilus, which also be called Crocodiles: which in times past by report were so inchanted, that thereby they could not hurt any person. But when they were deliuered from their inchantment made by the Egyptians arte, and letters, then they endeuoured to kill people, wilde beasts and cattell, doing very much harme, specially those which liue in the water, which oftentimes come to the land, and liuing altogether on land become very strong poison. The people beyond the citie of Cairo vse to fish for them and eate them, and they take their heads, and set them vpon the walles of their citie.

Ioannes Leo Africanus lib. 9. cap. de Nilo.

Of these Crocodiles it is written, that they lay themselues along by the riuer with their mouthes open, and that there come vnto them certaine white birds, litle bigger then thrusshes, which flie into the mouth of the Crocodile, and picke out the filthines which is betwéene his téeth, and in his iawes, wherewith he is greatly pleased; but for all that the Crocodile would close his mouth and deuoure the bird, if nature had not prouided the bird a sharpe pricke as it were, growing out of his head, wherewith he pricketh the Crocodile in the mouth; which causeth him to gape wide, and so the bird flieth away without harme; yet there come by and by other of those birds, which make an end of cleansing his mouth.

Plinius lib. 8. cap. 25. Ioannes Leo Africanus lib. 9.

In the same riuer there are also many beastes like vnto horses; and vpon the land certaine fowles like vnto cranes, which warre continually with serpents, that come thither from Arabia, and kill many of them. Which birds as also the vermine, which eate the egges of the Crocodiles, are greatly estéemed of the Egyptians.

Hippopotami. Ibis.

But now to returne to my matter, and to procéede in the discoueries; In the yéere 485. before the incarnation of Christ Xerxes the king of Persia commanded Sataspis his nephew to goe and search, and discouer India: who according to the precept vndertooke the voyage, and went through the straight of Gibraltar, and passed the promontorie of Africa, which now we call the Cape of Bona Speranca, standing southward betwixt 34. and 35. degrées in latitude, and being weary of so great a nauigation turned from thence backe againe, as Bartholomew Diaz did in our daies.

Before the comming of Christ 443. yéeres Himilco and Hanno his brother Carthaginian captaines gouerning that part of Spaine, which is now called Andaluzia, departed from thence each one with his nauie. Himilco sailing towards the north discouered the coasts of Spaine, France, England, Flanders and Germanie. And some write farther, that he sailed vnto Gotland, & came to the Island of Thule, or Island, standing vnder the circle Arcticke in 24. degrées from the north pole, and continued in his nauigation two yéeres, til he came vnto this Island, where the day hath in Iune 22. houres, and in December the night also hath 22. houres, whereby it is there woonderfully cold.

Plinius lib. 2 cap. 67.

Now the other brother Hanno tooke his course towarde Africa and Guiney, and he discouered the Fortunate Islands, which we call the Canaries, and besides these he discouered others, as the Dorcades, Hesperides, & the Gorgades, which now be called the Isles of Cape Verde. There he with his company went along the coast till they doubled the Cape of Bona Speranca, and taking their course towards the land, they went along by it vnto another Cape named Aromaticum, which is now called Guardafu, standing southeast from Cape Verde in 14. degrées toward the north; and he came to the coast of Arabia standing in 16. and 17. degrées; and was fiue yéeres in this voiage, before he returned backe into Spaine.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 31.

The nauigation of Hanno in Greeke hereunto agreeth.

There be others that say, that he passed not beyond Sierra Leona, but peopled it, and afterwards discouered as far as the line. But it séemeth he made a full nauigation, because he spent so much time in his trauaile. It is reported that the inhabitants of the Cape of Bona Speranca are great witches, and inchanters of certaine snakes, which they bring to such seruice, and commandement, that they kéepe their Churches and Churchyards, gardens, orchards, barnes, and cattel as well from wilde beasts, as from théeues. For if they see any to doe or to intend hurt, the snake windes her selfe to him or them, holding them as prisoners, and commanding her yoong ones to call their masters vntill they be taken. If the théeues be many, or the wilde beastes of so much strength, that they dare not meddle

Enchanted snakes.

with

with them, then they goe vnto the house of him with whom they doe liue: and if it be in the night time, they giue so many strokes, that at the last they doe awake them, to cause them to prouide for their defence.

A certaine Italian called Aloisius Cadamusta writeth, that he being in the discouerie of Guiney in the kingdome of Budimol lay in the house of Bisborol his sonnes sonne; and lying in his bed he heard a great noise and many blowes giuen about the house; whereupon Bisborol rose, and went out: and when he came againe, Cadamusta demanded of him, where he had béen; and he answered that he had béen with his Cobras or snakes which called him. In the Indias there be many of these kinde of snakes, and some full of poison, which notwithstanding the Indian people vse to carrie about their necks, and put them into their bosomes and vnder their armes: which at some soundes that the people make will daunce, and doe diuers things at commandement.

There was a Portugall that somtime told me, that beyond the Cape of Bona Sperança towards Sofala, Quiloa, and Melinde, where he had béen, there were certaine birds, which would come to the Black Moores at their call, and according as the Moores did remooue, so the birds would doe, from one trée to another: and they vsed to follow them till they did light vpon some trée, from whence they could not remooue. And as the Negros went vp the trée they should finde waxe and honie thereupon, not knowing whether it grewe there naturally or not. In the same countrey also vnder ground in Ant holes they did finde much honie and waxe, which the Antes did make, being somewhat bitter. Vpon the sea coast also they found certaine fishes, which commonly went vpright in the water, hauing the faces and natures of women, which the fishermen of those places were acquainted with.

Odericus writeth the like of one that brought multitudes of partridges to Trapezunda.

Mermaides.

In the yéere 355. before Christ it is said that the Spanyards sailed through the maine sea till they came vnto the flats of India, Arabia, and those coasts adioyning, whereunto they caried diuers marchandises, which trade they vsed in great ships. And sailing to the northwest they came vnto certaine flats, which with the flowing of the sea were couered, and with the ebbe were discouered, finding there many Tunnies of great bignes, where they commonly vsed to fish them to their great profit, because they were the first vntill that time that they had séene, and were greatly estéemed.

Aristotel. de mirandis in natura auditis.

Strabo lib. 2. pag. 68. de Gaditanorum longinqua nauigatione & ingentibus nauibus.

The time of Alexander Magnus, as appéereth by the ages of the world, was before the comming of Christ 324 yéeres: we all know that he was borne in Europe: but he trauailed into Asia & Africa, and passed through Armenia, Assyria, Persia, & Bactria, standing northerly in 44. degrées of latitude, which is the farthest countrey in longitude wherein he was in all his iourneyes. From thence he descended into India by the mountaines of Imaus, and the valleyes of Paropanisus, and prepared a nauie in the riuer Indus, and therewith passed into the Ocean sea, where he turned by the lands of Gedrosia, Caramania, & Persia, vnto the great citie of Babylon, leauing Onesicritus and Nearcus captaines of his fléete, which afterwards came vnto him by the straight of the Persian sea, and vp the riuer of Euphrates, leauing that countrey and coast discouered.

After this, Ptolemey raigned king of Egypt, who by some is reputed to haue béen bastard sonne vnto Philip father of the foresaid Alexander the great. This Ptolemey imitating the forenamed kings Sesostris and Darius, made a trench or ditch of an hundred foote broad and of thirty foote déepe, and ten or twelue leagues in length till he came to The bitter Welles, pretending to haue his worke run into the sea from a mouth of the riuer Nilus, called Pelusium, passing now by the citie Damiata. But this thing tooke none effect: for that the Red sea was thought to be higher by three cubits then the land of Egypt, which would haue ouerflowed all the countrey, to the ruine and losse thereof.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

In the yéere 277. before the incarnation succéeded in the gouernment of the kingdome one Philadelphus, who brought to passe that the marchandises should come out of Europe to the citie of Alexandria vpwards by the riuer Nilus vnto a city named Coptus, and from thence to be conueyed by land to a hauen standing vpon the Red sea called Myos-Hormos; which way was trauailed in the night, the pilots directing themselues by the stars, which were expert in that practise. And because water was scant that way, they vsed to carrie it with

Strabo lib. 17. pag. 560. & 561.

Coptus.

Myos-Hormos now Cosir on the Red sea.

with them for all the companie, till at the last to auoide that trouble they digged very déepe wels, and made large cisterns for the receipt of raine water, by which the way furnished with that commoditie, which at the first it wanted, grewe in continuance of time to be the more frequented.

But whereas the straight way was dangerous by reason of flats and islands, the aforesaid king Philadelphus with his armies went on the side of Troglodytica, and in an hauen called Berenice caused the ships to arriue which came out of India, being a place of more suretie and lesse perill; from whence they might easily carrie the wares to the citie of Coptus, and so to Alexandria. And by this meane Alexandria grew so famous and rich, that in those daies there was no citie of the world comparable to it. And to speake briefly and particularly of the abundance of traffícke there vsed, it is left written for an assured truth, that in the time of king Ptolemey Auletes father vnto Cleopatra, it yéelded in customes vnto him yéerly seuen millions and an halfe of gold, although the traffícke was not then scant twenty yéeres old, by way of that citie.

The cause of the greatnes of Alexandria.

Strabo lib. 17. pag. 549.

But after that this prouince and countrey became subiect to the Emperours of Rome, as they were greater in power, and néerer in couetousnes, so they enhanced the customes: so that within a little time the citie yéelded double the foresaide summe. For the traffike grew so exceeding great, that they sent euery yéere into India 120. ships laden with wares, which began to set saile from Myos-Hormos about the middle of Iuly, and returned backe againe within one yéere.

Strabo lib. 17. pag. 549.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 23.

The marchandise which they did carrie amounted vnto one million two hundred thousand crownes, and there was made in returne of euery crowne an hundred. In so much that by reason of this increase of wealth the matrones or noble women of that time and place, spent infinitely in decking themselues with precious stones, purple, pearles, muske, amber, and the like: whereof the writers and historians of that age speake very greatly.

Plinius lib. 12. cap. 18.

Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67.

Cornelius Nepos, alleaged by Plinie, maketh report of a king of Egypt, that raigned in his time called Ptolemæus Lathyrus, from whom one Eudoxus fled vpon occasion, and the better to auoid and escape his hands he passed through the Arabícke gulfe, and the sea, all along the coast of Africa and the Cape of Bona Sperança till he came vnto the Island of Cadiz: and this nauigation by that course was in those daies as often vsed as now it is, if we may giue credit to the histories. Which appéereth the more manifest by this, that Caius Cæsar the sonne of Augustus going into Arabia did finde in the Red sea certaine péeces of those ships, which came thither out of Spaine. It was a vse also long after those daies to passe to India by land. For so did the kings of the Soldans, and the princes of Bactria, and other famous captaines, who trauailing thither and into Scythia by land, had the view of those prouinces and countreyes, so farre till they came that way vnto the *West, and to the seas thereof on the north part, whereunto many marchants then did trauaile. Marcus Paulus Venetus writeth much hereof. And although at the first his booke was taken for a fabulous thing, yet now there is better credit giuen vnto it, for that by the late experiences of the trauailers and marchants of these daies into those parts, the names of the countreyes, cities and townes, with their situations, latitudes and commedities are now found true, as he and other historiographers of that time haue reported.

Paulus Venetus commended.

In the 200. yéere before the incarnation it is written, that the Romanes sent an armie by sea into India against the great Can of Cathaia, which passing through the straight of Gibraltar, and running to the northwest, found right ouer against the Cape Finisterre ten Islands, wherein was much tinne: And they may be those which were called the Cassiterides, & being come to 50. degrées of latitude they found a * Straight; and passing through it towards the west, they arriued in the Empire of India, and fought with the king of Cathay, and so came backe againe vnto the citie of Rome. Which thing howsoeuer it may séeme either possible or not possible, trúe or not true, yet so I finde it left to vs recorded in the *histories of that time.

Cassiterides.

* The northwest passage, though the latitude be somewhat mistaken.

What histories may these be?

In the 100. yéere after the incarnation of Christ the Emperour Traiane prepared an armie by sea vpon the riuers Euphrates and Tigris, and departed from them, and sailed to the

Islands

Islands of Zyzara, and passing the straight of Persia entred into the Ocean sea and sailed towards India all along the coast till he came to that place where Alexander had béen, and there he tooke certaine ships which came from Bengala, of whom he learned the state of that countrey. But because he was then in yéeres and wearie with his trauaile, but especially because he found there small reliefe for his armie, he returned backe. Xiphilinus in vita Traiani.

After that the Romanes had gotten the most part of the world, there were in that age made many, and notable discoueries. But then came the Gothes, Moores, and other barbarous nations, and destroied all. For in the yéere 412. after the incarnation of Christ, they tooke the citie of Rome: And the Vandales came out of Spaine and conquered Africa. Rome taken by the Gothes 412.

And in the yéere 450. the king called Atila destroied many cities in Italie: at which time the citie of Venice began. And in this age the Frankes and Vandals entred into France. The originall of Venice 450.

In the yéere 474. the Empire of Rome was lost, and fell from the Romanes to the Gothes.

And after this came the Lombards into Italie, namely in the yéere 560.

Also about this time the sect of the Arrians preuailed greatly: and at this time one Merline of England was famous for his prophecies.

To be short, in the yéere 611. sproong vp the Mahumetane sect and Morisco regiment, which by force inuaded both Africa and Spaine. The sect of Mahumet begun anno 611.

By all this it may appéere, that in that age all the world was in an hurly burly, and all places very tumultuous. In so much that trafficke and marchandise ceased: for no nation durst trade one with another neither by sea nor land: nothing as then remained stedfast neither in monarchies nor kingdomes, signiories, religions, lawes, artes, sciences, nor nauigations. Nor so much as the records and writings of such things did remaine, but were all burnt and consumed by the barbarous crueltie and vnbrideled power of the Gothes: who became so couetous and ambitious, that they purposed of themselues to begin a new world, and to roote out the memorie, and blot out the knowledge of all other nations besides. Trafficke and nauigation ceased. Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 372. pag. 2.

But they that succéeded after these times in the gouernment of things, perceiuing the great and huge losse, that the Christian world had by the want of trafficke and ceasing of nauigation, whereby those commodities and marchandises could not be spent, which before went ordinarily from one nation to another by the vse of trade: to the end that this decay and losse might be repaired, and the treasures of the East might be imparted with the West, as it was woont in the times of quietnes and peaceable liuing, they began to deuise a way to passe to India, which was not as the former way was by the Red sea and the riuer Nilus, but a way of farther sailing & farther length and cost also. For they brought their ware vp the riuer Indus, and there vnladed it, carrying it by land through the countrey of Paropanisus by Carauans vnto the prouince of Bactria, and then shipped it in barks on the riuer Oxus, which falleth into the Caspian sea, and so sailed ouer that sea vnto an hauen of the riuer Rha named Citracan or Astracan, and so vpwards in the said riuer which now is called Volga: and as it appéereth they carried it to the citie of Nouogrode in the prouince of Resan, which now belongeth to the great Duke of Moscouia, standing toward the north in 54. degrées of latitude: & therebence they trauailed ouer land vnto the prouince of Sarmatia vnto the riuer Tanais, which is the diuision of Europe from Asia; where they againe laded it in barks, and caried it downe the riuer, into the lake Mæotis, and to the citie of Caffa, which in ancient time was called Theodosia, which then belonged to the Genowais, who came thither for those wares in their galliasses or great ships. Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 373. A way by the riuer Oxus, the Caspian sea, Volga, and ouer land to Caffa.

It is also left written, that the trade this way endured vntill the raigne of Commodita Emperour of Armenia, who prouided for a better course, and commanded this trafficke of the spices to be conueied by the Caspian sea, and so through the kingdome of Hiberia, which now is called Georgiana, and from thence they entred by the riuer Phasis, now Phasso, into Pontus Euxinus, and so vnto the city of Trapezunda standing in 40. and odde degrées of northerly latitude. And to that place came shipping for the marchandises out of Europe and Africa. Strabo lib. 11. The mart of spices at Trapezunda, Ramusius ibidem.

It is further left recorded concerning this way of trafficke, that Nicanor determined or had already begun to open aboue 120. miles of land, which lieth betwéene the Caspian sea and Strabo lib. 11. Plinius lib. 6. cap. 12.

Pontus Euxinus, that they might come and goe by water with their spices, drugs, and other commodities, there vsed. But in the meane time this mischiefe happened, that Ptolemey Ceraunus killed him, and by his death this worthy and famous enterprise ceased without effect.

Another way to Boghar, and so by caruans into Persia by the riuer Ganges.

But the other way being also at last lost by reason of the wars of the Turks, it pleased God to open another way to these marchandises from the Isle of Samatra, the citie of Malacca, and the Island of Iaua vnto Bengala, and so carrying them vp the riuer Ganges vnto the citie of Agra; from whence they trauailed ouer land vnto another citie standing néere the riuer Indus named Boghar, where they discharged, bicause the citie of *Cabor standeth too farre within the land, being the principall citie of the Mogores. From thence they went forward to the great citie of Samarcand standing in the countrey of Bactria: and there the marchants of India, Persia, and Turkie met, bringing thither their seuerall commodities, as cloth of gold, veluets, chamolets, scarlet, and woollen clothes, which were carried to Cathay and the great kingdome of China: wherehence they brought againe gold, siluer, precious stones, pearles, silke, muske, and many other things of great value, and much rubarbe. After this these marchandise, drugs, and spiceries were carried in ships vpon the Indian sea vnto the streight of Ormus, and to the riuers Euphrates and Tigris; and were vnladen in the citie of Balsara standing in 31. degrées towards the north, and from thence they were caried ouer land vnto the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Barutti standing on the same side in 35. degrées: And there the Venetian gallies or galliasses, which transported pilgrims into the holy land, came and receiued of those goods.

* Or Laor.

Samarcande.

Woollen cloth good marchandise for Cathay.

The way by Ormus and Balsara and so to Aleppo and Barutti.

In the yéere 1153. in the time of Fredericke Barbarossa it is written that there came to Lubec a citie of Germanie one Canoa with certaine Indians, like vnto a long barge: which séemed to haue come from the coast of Baccalaos, which standeth in the same latitude that Germanie doth: The Germaines greatly woondered to sée such a barge, and such people, not knowing from whence they came, nor vnderstanding their spéech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that countrey, as now there is: it may be credible that though the boate was small in respect of those huge seas, yet the winde and water might bring them thither: as we sée in these our daies, that the Almadie which is but a small boate commeth notwithstanding from Quiloa, Mosambique, and Sofala to the Island of S. Helena, being a small spot of land standing in the maine Ocean off the coast of Bona Sperança so farre separated.

Ioannes Leo Africanus.

In the yéere 1300. after the comming of Christ the great Soldan of Cayro commanded that the spiceries and drugs, and marchandises of India should be carried through the Red sea, as it was vsed before: at which time they vnladed on the Arabian side, at the hauen of Iuda, and carried them vnto the house at Mecca, and the carriers of it were the pilgrims. So that each Prince vsed a custome to augment the honour, and increase the profite of his countrey. And these Soldans had speciall regarde to Cayro, from whence the wares were carried vnto the countreyes of Egypt, Lybia, Africa, the kingdomes of Tunez, Tremessen, Fez, Marocco, Suz: and some of it was carried beyond the mountaines of Atlas vnto the citie of Tombuto, and the kingdome of the Ialophos; vntill afterwards that the Portugals did bring it about the Cape of Bona Speranca vnto the citie of Lisbone, as in place conuenient we purpose to shew more at large.

Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 373.

Tombuto.

In the yéere 1344. king Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his time report, that one Don Luis of Cerda, sonne vnto the sonne of Don John of Cerda, craued aide of him to goe and to conquere the Isles of the Canaries, standing in 28. degrées of latitude to the north, because they were giuen vnto him by Pope Clement the sixt, which was a French man. Whereby in those daies there grew a knowledge of those Islands in all Europe, and specially in Spaine: for such great Princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment without great certaintie.

The Canarie Islands.

The Island of Madera discouered by Machem an English man.

About this time also the Island of Madera was discouered by an English man called Macham: who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman of his, was driuen out of his direct course by a tempest, and arriued in that Island, and cast his anker in that hauen, which

now

now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And bicause his louer was then seasicke, he there went on land with some of his companie, and in the meane time his ship weyed and put to sea, leauing him there: whereupon his louer for thought died. Macham, which greatly loued her, built in the Island a chappell or hermitage to burie her in, calling it by the name of Iesus Chappell: and wrote or graued vpon the stone of her tombe his name and hers, and the occasion whereupon they arriued there. After this he made himselfe a boate all of a trée, the trées being there of a great compasse about, and went to sea in it with those men of his companie that were left with him, and fell with the coast of Africke without saile or oare, and the Moores among whom he came tooke it for a miracle, and presented him vnto the king of that countrey: and that king also admiring the accident, sent him and his companie vnto the king of Castile.

In the yéere 1395. king Henrie the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gaue of this Island, and also the ship wherein he went thither, mooued many of France and of Castile to goe and discouer it, and the great Canarie: And they which went were principally the Andaluzes, the Biscaines, and the Guepuscoes, carrying with them many people and horses. But I know not whether the charge of that voiage was theirs or the kings. But by whom soeuer it was set out, they seeme to be the first that discouered the Canaries and landed in them: where also they tooke 150 of the Islanders prisoners. Concerning the time of this discouerie, there is some difference among the writers: for some affirme this to be done in the yeere 1405. The first discouerie of the Canaries by the Christians 1405.

The first beginning of the Portugall Discoueries.

THe Chronicles of Portugall haue this record, That after the incarnation of Christ 1415. king Iohn the first of that name king of Portugall, departed from the citie of Lisbon with the Prince Don Duarte or Edward, and Don Peter, and Don Henry his sonnes, with other Lords, and nobles of his realme, and sailed into Africa, where he tooke the great citie of Céuta, standing on the north side thereof betwéene 35. and 36. degrées in latitude: which was one of the principall causes of the enlarging of the dominions of Portugall. The first conquest of the Portugals in Barbarie 1415. This victorie was gotten by the helpe of the English at Walsingham writeth.

When they were come from thence, Henry the kings third sonne, desirous to enlarge the kingdome & to discouer strange & vnknowne countreyes, being then in Algarbe, gaue direction for the discouery of the coast of Mauritania. For in those daies none of the Portugals had euer passed the Cape de Non, standing in 29. degrées of latitude. And for the better accomplishing of this discouerie, the aforesaid Don Henry prepared a fléete, & gaue commandement to the chiefe captaines to procéede in discouerie from the aforesaide Cape forward: Which they did. But when they came to another Cape named Bojador, there was not one of them, that durst goe farther or beyond it: at which fearefull and cowardly faintnes of theirs the Prince was excéedingly displeased. Iohn de Barros Asia decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2. Cape de Non. Cape Bojador.

In the yéere 1417. king Iohn the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katharine then vsing the gouernment, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamonte which was then Admirall of France craued the conquest of the Islands of the Canaries, with the title to be king of them, for a kinsman of his called Monsieur Iohn Betancourt: which being granted him by the Quéene, and farther also partly furnished out, he departed from Siuill with a good armie: But the chiefe or principall cause that mooued him to enter into this action, was to discouer and perfectly to take a view of the Island of Madera, whereof Macham before had giuen so much information. But for all that he went vnto the Canaries, and carried with him a Friar called Mendo to be as Bishop thereof, admitted by Pope Martine the fift. When they were landed they wonne Lancerota, Forteuentura, Gomera, and Ferro: from whence they sent into Spaine many slaues, honie, waxe, Camfora, or Camfire, hides, Orchall, figs, Sanguis Draconis, and other marchandises, whereof they made good profit: And this armie also as they report, discouered Porto Santo. The Island that they inhabited was Lancerota, where they built in it a castle of stone for their better defence and securitie. The Canarie Islands conquered. Porto Santo.

In the yéere 1418. one Iohn Gonzales Zarco, and Tristam Vaz Teixera, householde gentlemen Iohn de Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2.

tlemen vnto Don Henry the kings* third sonne, perceiuing the desire that their master had to discouer new countreyes, and willing in that course to doe him some seruice, craued of him a barke, and licence to vndertake the action: which they obtained, and sailed to the coast of Africa: where they were ouertaken with a terrible tempest; but they were succoured by falling with the land, and entring into an hauen called Santo, where they landed, and remained two yéeres.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 3. The chappell built by Machum found in Madera.

In the yéere 1420. they discouered the Island of Madera, where they founde the chappell and the stone and tombe, whereupon the foresaide Macham had grauen his name. There are others that write that a certaine Castillian perceiuing the desire and fauour to nauigation which Don Henry had, told him that they had found the Island of Porto Santo; which being but a small thing they made no reckoning of it. Don Henry sent Bartholomew Perestrello, Iohn Gonzales Zarco, Tristam Vaz Teixera, and by the signes and likelyhoods that they had

Porto Santo.

receiued, they went to Porto Santo, and there remained two yéeres: and after that, namely in the yéere 1420. they sailed also to the Island of Madera, where they found the memoriall and monument of the aforesaide Macham the English man.

As for Monsieur Betancourt, who entred into the conquest of the Canaries as is aboue mentioned, he was slaine in the middest of the action, and left behind him for his heire a kinseman of his called Monsieur Menante, who after that sold the said Islands of the Canaries vnto one Peter Barba of Siuill. There are other which speake otherwise, and say that Monsieur Iohn Betancourt went into France to prepare a new armie about this conquest, and left there a nephew of his; who because he heard no more of his vncle, and sawe that he could not maintaine the warres any longer, he solde the Canaries to Don Henry the king of Portugals third sonne, for a certaine thing that he gaue him in the Island of Madera.

The Canarie Islands sold ouer to a Spanyard.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 12.

In the yéere 1424. they write that the saide Don Henry prepared a nauie and armie to conquer these Islands, wherein there went as captaine Generall, one Don Fernando de Castro; and by reason of the valiantnes and warlike behauiour of the people they had the repulse: whereupon Don Ferdinando, considering the great charge, and little or no good successe, he gaue ouer the action, and returned backe againe. After this Don Henry resigned ouer these Islandes to the crowne of Castile, in consideration of the aides which Betancourt had receiued. But the Castillians agrée not vnto this report. For they say, that neither the kings of Portugall, nor Don Henry would render the Islands, till they came in question before Pope Eugenius the fourth; who fully vnderstanding the matter, gaue the conquest of the Islands by order of iudgement vnto the king of Castile in the yéere 1431. whereupon this contention ceased touching the title of the Canaries betwéene the kings of Portugall and of Castile.

The Canaries came to the crowne of Spaine in the yeere 1431.

These Islands being in number seuen, were called by the name of Fortunatæ, standing in 28 degrées to the north: where the longest day is but 13. howers, and the longest night as much, lying distant from Spaine 200. leagues, and from the coast of Africa 18. leagues. The people were idolaters, and did eate their flesh raw for want of fire: they had no iron, and sowed without any toole: they tilled and raised the ground with oxe hornes, and goats hornes. Euery Island did speake a seuerall language. They tooke many wiues, and knew them not carnally vntill they had deliuered them to the superiours. They had diuers other Paganish customes: but now the Christian faith is planted among them.

The ancient maners of the Canarians.

The commodities of these Islands are wheate, barley, sugar, wine, and certaine birdes called Canarie birdes, much estéemed in Spaine and other places.

The commodities of the Canaries.

In the Island of Ferro they haue none other water, but that which procéedeth in the night from a trée, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, seruing the whole island both men and cattell, a thing notorious and knowne to very many.

A tree yeelding abundance of water in Ferro.

In the yéere 1428. it is written that Don Peter the king of Portugals eldest† sonne was a great traueller. He went into England, France, Almaine, and from thence into the Holy

* Henry was the 5th son. EDITOR. † Edward was the eldest, and Peter the third son. EDITOR.

land,

land, and to other places; and came home by Italie, taking Rome & Venice in his way: from whence he brought a map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described. The streight of Magelan was called in it the The Dragons taile: The Cape of Bona Speranca, The forefront of Afrike, and so foorth of other places: by which map Don Henry the kings third sonne was much helped and furthered in his discoueries. A most rare and excellent map of the world. A great helpe to Don Henry in his discoueries.

It was tolde me by Francis de Sosa Tauares, that in the yéere 1528. Don Fernando the kings sonne and heire did shew him a map, which was found in the studie of Alcobaza, which had béene made 120. yéeres before, which map did set foorth all the nauigation of the East Indies, with the Cape of Bona Speranca, according as our later maps haue described it. Whereby it appéereth, that in ancient time there was as much or more discouered, then now there is. Notwithstanding all the trauaile, paines and expences in this action of Don Henry, yet he was neuer wearie of his purposed discoueries. At length there was a seruant of his called Gilianes that first passed the Cape Bojador, a place before terrible to all men: and he brought word that it was not so dangerous, as it was reported: for on the other side of it he went on land, and in maner of taking possession, set in the ground a crosse of wood, to be as a marke and token afterwards of his discouery so farre. As much discouered in ancient time as now is. Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 4. Cape Bojador first passed. Anno 1132.

In the yéere 1433. in the moneth of August Don Iohn died, and his sonne Don Duarte or Edward succéeded him in the kingdome. The death of Don Iohn the first of Portugall. Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 5.

In the yéere 1434 Don Henry set out one Alfonso Gonsales Baldaia, and Gilianes aforesaid, and they went to another Cape, which was beyond the former, and going on land perceiued the countrey to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfie Don Henry with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voiage, and went forward, till they came to a certaine point of land, from whence they turned backe againe.

In the yéere 1438. king Edward, whom the Portugals call Don Duarte died, and Don Alphonso the prince being yoong, Don Peter his vncle gouerned the kingdome. The death of Don Duarte king of Portugall. Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 6.

In the yéere 1441. Don Henry sent out two ships, and the captaines were in the one Tristan, and Antonie Gonsales in the other. Being put to sea they tooke a prise vpon the coast, and sailed on to Cape Blanco, that is the White Cape, standing in 20. degrées, and informed Don Henry of the state of that coūtrey by the Moores which they brought from thence. Whereupon he sent one Fernan Lopez de Sauado to giue knowledge thereof to Pope Martine, trusting to make these things commodious to Holy Church. Vpon which knowledge the Pope granted indulgences and euerlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, vnto those which should die in this enterprise. Cape Blanco. Indulgences granted to encourage to this enterprise. Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7.

After this in the yéere 1443. Don Henry commanded Antonie Gonsales to carrie backe the slaues which he had brought, and to ransome them in their countrey: Which he did, and the Moores gaue them in trucke for them againe blacke Moores with curled haire, and some gold; so that now that place is called Rio de Oro, that is the Golden Riuer; whereby the desire of the discouerie might be the more increased. Rio de Oro, why so called.

Not long after he sent out another named Nunnez Tristan, who came vnto the Islands of Arguin, where he tooke more slaues, and brought them to Portugall in the yéere 1444. The Islands of Arguin.

Hereupon also one Lansarote, a groome of Don Gilians chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certaine ships, which went coasting til they came to the Islands of Garze, where they tooke two hundred slaues: which were the first that were brought from thence to Portugall. The Islands of Garze.

In the yeere 1445. there went as captaine of a barke one Gonsalo de Syntra, an esquire belonging to Don Henry into those parts; and he went on land, where was taken with sixe or seuen more of his company, which place was therefore called after his name, Angra de Gonsaluo de Syntra. This was the first losse, which the Portugals receiued in their discoueries. Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 9. Angra de Gonsaluo de Syntra.

In the yéere following Don Henry sent out thrée carauels, wherein went as captaines Antonie Gonsales, Diego Aloizio, and Gomes Perez, who had their direction, not to enter into Rio de Oro, nor to beare themselues disorderly, but to trauaile in peace, and to conuert as many

many infidels as they could to Christianitie. But none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 9. & cap. 13. The riuer of Sanaga.

In the same yéere 1446. another esquire belonging to the king of Portugall called Denis Fernandes of the citie of Lisbon, entred into these discoueries, more to winne fame then to reape commoditie by them. And he being in his voiage came to the riuer of Sanaga, standing betwéene 15. and 16. degrées of latitude towards the north, where he tooke certaine Negroes; and not contented therewith, he went forward and discouered Cape Verde, standing in 14. degrees on the same side; and there he set vp vpon the land a crosse of wood, and then returned with great contentation.

Cape Verde.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 14. Rio Grande.

In the yéere 1447. one Nunnez Tristan went foorth to discouer in a carauell, and he passed the aforesaid Cape Verde, and Rio Grande, and went past it vnto another standing beyond it in 12. degrées, where he was also taken with 18. Portugals more: but the ship came home againe in safetie, conducted by fower or fiue which escaped the hands of the Negroes.

In this yéere also 1447. it happened that there came a Portugall ship through the streight of Gibraltar; and being taken with a great tempest, was forced to runne westwards more then willingly the men would, and at last they fell vpon an Island which had seuen cities, and the people spake the Portugall toong, and they demanded if the Moores did yet trouble Spaine, whence they had fled for the losse which they receiued by the death of the king of Spaine, Don Roderigo.

The Island of seuen cities.

The boateswaine of the ship brought home a little of the sand, and sold it vnto a goldsmith of Lisbon, out of the which he had a good quantitie of gold.

Don Pedro vnderstanding this, being then gouernour of the realme, caused all the things thus brought home, and made knowne, to be recorded in the house of Iustice.

There be some that thinke, that those Islands whereunto the Portugals were thus driuen, were the Antiles, or Newe Spaine, alleaging good reasons for their opinion, which here I omit, because they serue not to my purpose. But all their reasons séeme to agrée, that they should be that countrey, which is called Noua Spagna.

Don Alfonso king of Portugall come to age.

In the yéere 1449. the king Don Alfonso gaue licence vnto his vncle Don Henry to inhabit the Islands of the Açores, which were long before discouered.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 1. The Açores first inhabited. Alcaçer taken. The castle of Arguin builded. Ibidem.

And in the yéere 1458. this king went into Africa, and there he tooke the towne called Alcaçer.

And in the yéere 1461. he commanded Signior Mendez a gentleman of his house to build the castle of Arguin, whereof he gaue vnto him the gouernment as to his lieutenant.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 2.

In the yéere 1462. there came into the realme of Portugall thrée Genowais of good parentage, the chiefe of whom was called Antonie de Noli, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew, and each of these had his seuerall ship, crauing libertie of Don Henry to discouer the Islands of Cape Verde, which was granted them. Others say, that the places which they discouered, were those which Antiquitie called the Gorgades, Hesperides, and Dorcades: but they named them Mayo, Sainct Iago, and Sainct Philip, because they discouered them on those Saints daies: but they are also called by some the Islands of Antonio.

The Iles of Cape Verde discouered by three Genowais.

The death of Don Henry. 1463. Sierra Leona.

In the yéere following 1463. this good nobleman Don Henry died, leauing from Cape De Non discouered vnto the mountaine called Sierra Leona, standing on this side the line in 8. degrées of latitude, where no man had béene before that time.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 2. The countrey of Guiney let out to farme.

In the yéere 1469. the king of Portugall did let out for yéerely rent the trade of Guiney vnto one called Fernan Gomez, which countrey afterwards was called The Mine. He let it out for fiue yéeres, for two hundred thousand Reyes by the yéere (which is of our English money 138.*l.* 17.*s.* 9.*d.* ob.) and added vnto his lease this condition, that euery yéere he should discouer an hundred leagues.

Ibidem.

In the yéere following, which was 1470. this king went into Africa with his sonne Prince Iohn, where they tooke the towne of Arzila, and the people of the citie of Tanger fled

Arzila taken. Tanger taken.

fled out for feare, and that he tooke also. It séemeth that good fortune followeth a couragious attempt.

In the yéere 1471. Fernan Gomes gaue commandement that the coast should be discouered as it lay. Which was vndertaken by Iohn de S. Aren, and Iohn de Scouar; and they went and found the Mine in 5. degrées of latitude. Ibidem. La Mina.

And the next yéere, which was 1472. one Fernando da Poo discouered the Island now called after his name. Also about this time the Islands of Sainct Thomas, and Del Principe were discouered, standing vnder the line, with the firme land also, wherein is the kingdome of Benin, reaching to the Cape de Santa Catarina, standing on the south side of the line in 3. degrées. The man that made this discouerie was a seruant of the kings, and his name was Sequeira. Ibidem. The Isle de Fernan de Poo. Sainct Thome. Rho del Principe. Benin. Cape de Santa Catarina.

Many suppose, that then also there were those places, countreyes and Islands discouered, which before were neuer knowne to vs since the flood.

In the yéere 1480. the valiant king Don Alphonso died, and left many things woorthy of memorie behinde him; and his sonne Don Iohn the second succéeded him. Who in the yéere 1481. gaue direction for the building of the castle De Mina to one Diego d'Azambuxa; who did so, and was made captaine of it. Don Iohn the second. Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 2. Castell de Mina built.

In the yéere 1484. the foresaid king Iohn sent out one Diego Caon a knight of his Court to discouer: and he went to the Riuer of Congo, standing on the south side in 7. or 8. degrées of latitude; where he erected a pillar of stone with the royall armes and letters of Portugall, wherein he wrote the commandement that he had receiued from the king, with the time and day of his being there. From thence he went vnto a riuer néere the Tropicke of Capricorne, setting still vp pillars of stone where he thought it conuenient, and so came backe againe vnto Congo, and to the king of that countrey: who thereupon sent an ambassadour and men of credite into Portugall. Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 3. Rio de Congo. Discouerie neere vnto the Tropick of Capricorne. An ambassadour from the king of Congo.

In the next yéere or the second following, one Iohn Alonso d'Aueiro came from the kingdome of Benin, and brought home pepper with a taile: which was the first of that kinde séene in Portugall. Pepper of Benin.

In the yéere 1487. king Iohn sent to discouer India ouer land. In which iourney went one Pedro de Couillan a seruant of the kings, and Alfonso de Payua, because they could speake the Arabian toong. They went out in the moneth of May, and the same yéere they tooke shipping at Naples, and arriued in the Isle of Rhodes, and lodged in the house that was prouided for the Portugall knights of that order: from thence they went to Alexandria, and so to Cayro, and thence to the hauen of Toro in the companie of the Carauans or carriers which were Moores. There they tooke shipping, and being on the Red sea they arrined at the citie of Aden, and there they separated themselues: for Alfonso de Payua went towards Æthiopia, and Pedro de Couillan into India. Who came vnto the cities of Cananor and Calicut, and came backe vnto Goa: where he tooke shipping vnto Sofala, being on the coast of Africa in the southerne latitude of 20. degrées, to sée the mines that were of so great name. From Sofala he turned backe to Mosambique, and vnto the cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinde, till he came backe againe vnto the citie of Aden: where he and Alfonso de Payua deuided themselues: and thence he sailed againe through the Red sea vnto the citie of Cayro, where he thought to haue met with his companion: but there he heard that he was dead by the letters that he receiued from king Iohn his master; in which letters he was farther commanded to trauaile into the countrey and dominions of Presbyter Iohn. Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 5. Pedro de Couillan and Alfonso de Payua sent to discouer India. Alexandria. Cairo. Toro. Aden. Cananor. Calicut. Goa. Sofala. Mozambique. Quiloa. Mombaza. Melinde.

Vpon this commandement he prouided for his farther iourney, and from Cairo went backe againe to the hauen of Toro, and from thence to Aden, where he had béen twise before: and there hearing of the fame of the citie of Ormuz, he determined to goe thither; and therefore went along the coast of Arabia vnto the Cape Razalgate standing vnder the Tropicke of Cancer, and from thence he went to Ormuz, standing in 27. degrées on that side. There he learned and vnderstood of the streigth of Persia, and of that countrey: and entred there into the Red sea, and passed ouer to the realme of the Abassini, which commonly is called Presbyter Iohns countrey or Æthiopia: and there he was detained till the yéere 1520. when there The voiage of Pedro de Couillan vnto the countrey of Preste Ianni. Cape Razalgate. Ormuz. Abassini.

Pedro de Couillan the first Portugall that came into the East India and Æthiopia by the Red sea. Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 9.

there came thither the ambassadour Don Roderigo de Lima: This Pedro de Couillan was the first Portugall that euer knew and saw the Indias and those seas, and other places adioyning thereunto.

In the yéere 1490. the king sent vnto Congo one Gonzalo de Sosa a gentleman with thrée ships, and in them sent home the ambassadour of Congo, which was sent into Portugall, whom Diego Caon had brought from thence: who at his being in Portugall was baptised both himselfe and others of his companie.

A great part of the kingdome of Congo baptized.

The aforesaid Gonzalo de Sosa died in that iourney by the way, and in his roome they chose his nephew Ruy de Sosa for their captaine; and so being come vnto Congo, the king was very glad of their comming, and yéelded himselfe, and the greater part of his realme to be baptized: whereof the Portugals had good cause to reioyce, séeing by them so many Infidels were conuerted from gentilitie and paganisme to Christianitie.

The first beginning of the Discoueries of the Spanyards, with the continuation of the Discoueries of the Portugals.

IN the yéere 1492. in the time of Don Ferdinando king of Castile, he being at the siege of Granada, dispatched one Christopher Columbus a Genoway with thrée ships to goe and discouer Noua Spagna: who first had offered his seruice for a westerne discouerie vnto king Iohn of Portugall; but he would not entertaine him.

He being sufficiently furnished for this enterprise departed from the towne of Palos the third day of August, hauing with him as captaines and pilots Martin Alfonso Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother, with 120. persons more in his companie: and some affirme that they were the first that sailed by latitudes. They tooke the Canaries in their way, and there refreshed themselues; taking their course thence towards Cipango: but finding the sea by the way full of wéeds they were amazed, and with great feare arriued at the Antiles the tenth day of October, and the first Island that they descried was called Guanahany: where they went on land, and tooke possession of it, and named it San Saluador. This Island standeth in 25. degrées of northerly latitude. And after that they found many Islands, which they called the Princes because they were the first that they had discouered.

The first that in sailing are thought to haue obserued latitudes.

The Isle of Guanahany first discouered.

Lucaios Islands.

The Sauages of those parts call these Islands by the name of Lucaios, hauing in déede seuerall names for them. And they doe stand on the nórth side almost vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. As for the Island of S. Iames or Iamaica, it standeth betwéene 16. and 17. degrées.

Cuba.

Thence they went to the Island which the naturals of the countrey call Cuba, and the Spanyards call it Ferdinandina, bicause their kings name was Ferdinando, standing in 22. degrées: from whence the Indians conducted them vnto another Island, which they call Hayti, and the Spanyards called it Isabella, in the memorie of the Quéene of Castile, which was so called, and they named it also Hispaniola. In that Island the Admirall ship of Columbus was cast away: of the timber and planks whereof they made a forte, wherein they left 38 men, and a captaine called Roderigo de Arana, to learne the language and customes of the countrey. They brought from thence musters and shewes of gold, pearles, and other things, which that countrey yéelded; and ten Indians also, whereof sixe died, the rest were brought home and baptized.

Hispaniola.

Hereupon there grewe such a common desire of trauaile among the Spanyards, that they were ready to leape into the sea to swim, if it had béen possible, into those new found parts. The aforesaid company of Columbus at their comming home tooke in their way the Isles of the Açores, and the 4. day of March in the yéere 1493. they entred into the bar of Lisbon: which discouerie pleased not the king of Portugall. Whereupon rose a contention betwéene those two kings.

Contension betweene the kings of Spaine and Portugall.

Christopher Columbus being arriued went presently into Castile with the newes of all things, and acquainted the king Fernando, with the discontentednes of the king of Portugall: whereupon he and the Quéene Isabella his wife sent streight word thereof vnto Pope Alexander the 6. whereat he and the Italians were in great admiration, marualling that there was

any

any more land besides that which was vnder the Romanes. But the end of this matter was this: Alexander the Pope gaue these countreies by his iudgement vnto the kingdomes of Leon and Castile: with this condition, That they should labour to extirpate idolatrie, and plant the Holy faith in those countreyes. The bull of donation.

Fernando the king hauing receiued this answere, was glad of it, and sent Christopher Columbus againe on the former voiage, hauing made him admirall, and giuen him other honors, with particular armes, and a posie written about his armes to this effect. Gomara historia general. lib. 2. cap. 17.

For Castile and for Leon
A new world found out Colon.

In the yéere 1493. the 25. of the moneth of October Christopher Columbus went backe vnto the Antiles, and frō Cadiz he tooke his course, hauing in his companie 17. ships, and 1500. men in them, with his brethren Bartholomew Columbus, and Diego Columbus, with other knights, gentlemen, men of law, and religious men, with chalices, crosses, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignitie from Pope Alexander: & the 10. day after their setting foorth, they arriued at the Canaries; & from thence in 25. or 30. daies they sailed vnto the Antiles; & the first Island that they saw standeth in 14. degrées towards the north, due west from Cape Verde on the coast of Africa. They say that the distance from thence to the Canaries is 800. leagues. The name they gaue it was Deseada, that is the Desired or wished Island, for the great desire which the companie had to come to sight of land. After that they discouered many more which they named the Virgines, which the naturals of the countrey call the Caribas, for that the men of that country are good warriers, and shoote well in bowes. They poison their arrowes with an herbe, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himselfe like as a mad dog doth. Columbus 1. good voiage. Deseada discouered. Caribas.

From these Islands and others they went vnto the principall Island there, which they of the countrey doe call Boriquen, and the Spanyards call it S. Iohn, and thence to Hispaniola or Isabella, where they found all the men dead which there they had left. Here the Admirall left the most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to be gouernours there: and so tooke two ships, and went to discouer the other side of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Iamaica. All these Islands stand from 16. vnto 20. degrées of northerly latitude. In the meane time that the Admirall sailed about, his brethren and they that were left with them were much troubled, because the Saunges did rise against them. So that Christopher Colon went backe againe into Spaine, to tell the king and Quéene of his aduentures. Boriquen or S. Iohn de porto ricco. Iamaica.

In the yéere 1494. and in the moneth of Ianuarie there was an agréement made of the differences which were betwéene the two kings of Spaine and Portugall. For the which agrément there were sent out of Portugall Ruy de Sosa, and Don Iohn his sonne, and the Doctor Ayres de Almada: and for the king of Spaine there were Don Henry Henriques, Don Iohn de Cardenas, and the Doctor Maldonado. All these met in the towne of Tordesillas, and they deuided the world frō the north to the south by a meridian which standeth west from the Islands of Cape Verde 300. leagues: so that the one halfe which lay vnto the east should belong vnto Portugall, and that which lay to the west to the king of Spaine, whereby notwithstanding libertie to trauell was left equall vnto both. The first line of partition.

In the yeere following 1495. Iohn king of Portugall died, and Emmanuel his cosen began to reigne. The death of Don Iohn the second.

In the yéere 1496. there was a Venetian in England called Iohn Cabota, who hauing knowledge of such a new discouerie as this was, and perceiuing by the globe, that the Islands before spoken of stood almost in the same latitude with his countrey, and much néerer to England then to Portugall, or to Castile, he acquainted king Henrie the seuenth then king of England with the same, wherewith the saide king was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two ships and thrée hundred men: which departed and set saile in the spring of the yéere, and they sailed westward til they came in sight of land in 45. degrées of latitude towards the north, and then went straight northwards till they came into 60. degrées of latitude, where the day is 18. howers long, and the night is very cléere and bright. There they found The great discouerie of Iohn Cabota and the English.

the aire cold, and great Islands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms sounding: and so from thence finding the land to turne eastwards they trended along by it discouering all the Bay and riuer named Deseado, to see if it passed on the other side: Then they sailed backe againe till they came to 38. degrées toward the Equinoctiall line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which say, that he went as far as the Cape of Florida, which standeth in 25. degrées.

This is to the south of the Chesapian Bay.

Columbus third voiage. Gomara Historia general. lib. 2. cap. 21.

In the yéere 1497. The king of Spaine Don Fernando sent out Christopher Columbus with sixe ships, and he himselfe prouided two ships at his owne cost, and sending his brother before, he made saile from the Bay of Cadiz, carrying with him his sonne Don Diego Colon. It was then reported that he went to take the Island of Madera, because he mistrusted the French men, and therefore sent thither thrée ships: others say it was to the Canaries. But howsoeuer it was, this is true, that he and thrée more went vnto the Islands of Cape Verde, and ran along by the line finding great calmes and raine, and the first land which they came vnto of the Antiles was an Island standing in 9. degrées of latitude towards the north ioining fast vnto the maine land, which they called La Trinidada; and so he entred into the Gulfe of Paria, and came out of the mouth which they name Bocca de Dragone, or the Dragons mouth: and they tooke their course hard by the coast, where they found thrée small Islands, which they named Los Testigos, that is to say, The Witnesses, beyond which standeth the Island of Cubagua, where is great fishing of muscle pearles: where also, as they say, there springeth a Well of oile: and beyond that Island they came to the Isles of Frailes, Roques, Aruba, and Curaçao, with other small ones all along the Bay: and they came to the point of Cabo de Vela, and discouered along the coast almost 200. leagues, from whence they crossed ouer to Hispaniola, hauing had also sight of the Island called Beata.

Trinidada.

Testigos.

Cubagua.

Frailes, Roques, Aruba, Curaçao, &c.

Cabo de Vela.

Beata.

In this same yéere 1497. on the 20. day of the moneth of Iune one Vasques de Gama sailed from Lisbon by the king Emmanuels commandement to India with 3. ships, wherein there went for captaines Vasques de Gama, Paulus de Gama his brother, and Nicolas Coello with 120. men; with whom also there went one ship laden only with vittailes, and in 14. daies they came vnto Cape Verde, vnto the Island of Saint Iago, where they refreshed themselues, and from thence they went along the coast beyond the Cape of Bona Sperança, whereupon they erected certaine pillers of stone, and so came vnto Mosambique standing in 15. degrées to the south of the line, where they staied not long, but went from thence to Mombaza, and vnto Melinde: where the king of that place gaue them pilots, which conducted them into India, in which discouerie they found out Los Baxos do Padua, that is to say, the flats of Padua.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 4. cap. 2. and to the end of the 11. chapter.

The Cape of Bona Sperança. Mosambique. Mombaza. Melinde.

Los Baxos de Padua.

In the yéere 1498. in the moneth of May they came to an anker before the citie of Calicut, and Panana, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set saile towards the north discouering the coast all along till they came to the Island of Angediua, which standeth on that side in 15. degrées of latitude, where they came to an anker in the beginning of October, and so they departed from Angediua in Februarie in the yéere 1499. and came in sight of the coast of Africa about Melinde towards the north 3. or 4. degrées, & from thence they sailed vnto the said citie, and so vnto Mosambique againe, and to the Cape of Bona Sperança, sailing along by the coast, and then they came to the Islands of Cape Verde, and last of al to the citie of Lisbon in the moneth of September, hauing béene in the voiage 26. monethes.

Calicut.

Gomara historia general. lib.

In the yéere 1499 on the 13. day of the moneth of Nouember there departed frō Palos one Vincent Yannez Pinson and his nephew Aries Pinson with fower ships well appointed at their owne cost and charges, to discouer the new world vnder the licence of the king of Castile, and with commandement not to touch there, where the Admirall Columbus had béene. And so they went to the Islands of Cape Verde, and passed the line to the southward, and discouered the Cape of Saint Augustine standing on that side in 8. degrées of latitude, and there they wrote on the rindes of pine trées the names of the king and of the Quéene, also the yéere and day when they arriued there. They fought with the people of Brasil, but got nothing, they tooke their course all along the coast towards the west vnto the riuer Maria Tambal,

The Cape of S. Augustine.

Rio de Maria Tambal.

Tambal, and at that time they had taken thirty and odde prisoners. The chiefe places where they touched were the Cape of S. Augustine, and the angle or point of S. Luke, and Tierra de los Humos, the riuers of Marannon, and of the Amazones, and Rio dolce, or the Swéete riuer, and other places along the coast: and they came to ten degrées of latitude on the north side, where they lost two ships and their companie, and remained in that voiage of discouery ten moneths, and 15. daies.

Angla de San Lucas.

The riuers of Marannon, Amazones and Rio Dolce.

In the yéere 1500. and in the moneth of March one Pedro Aluarez Cabral sailed out of Lisbon with 13. ships, with commandement not to come néere the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he losing the sight of one of his ships, went to séeke her, and in séeking of her lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of the land. The Generall was so long in séeking his ship, that the companie were wearie of it, and entreated him to leaue his enterprise. The next day they fell in sight of the coast of Brasil: whereupon the Generall commanded a barke to goe to land and séeke an hauen: which they did, and found a good and safe hauen, and they named it Puerto Seguro, that is to say, The Safe hauen, standing on the south side in 17. degrées of latitude. From thence they sailed towardes the Cape of Bona Sperança, and Melinde, and crossed ouer to the riuer of Cochin, which before was not knowne, where they laded themselues with pepper, and at their returne Sancho de Thouar discouered the citie of Sofala vpon the coast of Africa.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Puerto Seguro in Brasil.

Sofala.

In this same yéere 1500. it is reported that Gaspar Cortereal crafted a generall licence of the king Emmanuel to discouer the New found land. He went from the Island Terçera with two ships well appointed at his owne cost, and he sailed vnto that climate which standeth vnder the north in 50. degrées of latitude, which is a land nowe called after his name; and he came home in safetie vnto the citie of Lisbon: And making another time this voiage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came backe into Portugall. Wherefore his brother Michael Cortereal went to séeke him with three ships well appointed at his owne cost; and when they came vnto that coast, and found so many entrances of riuers, and hauens, euery ship went into her seuerall riuer, with this rule and order, that they all thrée should meete againe the 20. day of August. The two other ships did so, and they séeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certaine time, returned backe into the realme of Portugall, and neuer heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that countrey is called The land of Cortereall vnto this day.

Terra Corterealis.

Many entrances of riuers in the northwest.

In the yéere 1501. in the moneth of March Iohn de Noua departed from the citie of Lisbon with fower ships, and passed the line on the south side into 8. degrées of latitude, and he discouered an Island, which he called the Isle de Ascension: And he went vnto Mosambique, and to Melinde, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto the other side, where they tooke lading, and so came back and doubled the Cape, and found an Island called Santa Helena, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Ilha de Ascension.

The Isle of Santa Helena.

In this same yéere 1501. and in the moneth of May there departed out of Lisbon thrée ships vpon the commandement of Emmanuel the king to discouer the coast of Brasill: and they sailed in the sight of the Canaries, and from thence to Cape Verde, where they refreshed themselues in the towne of Bezequiche, and passed from thence beyond the line southward and fell with the land of Brasill in fiue degrées of latitude, and so went forward till they came in 32. degrées little more or lesse, according as they accounted it, and from thence they came backe in the moneth of Aprill, because it was there at that time cold and tempestuous. They were in that voiage fifteene monethes, and came to Lisbon againe in the beginning of September 1502.

Bezequiche.

Brasil discouered to 32. degrees.

In the yéere 1502. one Alfonso Hoieda went to discouer Terra firma, and followed his course till he came to the prouince of Vraba.

Gomara historia general. lib. 2. Vraba.

The next yéere following also one Roderigo Bastidas of Siuill went out with two caraules at his owne cost, and the first land of the Antiles that he saw was an Island which he named Isla Verde, that is, the Gréene Island, standing fast by the Island of Guadalupe, towards the land: and from thence they tooke their course towards the west to Santa Martha, and Cape

De la Vela, and to Rio Grande, or the Great riuer, and they discouered the hauen of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagena, and the Islands of S. Barnard, of Baru, and Islas de Arenas, and went forward vnto Isla fuerte, and to the point of Caribana standing at the end of the Gulfe of Vraba, where they had sight of the Farrallones standing on the other side hard by the riuer of Darien, and from Cape De la Vela vnto this place are two hundred leagues: and it standeth in 9. degrées and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed ouer vnto the Island of Iamaica, where they refreshed themselues. In Hispaniola they grased their ships because of the holes which certaine wormes of the water had eaten in the planks. In that countrey they got fower hundred markes of golde, although the people there be more warlike then in Noua Spania: for they poison their arrowes which they shoote.

The fourth voiage of Columbus. Gomara historia general. lib. 1. cap. 24.

In this same yéere 1502. Christopher Columbus entred the fourth time into his discouerie with fower ships at the commandement of Don Fernando to séeke the Streight, which as they said did diuide the land from the other side, and he carried with him Ferdinando his sonne. They went first to the Island of Hispaniola, to Iamaica, to the riuer Azua, to the Cape of Higueras, and vnto the Islands Gamares, and to the Cape of Hunduras, that is to say, the Cape of the Depthes: from thence they sailed towards the east vnto the Cape Gracias a Dios, and discouered the prouince and riuer of Veragua, and Rio Grande, and others, which the Indians call Hienra. And from thence he went to the riuer of Crocodiles, which now is called Rio de Chagres, which hath his springs néere the South sea, within fower leagues of Panama, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went vnto the Island which he called Isla de Bastimentos, that is the Isle of Victuailes, and then to Puerto Bello, that is the Faire hauen, and so vnto Nombre de Dios, and to Rio Francisco, and so to the hauen of Retrete, and then to the Gulfe of Cabesa Cattiua, and to the Islands of Caperosa, and lastly to the Cape of Marble, which is two hundred leagues vpon the coast: from whence they began to turne againe vnto the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Iamaica, where he grounded his ships being much spoiled and eaten with wormes.

Cabo de Higueras.
Cabo de Hunduras.
Cabo Gracias a Dios.
Veragua.
Rio de Chagres.
Isla de Bastimentos.
Puerto Bello.
Nombre de Dios.
The Cape of marble.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 6. cap. 2.

In this yéere also 1502 Don Vasques de Gama being now Admirall went againe into India with 19. or 20. Carauels. He departed from Lisbon the tenth day of Februarie, and by the last day of that moneth he came to an anker at Cape Verde, and from thence he went vnto Mosambique, and was the first that crost from that Island into India: and he discouered another in 4. degrées of latitude, which he called the Island of the Admirall, and there he tooke his lading of pepper and drugs, and left there one Vincent Sodre to kéepe the coast of India with fiue ships.

The Island of Mosambique.

Cattell and camels fed with dried fish.

These were the first Portugals, that with an armie did run along the coast of Arabia Fœlix. It is there so barren, that their cattell and camels are onely maintained with drie fish brought from the sea; whereof there is such plenty and abundance, that the cats of the countrey doe vse to take them.

Socotora. Cape de Guardafu.

In the yeere following, as it is reported, one Antonie de Saldania discouered the Island which in old time was called Coradis, and now Socotora, and the Cape of Guardafu, which adioineth vnto that countrey.

Carthagena.

In the yéere 1504. Roderigo de Bastidas obtained licence of king Ferdinando, and by the meanes of Iohn de Ledesma and others of Siuill armed and furnished out two ships, hauing for his pilot one Iohn de Cosa of Saint Marie Port, and he went to discouer that part of Tierra firma where now standeth Carthagena, being in ten degrées and a halfe of northerly latitude. And it is said that they found the captaine Luis de la Guerra; and they together tooke land in the Isle of Codego, where they tooke sixe hundred persons of the Sauages: And going farther along the coast they entred into the Gulfe of Vraba, where they found sand mingled with gold, being the first that was brought to the king Don Ferdinando: from thence they returned to the citie of Santo Domingo laden with slaues without victuailes, because they of the countrey would not bargaine with them, which grew to their great trouble and griefe.

Codego.

The death of Queene Isabella 1504.

In the later end of this yéere died Ladie Isabella Quéene of Castile: Which Quéene while she liued would not suffer any man of Arragon, Catalunia, Valencia, nor any borne in the

the countrey of Don Fernando her husband to enter into these discoueries, saue those which were their seruants, or by speciall commandement, but only the Castillians, Biscaines, & those which were of her owne Signiories, by whom all the lands aforesaid were discouered.

In the yéere 1505. vpon our Lady day in March Francisco de Almeida Viceroy of India tooke his course with 22. sailes towards India as now is accustomed. He came vnto the citie of Quiloa, where he built a fort, appointing one Peter Fereira to be captaine thereof: and beyond Melinde he trauersed to the Island of Angediua, where he placed as captaine one Emmanuell Passauia. In Cananor also he built another fort, giuing the captainship of it to Laurence de Brito. In Cochin he did the like, where Don Alfonso de Noronia was made captaine. This yéere one Peter de Anhaya did build the fortresse of Sofala, whereof also himselfe was made captaine.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 8. cap. 3. A fort built in Quiloa. Angediua possessed. Forts builded in Cananor and in Cochin. A fort builded in Sofala.

In the later end of this yéere the Viceroy commanded his sonne, whose name was Don Laurenço to make some entrie vpon the Islands of Maldiua, and with contrarie weather he arriued at the Islands, which of ancient time were called Traganæ, but the Moores called them Ytterubenero, and we call them Ceilan: where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and afterward came backe vnto Cochin, sailing along the coast and fully discouering it. In the middest of this Island there stands a rocke of stone very high hauing the signe of the foote of a man vpon the top of it, which they say to be the footestep of Adam, when he went vp into the heauens, and the Indians haue it in great reuerence.

Ceilan.

In the yéere 1506. after the death of the Quéene of Spaine, king Philip and Quéene Ioan his wife came into Spaine to take possession thereof, and king Don Fernando went into Arragon being his owne patrimonie. In this same yeere the said king Philip died, and then Fernando came againe to gouerne Spaine, and he gaue licence vnto all Spanyards to goe vnto the New land, and to the Antiles, but not to the Portugals. In this yéere and in the moneth of May Christopher Columbus died, and his sonne Don Diego Columbus succeeded in his roome.

The death of Philip the first King of Spaine 1506. The death of Christopher Columbus.

In the yéere 1506. and entring into the moneth of March Tristan de Acunna and Alfonso de Albuquerque went into India with 14. ships in their companie, and sailed till they came to an anker at the towne of Bezequiche, where they refreshed themselues: and before they came to the Cape of Bona Sperança in 37. degrées they found certaine Islands, which now are named the Isles of Tristan de Acunna, where they had such a tempest that therewithall the fléete was dispersed. Tristan de Acuña and Alfonso de Albuquerque went vnto Mosambique, and Aluaro Telez ran so far that he came to the Island of Samatra, and so backe againe vnto the Cape of Guardafu; hauing discouered many Islands, sea, and land neuer séene before that time of any Portugall. Emmanuel Telez de Meneses was also driuen without the great Island of S. Laurence, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arriued at last at Mosambique, and there met with Tristan de Acuña, who was the first captaine that wintred there; and by them it was told, that in this Island was much Ginger, Cloues and siluer: whereupon he went and discouered much of it within the land; but finding nothing he came backe againe vnto Mosambique; from whence he sailed vnto Melinde, and ran along that coast and entred into Braua, and from thence they crost ouer to the Island of Socotora, where they built a fortresse, and made one Don Antonio de Noronia captaine thereof.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 8. cap. 4. Bezequiche is by Cape Verde. The Isles of Tristan de Acunna in 37. degrees. Samatra discouered. The inland of S. Laurence discouered. Braua. A fortresse builded in Socotora.

In the yéere 1507. in the moneth of August Tristan de Acuña tooke shipping for India, and Alfonso de Albuquerque remained there with fiue or sixe ships to kéepe the coast and entrie of the Streight; but being not therewith satisfied he tooke his course ouer vnto Arabia, and running along that coast he doubled the Cape of Rosalgate standing vnder the Tropicke of Cancer.

Barros decad. 2. lib. 2. cap. 1. The Cape of Rosalgate.

In the yéere 1509. one Diego Lopez de Sequeira went out of Lisbon with fower sailes vnto the Island of Saint Laurence, and continued in his voiage almost a yéere, and in the moneth of May the same yéere he arriued in Cochin, where the Viceroy gaue him one ship more: and in the beginning of the moneth of September he tooke his course vnto Malacca passing betwéene the Islands of Nicubar, and many others: He went also to the land of Samatra to the cities of Pedir and Pacem, and all along by all that coast vnto the Island of A Pouereira,

Barros decad. 2. lib. 4. cap. 3. The Isle of S. Laurence. The Islands of Nicubar. Samatra.

The Isle of A Poluoreira. The flats of Capacia. Malacca. Rarities in Samatra.

luoreira, and the flats of Capacia: and from thence he went ouer vnto Malacca standing in 2. degrées of latitude towards the north: but in that citie the people killed and tooke as prisoners some of his men: and thereupon he turned backe againe into India, hauing discouered in this voiage fiue hundred leagues. This Island of Samatra is the first land wherein we knew mans flesh to be eaten by certaine people which liue in the mountaines called Bacas, who vse to gilde their teeth. They hold opinion that the flesh of the blacke people is swéeter then the flesh of the white. The buffes, kine, and hennes which are in that countrey are in their flesh as blacke as any inke. They say that there are certaine people there called Daraqui Dara, which haue tailes like vnto sheepe; and some of their welles yéeld oile.

In Samatra buffes, kine, and hennes haue flesh as blacke as inke. People hauing tailes like sheepe.

The king of Pedir is reported to haue a riuer in his land running with oile: which is a thing not to be maruelled at, séeing it is found written, that in Bactria there is also a well of oile: it is farther said that there groweth here a trée, the iuice whereof is strong poison, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dieth immediately: but if a man doe drinke of it, it is a soueraigne remedie against poison, so seruing both for life and death. Here also they doe coine péeces of gold, which they call Drachmas, brought into the land as they say by the Romanes: which séemeth to haue some resemblance of truth: because that from that place forward there is no coined gold: but that which is thus coined doth run currant in the buying of marchandise and other things.

Gold coined in Samatra.

Gomara historiæ general. lib. 3. cap. 7. Castilia del oro.

In the yéere 1508. one Alfonso de Hoieda with the fauour of Don Fernando purposed to goe vnto Tierra firma to conquer the prouince of Darien. He went forth at his owne charges, & discouered The Firme land, where it is called Vraba, which he named Castilia del Oro, that is Golden Castilia, bicause of the gold which they found among the sand along the coast: And they were the first Spanyards that did this. Alfonso de Hoieda went first from the Island of Hispaniola and the citie of San Domingo with fower ships and thrée hundred soldiers, leauing behinde him the bachiler Anciso, who afterwards compiled a booke of these discoueries. And after him there went also one ship with victuals, munition, and 150. Spanyards. He went on land at Carthagena: but there the people of the countrey tooke, slew and eate 70. of his soldiers, whereupon he grew very weake.

The booke of the Bachiler Anciso of these discoueries.

Beata is a prouince in the west part of Hispaniola.

In this yéere 1508. one Diego de Niquesa prepared seuen ships in the port of Beata to goe vnto Veragua, and carried in them almost 800. men. When he came to Carthagena he found there Alfonso de Hoieda sore spoiled with his former losse: but then they both ioined together, and went on land and auenged themselues of the people. And in this voiage Diego de Niquesa went and discouered the coast called Nombre de Dios, and went vnto the sound of Darien, and called it Puerto de Misas, which is vpon the riuer of Pito. When they were come vnto Veragua, he went on shore with his armie, his soldiers being out of hope to returne to Hispaniola. Alfonso de Hoieda began a fortresse in Caribana against the Caribes; which was the first towne that the Spanyards builded in the Firme land: and in Nombre de Dios they built another, and called it Nuestra Sennora de la Antigua. They builded also the towne of Vraba. And there they left for their captaine and lieutenant one Francis Pisarro, who was there much troubled. They builded other towns also, whose names I here omit. But these captaines had not that good successe which they hoped for.

Gomara gen. hist. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Nuestra Sennora de la antigua builded.

In the yéere 1509. the second Admirall Don Diego Columbus went into the Island of Hispaniola with his wife and houshold: And she being a gentlewoman carried with her many other women of good families, which were there married, and so the Spanyards and Castillians began to people the countrey: for Don Fernando the king had giuen them licence to discouer and people the townes of Hispaniola; so that the same place grew to be famous and much frequented. The foresaid Admirall also gaue order to people the Island of Cuba, which is very great and large, and placed there as his lieutenant one Diego Velasques, who went with his father in the second voiage.

Many gentlewomen went to dwell in Hispaniola.

Cuba peopled.

In the yéere 1511. in the moneth of Aprill Alfonso de Albuquerque went from the citie of Cochin vnto Malacca. In which yéere and moneth the Chineans went from Malacca into their owne countrey, and Alfonso sent with them for master a Portugall called Duarte Fernandes,

Barros decad. 2. lib. 5. cap. 10. & lib. 6. cap. 2. Barros decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 5.

nandes, with letters also and order vnto the king of the Mantias, which now is called Sian standing in the South. They passed through the streight of Cincapura, and sailed towards the north, went along the coast of Patane vnto the citie of Cuy, and from thence to Odia which is the chiefe citie of the kingdome, standing in 14. degrées of northerly latitude. The king greatly honoured and welcomed Duarte Fernandes, being the first Portugall that he had séene, and with him he sent backe ambassadours to Albuquerque. They passed ouer land towards the west vnto the citie of Tanaçerim standing vpon the sea on the other side in 12. degrées, where they imbarked themselues in two ships, and sailed along the coast vnto the citie of Malacca, leauing it all discouered. The Streight of Cincapura. Odia the chiefe citie of Sian. Tanaçerim.

The people of this countrey of Sian are people that eate of all kinde of beastes, or vermine. They haue a delight to carrie round bels within the skin of their priuie members: which is forbidden to the king and the religious people. It is said that of all other people of those parts they be most vertuous and honest. They commend themselues much for their chastitie and pouertie. They bring no hennes nor doues vp in their houses. This kingdome hath in length 250. leagues, and in bredth 80. Of this only kingdome the king may bring foorth into the field thirtie thousand elephants, when he goeth to warre, besides those which remaine in the cities for the garde of them. The king much estéemeth a white elephant, and a red one also, that hath eies like vnto flaming fire. M. Ralph Fitch which had beene in this countrey brought diuers of these bels into England.

There is in this countrey a certaine small vermine, which vseth to cleaue fast to the trunke of the elephant, and draweth the blood of the elephant, and so he dieth thereof. The skull of this vermine is so hard, that the shot of an handgun cannot enter it: they haue in their liuers the figures of men and women, which they call Toketa, and are much like vnto a mandrake. And they affirme that he which hath one of them about him cannot die with the stroke of any iron. They haue also wilde kine in this countrey, in the heads of whome they finde stones, which are of vertue to bring good hap and fortune to marchants. The liuer of a little beast good against any woūd of iron.

After that Duarte Fernandes had béen with the Mantales or people of Sian, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent thither a knight called Ruy Nunnez de Acunna with letters and ambassage vnto the king of the Seguies, which we call Pegu. He went in a lunco of the countrey in sight of the Cape Rachado, and from thence went vnto the citie of Pera which standeth fast by the riuer Salano, and many other villages standing all along this riuer, where Duarte Fernandes had béene before, vnto the cities of Tanaçerim and of Martauan, standing in 15. degrées toward the north, and the citie of Pegu standeth in 17. This was the first Portugall, which trauailed in that kingdome: and he gaue good information of that countrey, and of the people, which vse to were bels in their priuities euen as the Mantales doe. Pegu. Pera. Master Ralph Fitch saw this in Pegu also.

In the end of this yéere 1511. Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three ships to the Islands of Banda, and Maluco. And there went as Generall of them one Antonio de Breu, and with him also went one Francis Serrano: and in these ships there were 120. persons. They passed through the Streight of Saban, and along the Island of Samatra, and others, leauing them on the left hand, towards the east: and they called them the Salites. They went also to the Islands of Palimbam and La Suparam; from whence they sailed by the noble Island of Iaua, and they ran their course east, sailing betwéene it and the Island of Madura. The people of this Island are very warlike and strong, and doe little regard their liues. The women also are there hired for the warres: and they fall out often together, and kill one another, as the Mocos doe, delighting onely in shedding of blood. Barros decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 7. The Iles of Banda and Maluco. The Salites. Iaua. Madura.

Beyond the Island of Iaua they sailed along by another called Bali: and then came also vnto others called Aujaue, Cambaba, Solor, *Galao, Mallua, Vitara, Rosalanguin, & *Arus, from whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers: they came also to other Islands lying in the same parallele on the south side in 7. or 8. degrées of latitude. And they be so nere the one to the other, that they séeme at the first to be one entire and maine land. The course by these Islands is aboue fiue hundred leagues. The ancient Cosmographers call all these Islands by the name Iauos: but late experience hath found their names to be very diuers, as you sée. Beyonde these there are other Islands toward the north, which are inhabited with whiter people going arraied in shirts, doublets Bali. *Or Guliam. *Or Aru.

The people of the Iles of Maloco weare such apparell.

doublets and slops like vnto the Portugals, hauing also money of siluer. The gouernours among them doe carrie in their hands red staues, whereby they séeme to haue some affinitie with the people of China. There are other Islands and people about this place, which are redde; and it is reported that they are of the people of China.

Gouernours carrying red staues like those of China.

Antonie de Breu and those that went with him tooke their course toward the north, where is a smal Island called Gumnape or Ternate, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the sea flakes or streames like vnto fire; which is a woonderfull thing to behold. From thence they went to the Islands of Burro and Amboino, and came to an anker in an hauen of it called Guliguli, where they went on land and tooke a village standing by the riuer, where they found dead men hanging in the houses; for the people there are eaters of mans flesh. Here the Portugals burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side standing in 8. degrées toward the south, where they laded cloues, nutmegs, and mace in a Iunco or barke which Francis Serrano bought here.

Ternate.

Burro. Amboino. Guliguli.

Cloues, nutmegs, and mace in 8. degrees toward the south.

They say that not farre from the Islands of Banda there is an Island, where there brédeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one caue in the middest of the land. This is a thing not much to be woondred at; for as much as in the Leuant sea hard by the Isles of Maiorca and Minorca there is another Island of old named Ophiusa, and now Formentera, wherein there is great abundance of these vermine: and in the rest of the Islands lying by it there are none.

In the yéere 1512. they departed from Banda toward Malacca, and on the baxos or flats of Luçapinho Francis Serrano perished in his Iunke or barke, from whence escaped vnto the Isle of Mindanao nine or ten Portugals which were with him, and the kings of Maluco sent for them. These were the first Portugals that came to the Islands of Cloues, which stand from the Equinoctiall line towardes the north in one degrée, where they liued seuen or eight yéeres.

Mindanao. Maluco.

The Island of Gumnape now called Ternate is much to be admired, for that it casteth out fire. There were some princes of the Moores and couragious Portugals which determined to goe néere to the firie place to sée what it was; but they could neuer come nére it. But Antonie Galuano hearing of it, vndertooke to goe vp to it, and did so, and found a riuer so extreme cold, that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water in his mouth: And yet this place standeth vnder the line, where the sunne continually burneth.

Monstrous men.

In these Islands of Maluco there is a kinde of men that haue spurres on their ankles like vnto

Batochina.

cocks. And it was told me by the king of Tydore, that in the Islands of Batochina there were people that had tailes, and had a thing like vnto a dug betwéen their cods, out of the which there came milke. There are smal hennes also which lay their egges vnder the ground aboue a fathome and an halfe, and the egges are bigger then ducks egges, and many of these hennes are blacke in their flesh. There are hogs also with hornes, and parats which prattle much, which they call Noris. There is also a riuer of water so hot, that whatsoeuer liuing creature cōmeth into it, their skins will come off, and yet fish bréede in it. There are crabs which be very swéete, and so strong in their clawes, that they will breake the iron of a pikeaxe. There be others also in the sea little and hairie, but whosoeuer eateth of them dieth immediately. There be likewise certaine oisters, which they doe call Bras, the shels whereof haue so large a compasse, that they doe Christen in them. In the sea also there are liuely stones, which doe grow and increase like vnto fish, whereof very good lime is made: and if they let it lie when it is taken out of the water, it looseth the strength, and it neuer burneth after. There is also a certaine trée, which beareth flowers at the sunne set, which fall downe as soone as they be growne. There is a fruit also, as they say, whereof if a woman that is conceaued of childe eateth, the childe by & by mooueth. There is further a kinde of herbe there growing, which followeth the sunne, and remooueth after it, which is a very strange and marualious thing.

The flowers of Xistus and Arbor tristis are such.

Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 1.

In the yéere 1512. in the moneth of Ianuarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went backe from Malaca vnto Goa, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his companie.

panie. Simon de Andrada, and a few Portugals were driuen vnto the Islands of Maldiua, being many & full of palme trées: and they stand lowe by the water: which staied there till they knew what was become of their gouernour. These were the first Portugals that had séene those Islands, wherein there growe Cocos, which are very good against all kinde of poison. The Iles of Maldiua.

In this yéere 1512.* there went out of Castile one Iohn de Solis borne in Lisbon, and chiefe pilot vnto Don Fernando. And he hauing licence went to discouer the coast of Brasill. He tooke the like course that the Pinsons had done: he went also to the Cape of S. Augustine, and went forwards to the south, coasting the shore and land, and he came vnto The Port de Lagoa: and in 35. degrées of southerly latitude he found a riuer which they of Brasill call Parana-guaçu, that is, The great Water. He sawe there signes of siluer, and therefore called it Rio de Plata, that is, The Riuer of siluer. And it is said that at that time he went farther because he liked the countrey well: but he returned backe againe into Spaine, and made account of all things to Don Fernando, demaunding of the king the gouernment thereof, which the king granted him. Whereupon he prouided three ships and with them in the yéere 1515. he went againe into that kingdome; but he was there slaine. These Solisses were great discouerers in those partes, and spent therein their liues and goods. Iohn de Solis. Rio de Plata. Pet. Martyr. decad. 3 cap. 10.

In the same yéere 1512 Iohn Ponce of Leon, which had béene gouernour of the Isle of S. Iohn armed two ships and went to séeke the Isle of Boyuca, where the naturals of the countrey reported to be a Wel, which maketh old men yoong. Whereupon he laboured to finde it out, and was in searching of it the space of sixe monethes, but could finde no such thing. He entred into the Isle of Bimini; and discouered a point of the firme land standing in 29. degrées towards the north vpon Easter day, and therefore he named it Florida. And because the land séemed to yeeld gold and siluer and great riches, he begged it of the king Don Fernando, but he died in the discouerie of it, as many more haue done. Pet. Martyr. decad. 2 cap. 10. Gomara historiæ generel. lib. 2. cap. 10. Bimini Islands. Florida. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10.

In the yéere 1513. Vasco Nunnes de Valboa hearing spéech and newes of The south sea, determined to goe thither, although his companie dissuaded him from that action. But being a man of good valure with those soldiers that he had, being 290. he resolued to put himselfe into that ieoperdie. He went therefore from Dariene the first day of September, carrying some Indians of the countrey with him to be his guides, and he marched ouerthwart the land sometimes quietly, sometimes in war: and in a certaine place called Careca he found Negroes captiues with curled haire. This Valboa came to the sight of the South Sea on the 25. day of the said moneth, and on Saint Michaels day came vnto it: where he imbarked himselfe against the will of Chiapes, who was the Lord of that coast, who wished him not to doe so, because it was very dangerous for him. But he desirous to haue it knowne, that he had béene vpon those seas, went forwards, and came backe againe to land in safetie, and with great contentment, bringing with him good store of gold, siluer, and pearles, which there they tooke. For which good seruice of his Don Ferdinando the king greatly fauoured and honoured him. Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 1. The South sea discouered.

This yéere 1513. in the moneth of Februarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went frō the citie of Goa towards the streight of Mecha with twenty ships. They arriued at the citie of Aden and battered it, and passed forward and entred into the Streight. They say that they saw a crosse in the element and worshipped it. They wintered in the Island of Camaran. This was the first Portugall captaine that gaue information of those seas, and of that of Persia, being things in the world of great account. Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7. The streight of Mecha or of the Red sea discouered. The Isle of Camaran.

In the yéere 1514. and in the moneth of May there went out of Saint Lucar one Pedro Arias de Auila at the commandement of Don Ferdinando. He was the fourth gouernour of Castillia del Oro or Golden Castile: for so they named the countreyes of Dariene, Carthagena, and Vraba, and that countrey which was newly conquered. He carried with him his wife the Lady Elizabeth and 1500 men in seuen ships; and the king appointed Vasco Nunnez de Valboa gouernour of the South Sea and of that coast. Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 5.

* According to Herrera this was in 1508. "In the year 1508," says he, "John Diaz de Solis, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon sailed from Sevil, in the two Caravels the King had fitted out, and from the Islands of Cabo Verde passed over directly to Cape St. Augustin, and proceeding thence to the Southward, coasting along the Continent, came into about forty degrees of South Latitude, erecting Crosses wheresoever they landed, and took possession in the most solemn Manner." See Herrera's History of the West Indies. Vol. i. p. 332. EDIT.

In the beginning of the yéere 1515. the gouernour Pedro Arias de Auila sent one Gaspar Morales with 150. men vnto the Gulfe of S. Michael to discouer the Islands of Tararequi Chiapes, and Tumaccus. There was a Casique Valboas friend which gaue him many Canoas or boates made of one trée to rowe in, wherein they passed vnto The Island of pearles: the Lord whereof resisted them at their comming on land. But Chiapes and Tumaccus did pacifie him in such order, that the captaine of the Isle had them home vnto his house, and made much of them, and receiued baptisme at their hands, naming him Pedro Arias after the gouernours name, and he gaue vnto them for this a basket full of pearles waying 110. pounds, whereof some were as big as hasell nuts of 20. 25. 26. or 31. carats: & euery carat is fower graines. There was giuen for one of them 1200 ducats. This Island of Tararequi standeth in 5. degrées of latitude towards the north.

The Island of Tararequi or of pearles in the South sea. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10. Gomara historie general. lib. 6. cap. 2.

In this yéere 1515. in the moneth of March the gouernour sent one Gonsaluo de Badaios with 80. soldiers to discouer new lands, and they went from Dariene to Nombre de Dios, where came vnto them one Lewis de Mercado with fiftie men more, which the gouernour sent to aide him. They determined to discouer toward the South, saying that that countrey was the richest. They tooke with them Indians to be their guides, and going along the coast they found slaues marked with irons as the Portugals doe vse; and hauing marched a good way throught the countreyes with great trauaile they gathered together much golde and fortie slaues to doe them seruice: but one Casique named Pariza did set vpon them and slue and tooke the most part of them.

Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10.

The gouernour hearing of these newes, the same yéere 1515. sent foorth his sonne Iohn Arias de Auila to be reuenged and to discouer also by sea and by land: They went westward to Cape de Guerra standing in little more than sixe degrées towards the north, and from thence vnto Punta de Borica, and to Cape Blanco or the White Cape standing in 8. degrées and an halfe: they discouered 250. leagues as they affirme, and peopled the citie of Panama.

Cape de Guerra. Punta de Borica. Cape Blanco. Panama peopled. Barros decad. 3. lib. 10. cap. 5. Osorius lib. 10. pag. 277.

In this very yéere 1515. in the moneth of May Alfonsus de Albuquerque gouernour of India sent from the citie of Ormuz one Fernando Gomes de Lemos as ambassadour vnto Xec or Shaugh Ismael king of Persia: and it is declared that they trauailed in it 300. leagues, and that it is a pleasant countrey like vnto France. This Xec or Shaugh Ismael went on hunting and fishing for troutes, whereof there are many. And there be the fairest women in all the world. And so Alexander the great affirmed, when he called them The women with golden eies. And this yéere this woorthy Viceroy Alfonsus de Albuquerque died.

An ambassage to Ismael king of Persia.

In the yéere 1416. and one hundred yéeres after the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie, Lopez Suares being gouernour of India, there was a dispatch made by the commandement of the kings highnes vnto one Fernando Perez de Andrada to passe to the great countrey and kingdome of China. He went from the citie of Cochin in the moneth of Aprill. They receiued pepper, being the principal marchandise to be sold in all China of any value: And he was farther commanded by the king Don Emmanuel to goe also to Bengala with his letter and dispatch to a knight called Iohn Coelo. This was the first Portugall, as farre as I know, which drunke of the water of the riuer Ganges.

Pepper a principall marchandise in China.

The death of Fernando king of Spaine. Osorius lib. 11. fol. 312.

This yéere 1516. died Don Fernando king of Spaine.

China discouered.

In the yéere 1517. this Fernando Perez went vnto the citie of Malacha, and in the moneth of Iune he departed from thence towards China with eight sailes fower Portugals and the others Malayans. He arriued in China: And because he could not come on land without an ambassage, there was one Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went from the citie of Canton, where they came to an anker: They went by land fower hundred leagues, and came vnto the citie of *Pekin, where the king was, for this prouince and countrey is the biggest that is in the worlde. It beginneth at Sailana in twentie degrées of latitude towards the north, and it endeth almost in 50. degrées. Which must be 500. leagues in length: and they say that it containeth 300. leagues in bredth. Fernando Perez was 14. moneths in the Isle Da Veniaga, learning as much as he could of the countrey, according as the king his master had commanded him. And although one Raphael Perestrello had beene there in a lunke or barke of certaine marchants of Malaca, yet vnto Fernando Perez there ought to be giuen the praise of this discouerie: as well for that he had commandement from the king, as in discouering so much

Canton.

*Or Pakin.

Illha da Veniaga or Tama according to Ouetius.

much with Thomas Perez by land, and George Mascarenhas by sea, and for coasting vnto the citie of Foquiem standing in 24. degrees of latitude. Foquiem.

In this same yéere 1517. Charles, which afterward was Emperour, came into Spaine, and tooke possession thereof. And in the same yéere Francis Fernandes de Cordoua, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa armed three ships at their owne proper charges from the Island of Cuba. They had also with them a barke of Diego Velasques, who then was gouernour: They came on land in Iucatan standing in 20. degrées of latitude at a point which they called Punta de las Duennas, that is to say, The point of Ladies, which was the first place wherein they had séen Temples and buildings of lime and stone. The people here goe better apparelled then in any other place. They haue crosses which they worship, setting them vpon their tombes when they be buried. Whereby it séemeth that in times past they had in that place the faith of Christ among them. And some say that thereabouts were The seuen Cities. They went round about it towards the north which is on the right hand: from whence they turned backe vnto the Island of Cuba with some examples of gold, and men which they had taken. And this was the first beginning of the discouerie of New Spaine. The comming of Charles the fift into Spaine. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. cap. 2. Iucatan. The seuen cities.

In the yéere 1518. Lopez Suares commanded Don Iohn de Silueira to goe to the Islands of Maldiua: and he made peace with them: and from thence he went to the citie of Chatigam situated on the mouth of the riuer Ganges vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. For this riuer, and the riuer Indus, which standeth an hundred leagues beyond the citie of Diu, and that of Canton in China doe all fall into the sea vnder one parallele or latitude. And although before that time Fernan Perez had béen commanded to goe to Bengala, yet notwithstanding Iohn de Silueira ought to beare away the commendation of this discouerie: because he went as captaine generall, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the countrey, and maners of the people. Castaneda lib. 4. cap. 36. and 37. Osorius lib. 11. fol. 315. pag. 2. Chatigam in Bengala.

In the said yéere 1518. the first day of May Diego Velasques gouernour of the Island of Cuba sent his nephew Iohn de Grisalua with fower ships & two hundred soldiers to discouer the land of Iucatan. And they founde in their way the Island of * Cosumel standing towards the north in 19. degrées, and named it Santa Cruz, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the land lying vpon the left hand of the Gulfe, and came to an Island called Ascension, because they came vnto it vpon Ascension day: They went vnto the end of it standing in 16. degrees of latitude: from whence they came backe because they could finde no place to goe out at: and from hence they went round about it to another riuer, which they called The riuer of Grisalua standing in 17. degrées of latitude: the people thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some gold, siluer and feathers, being there in great estimation, and so they turned backe againe to the Island of Cuba. Pet. Martyr. decad. 4. cap. 3. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 24. & cap. 27. *Or Acusumil. The Isle of Ascension. The Bay of Hondoras. Rio de Grisalua.

In the same yéere 1518. one Francis Garay armed three ships in the Isle of Iamaica at his owne charges, and went towards the point of Florida standing in 25. degrées towards the north, séeming to them to be an Island most pleasant, thinking it better to people Islands than the firme land, because they could best conquere them and kéepe them. They went there on land, but the people of Florida killed many of them, so that they durst not inhabite it. So they sailed along the coast, and came vnto the riuer of Panuco, standing 500. leagues from the point of Florida in sailing along the coast; but the people resisted them in euery place. Many of them also were killed in Chila, whom the Sauages flaied and eate, hanging vp their skinnes in their Temples in memoriall of their valiantnes. Notwithstanding all this Francis de Garay went thither the next yéere and begged the gouernment of that countrey of the Emperour, because he sawe in it some shew of gold and siluer. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 22. & 61. Panuco.

In the yéere 1519. in the moneth of Februarie Fernando Cortes went from the Island of Cuba to the land which is called Noua Spania with 11. ships and 550. Spanyards in them. The first place where he went on land was the Island of Cosumel; where they immediately destroied all the Idols, and set crosses on the altars and the images of the virgine Marie. From this Island they went and arriued on the firme land of Iucatan, at the point De las Duennas, or the point of Ladies, and went thence to the riuer of Tauasco, and set vpon a citie fast by called Potoncian inuironed with wood, and the houses were built with lime and stone. Pet. Martyr. decad. 4. cap. 6. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 28. &c. Tauasco. Potoncian now called Victoria.

and couered with tile: they fought there egarly; and there appeered vnto them S. Iames on horsebacke, which increased their courage. They called that citie Victoria: and they were the first people which were subdued to the Spanyards obedience in all Newe Spaine. From hence they went discouering the coast till they came vnto a place named S. Iohn de Vllhua, distant as they said from Mexico where the king Muteçuma was, 60. or 70. leagues: and there was a seruant of his that gouerned that prouince, named Tendilli, which gaue them good entertainment, although they vnderstood not one another. But Cortes had 20. women, whereof one was called Marine borne in that countrey: They were the first that were baptized in New Spaine. And from that time forward Marine and Aguilar serued as interpreters. Tendilli presently gaue knowledge of this vnto Muteçuma, that a kinde of bearded people were arriued in his countrey: for so they called the Castillians. But he was troubled vpon that newes: for his Gods, (which are to be thought to be diuels) had told him, that such people as the Spanyards were should destroy his law and countrey, and be Lords thereof. And therefore he sent gifts vnto Cortes, in value 20. thousand ducats, but would not come to him.

S. Iohn de Vllhua.

Because S. Iohn de Vllhua was then no place for a nauie to ride in, Cortes sent Francis de Monteio, and the pilot Antonie Alaminos in two brigandines to discouer that coast; who came to a place where they might ride without danger. They came to Panuco standing in 23. degrées northward: from whence they came backe vpon an agreement to goe vnto Culuacan being an hauen of more safetie. They set saile, but Cortes went by land westward with the most part of his men on horsebacke, and they came vnto a citie called Zempoallan, where they were well receiued. And from thence he went to another towne called Chiauitztlan: with the Lord of which towne as with all the countrey besides he made league to be against Muteçuma. And when he knew that his ships were come, he went vnto them, and there builded a towne, and called it Villa rica de la vera cruz. From whence he sent vnto Charles the Emperour a present, and made report of all that he had done, and how he determined to goe to Mexico, and to visite Muteçuma: and besought the Emperour to giue him the gouernment of that countrey. And because his people should not rise in mutinie, as they began, he destroyed all his ships.

Gomara historie general. lib. 2. cap. 21. 23. 24.

Zempoallan.

Chiauitztlan.

Villa rica de la vera Cruz.

Cortes presently went from Villa rica de la vera Cruz, leauing there 150. Spanish horsemen, and many Indians to serue them; and the villages round about became his friends. He went vnto the citie of Zempoallan: there he heard newes that Francis Garay was on the coast with four ships to come on land: And by subtiltie he got nine of his men; of whom he vnderstood, that Garay had béene in Florida, and came vnto the riuer Panuco, where he got some golde, determining to stay there in a towne which is now called Almeria.

Gomara historie general. lib. 2. cap. 61.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 25.

Cortes ouerthrew the idols in Zempoallan, & the tombes of their kings, whome they worshipped as Gods, and tolde them that they were to worship the true God. From thence he went toward Mexico the 16. day of August 1519. and trauailed thrée daies iourney, and came to the citie of Zalapan, and to another beyond it named Sicuchimatl, where they were well receiued, and offered to be conducted to Mexico, because Muteçuma had giuen such commandement. Beyond this place he passed with his companie a certaine hill of thrée leagues high, wherein there were vines. In another place they found aboue a thousand loades of wood ready cut; and beyond they met with a plaine countrey, and in going through the same, he named it Nombre de Dios. At the bottome of the mountaine he rested in a towne called Teuhixuacan, and from thence they went through a desolate countrey, and so came to another mountaine that was very colde and full of snow, and they lay in a towne named Zaclotan: And so from towne to towne they were well receiued and feasted till they came into another realme named Tlaxcallan, which waged warre against Muteçuma, and being valiant they skirmished with Cortes; but in the end they agréed and entred into league with him against the Mexicans: and so they went from countrey to countrey till they came within sight of Mexico. The king Muteçuma fearing them, gaue them good entertainment with lodging and all things necessarie: and they were with this for a time contented: but mistrusting that he and his should be slaine, he tooke Muteçuma prisoner and brought him to his

Zalapan. Sicuchimatl.

Zaclotan.

Tlaxcallan.

Muteçuma prisoner.

his lodging with good garde. Cortes demanded how farre his realme did extend, and sought to know the mines of gold and siluer that were in it, and how many kings neighbours to Mutecuma dwelled therein, requiring certaine Indians to be informed thereof, whereof he had eight prouided: and he ioined to them eight Spanyards, and sent them two and two into fower countreys, namely into Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, & Tututepec. They which went vnto Zucolla went 80. leagues: for so much it was from Mexico thither: They which went to Malinaltepec, went 70. leagues, séeing goodly countries, and brought examples of gold, which the naturals of the country tooke out of great riuers: and all this prouince belonged vnto Mutecuma. Zucolla. Malinaltepec. Zenich. Tututepec.

The countrey of Tenich and vp the riuer were not subiect to Mutecuma, but had warre with him, and would not suffer the Mexicans to enter into their territorie. They sent ambassadors vnto Cortes with presents, offering him their estate, and amitie; whereof Mutecuma was nothing glad. They which went to Tututepec standing néere the South sea did also bring with them examples of gold, and praised the pleasantnes of the countrey, and the multitude of good harbours vpon that coast, shewing to Cortes a cloth of cotton woll all wouen with goodly workes, wherein all the coast with the hauens and créekes were set forth. But this thing then could not be prosecuted by reason of the comming of Pamphilus de Naruaez into the countrey, who set all the kingdome of Mexico in an vprore. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 42. Pamphilus de Naruaez.

In this yéere 1519. the tenth day of August one Fernande de Magallanes departed from Siuill with fiue ships toward the Islands of Maluco: he went along the coast of Brasill till he came vnto the riuer of Plate, which the Castillians had before discouered. From thence therefore he began his discouerie, and came vnto an hauen which he called The Porte of Saint Iulian standing in 49. degrées, and there he entred and wintred: they endured much cold by reason of snow and ice: the people of that countrey they found to be of great stature, and of great strength, taking men by the legs and renting them in the middest as easily as one of vs will rent an hen: they liue by fruits and hunting. They called them Patagones, but the Brasilians doe call them Morcas. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 2. The discouerie of Magallanes from the riuer of Plate forward. Patagones.

In the yéere 1520. in the beginning of the moneth of September growing then somewhat temperate they went out of the port and riuer of Saint Iulian, hauing lost in it one of their ships, and with the other fower he came vnto the Streights named after the name of Magallanes standing in 52. degrées and a halfe. From thence one of the ships returned backe vnto Castile, whereof was captaine and pilot one Stephen de Porto a Portugall, and the other three went forward, entring into a mightie sea called Pacificum, without séeing any inhabited land till they came in 13. degrées towards the north of the Equinoctiall: in which latitude they came vnto Islands which they called Los Iardines, and from thence they sailed to the Archipelagus of S. Lazarus, and in one of the Islands called Matan Magallanes was slaine, and his ship was burnt, and the other two went vnto Borneo, and so from place to place they went backe vntill they came to the Islands of Malucos, leauing many others discouered, which I rehearse not because I finde not this voiage exactly written. Los Iardines. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 3. Pet. Martyr. decad. 5. cap. 7.

About this time Pope Leo the tenth sent one Paulus Centurio as ambassadour to the great Duke of Moscouie to wish him to send into India an armie along the coast of Tartarie. And by the reasons of this ambassadour the said Duke was almost persuaded vnto that action, if other inconueniences had not letted him. Gomar. lib. 4. cap. 17. Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 374.

In this same yéere 1520. in Februarie Diego Lopes de Sequeira gouernour of India went towards the Streight of Mecha and carried with h'm the ambassadour of Presbyter Iohn, and Roderigo de Lima who also went as ambassadour to him. They came vnto the Island of Maçua standing in the Red sea on the side of Africa in 17. degrées towards the north: where he set the ambassadours on land, with the Portugals that should goe with them. Peter de Couillan had béene there before, being sent thither by king Iohn the second of Portugall; but yet Francis Aluarez gaue principall light and knowledge of that countrey. Maçua. Ramusius 1 vol. fol. 190.

In the yeere 1520. the licentiate Lucas Vasques de Aillon and other inhabitants of S. Domingo furnished two ships, and sent them to the Isles of Lucayos to get slaues, and finding none they passed along by the firme land beyond Florida vnto certaine countreyes called Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Chicora

Chicora. Gualdapé. Chicora and Gualdapé, vnto the riuer Iordan and the Cape of Saint Helena standing in 32. degrees toward the north. They of the countrey came downe to the sea side to sée the ships, as hauing neuer before séene the like: The Spanyards went on land where they receiued good entertainment, and had giuen vnto them such things as they lacked. But they brought many of them into their ships and then set saile and brought them away for slaues: but in the way one of their ships sunke, and the other was also in great hazard. By this newes the Licentiate Aillon knowing the wealth of the countrey, begged the gouernment thereof of the Emperour, and it was giuen him: whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 48. About this time Diego Velasques gouernour of Cuba hearing the good successe of Cortes, and that he had begged the gouernment of New Spaine, which he held to be his, he furnished out thither against Cortes 18. ships with 1000. men and 80. horses, whereof he sent as Generall one Pamphilus de Narnaez. He came vnto the towne called Villa rica de la vera Cruz, where he tooke land, and commanded those of the countrey to receiue him as gouernour thereof: But they tooke his messenger prisoner, and sent him to Mexico where Cortes was. Which thing being knowne of Cortes, he wrote letters vnto Naruaez not to raise any vprore in the countrey which he had discouered, offering him obedience if he had any commission from the Emperour; but he corrupted the people of the countrey with money: Whereupon Cortes went from Mexico and tooke Naruaez prisoner in the towne of Zampoallan, and put out one of his eies.

Naruaez being thus taken prisoner, his armie submitted themselues to Cortes, and obeied him. Whereupon presently he dispatched 200. soldiers vnto the riuer of Garay, and he sent Iohn Vasquez de Leon with other two hundred vnto Cosaalco, and withall sent a Spanyard with the newes of his victorie vnto Mexico. But the Indians being in the meane time risen, hurt the messenger. Which being knowne to Cortes, he mustered his men, and found a thousand footemen and two hundred horsemen, with the which he went towards Mexico, where he found Peter de Aluarado, and the rest which he had left there aliue & in safetie, wherewith he was greatly pleased, and Mutecuma made much of him. But yet the Mexicans ceased not but made warre against him: and the warre grew so hot that they killed their king Mutecuma with a stone, and then there rose vp another king such an one as pleased them, till such time as they might put the Spanyards out of the citie, being no more than 504 footemen, and fortie horsemen. The Spanyards with great losse being driuen out of Mexico, retired themselues with much adoe to Tlaxcallan, where they were well receiued: and so they gathered together 900. Spanyards, 80. horsemen, and two hundred thousand Indians, their friends, and allies: and so they went backe againe to take Mexico in the moneth of August in the yéere 1521.

The reuolt of the Mexicans in absence of Cortes.

Mutecuma slaine.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 50.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 60. Cortes obtaining still more and more victories determined to sée further within the countrey: and for this purpose in the yéere 1521. and in October he sent out one Gonsalo de Sandoual with 200. footemen and 35 horsemen, and certaine Indians his friends vnto Tochtepec and Coazacoalco, which had rebelled, but at length yéelded. And they discouered the countrey, and built a towne 120. leagues from Mexico, and named it Medelin, and another towne they made naming it Santo Spirito fower leagues from the sea vpon a riuer; and these two townes kept the whole countrey in obedience.

Tochtepec. Coazacoalco.

Emmanuels death. Osorius lib. 12. fol. 366. Gomara historie general. lib. 4. cap. 8. Burro. Timor. Eude. This yéere 1521. in December Emmanuell king of Portugall died, and after him his sonne king Iohn the 3. reigned.

In the yéere 1521. there went from Maluco one of Magellans ships laden with cloues: they victualed themselues in the Island of Burro, and from thence went to Timor which standeth in 11. degrées of southerly latitude. Beyond this Island one hundred leagues they discouered certaine Islands and one named Eude, finding the places from thence forward peopled. Afterward passing without Samatra they met with no land till they fell with the Cape of Bona Sperança, where they tooke in fresh water and wood: So they came by the Islands of Cape Verde, and from thence to Siuill, where they were notably receiued, as well for the cloues that they brought, as that they had compassed about the world.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 4. In the yéere 1522. in Ianuarie one Gilgonzales armed fower ships in the Island of Tarequi standing in the South sea with intent to discouer the coast of Nicaragua, and especially a streight

a streight or passage from the South sea into the North sea. And sailing along the coast he came vnto an hauen called S. Vincent, and there landed with 100. Spanyards and certaine horsemen, and went within the land 200. leagues, and he brought with him 200. pesoes of gold, and so came backe againe to S. Vincent: where he found his pilot Andrew Nigno, who was as far as Tecoantepec in 16. degrées to the north, and had sailed thrée hundred leagues: from whence they returned to Panama, and so ouer land to Hispaniola. Tecoantepec. Gomara historie general. lib. 6. cap. 12.

In the same yéere 1522. in the moneth of Aprill the other ship of Magallanes called The Trinitie went from the Island of Tidoré, wherein was captaine Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, shaping their course toward Noua Spania: and because winde was scant they stirred toward the northeast into 16. degrées, where they found two Islands, and named them the Isles of Saint Iohn, and in that course they came to another Island in 20. degrées, which they named La Griega, where the simple people came into their ships, of whom they kept some to shew them in Noua Spania: They were in this course fower monethes, vntil they came into 42. degrées of northerly latitude, where they did sée sea fishes called Seales and Tunies. And the climate seemed vnto them comming newly out of the heat, to be so cold and vntemperate, that they could not well abide it, and therefore they turned backe againe to Tidore, being thereunto enforced also by contrarie windes. These were the first Spanyards which had béene in so high a latitude toward the north. And there they found one Antonie de Britto building a fortresse, which tooke from them their goods, and sent 48. of them prisoners to Malaca. Castagneda Historia delle Indie Orientali lib. 6. cap. 41. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 8. & 11. Two Islands in 16. degrees of northerly latitude. 42. degrees of northerly latitude.

In this yéere 1522. Cortes desirous to haue some hauens on the South sea, and to discouer the coast of Noua Spania on that side, whereof he had knowledge in Mutęcuma his time, (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from Maluco and Banda, and the spicerie from Iaua, with lesse trauaile and danger) he sent fower Spaniards with their guides to Tecoantepec, Quahutemallan, and other hauens: where they were wel receiued, and brought some of the people with them to Mexico: And Cortes made much of them; and afterwards sent ten pilots thither to search the seas there about. They went 70. leagues in the sea but found no hauen. One Casique or Lord called Cuchataquir vsed them well, & sent with them to Cortes 200. of his men with a present of gold and siluer, and other things of the countrey: and they of Tecoantepec did the like: and not long after, this Casique sent for aide to Cortes against his neighbours which did warre against him. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 12. The South sea first searched by Cortes his pilots. Tecoantepec.

In the yéere 1523. Cortes sent vnto him for his aide Peter de Aluarado, with two hundred soldiers footemen, and fortie horsemen, and the Caciques of Tecoantepec and Quahutemallan asked them for the monsters of the sea which came thither the yéere past, meaning the ships of Gil Gonsales de Auila, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and woondring much more when they heard, that Cortes had bigger then those: and they painted vnto them a mighty Carake with sixe masts, and sailes and shroudes, and men armed on horsebacke. This Aluarado went through the countrey and builded there the city of Sant Iago or Saint Iames, and a towne which he called Segura leauing certaine of his people in it. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 12. A wittie stratagem. Sant Iago built.

In the same yeere 1523. in the moneth of May Antonie de Britto being captaine of the Isles of Maluco sent his cosen Simon de Breu to learne the way by the Isle of Borneo to Malaca: They came in sight of the Islands of Manada and Panguansara: They went through the straight of Treminao and Taguy: and to the Islands of Saint Michael standing in 7. degrées, and from thence discouered the Islands of Borneo, and had sight of Pedra branca or the White stoné, and passed through the straight of Cincapura, & so to the citie of Malaca. Castagneda hist. delle Indie Orientali lib. 6. c. 48. Manada. Panguansara. The Islands of S. Michael. Borneo. Pedra branca.

In this same yéere 1523. Cortes went with 300. footemen and 150. horsemen and 40000. Mexicans to Panuco both to discouer it better, and also to inhabite it, and withall to be reuenged vpon them which had killed and eaten the soldiers of Francis Garay. They of Panuco resisted him, but Cortes in the end ouerthrew them, and conquered the countrey: And hard by Chila vpon the riuer he built a towne and named it Santo Stephano del puerto, leauing in it 100. footemen, and thirtie horsemen and one Peter de Vallelo for lieutenant. This iourney cost him 76. thousand Castillians, besides the Spanyards, horses, and Mexicans which died there. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 62. Santo Stephano del puerto.

In

Gomarashist.gen. lib. 2. cap. 61. & en la Conquista de Mexico.

In this yéere 1523. Francis de Garay made nine ships and two brigandines to goe to Panuco and to Rio de las Palmas to be there as gouernour: for that the Emperour had granted vnto him from the coast of Florida vnto Panuco, in regard of the charges, which he had béene at in that discouerie. He carried with him 850. soldiers, and 140. horses, and some men out of the Island of Iamaica, where he furnished his fléet with munition for the warre: and he went vnto Xagua an hauen in the Island of Cuba, where he vnderstood that Cortes had peopled the coast of Panuco: and that it might not happen vnto him as it did to Pamphilus de Naruaez, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the Doctor Zuazo to goe to Mexico and procure some agréement betwéene Cortes and him. And they departed from Xagua each one about his busines. Zuazo came in great ieoperdie, and Garay went

Rio de las Palmas.

not cléere without. Garay arriued in Rio de las Palmas on S. Iames his day, and then he sent vp the riuer one Gonsaluo de Ocampo, who at his returne declared that it was an euill and desert countrey: but notwithstanding Garay went there on land with 400. footemen and some horsemen; and he commanded one Iohn de Grijalua to search the coast, and he him-

Rio Montalto.

selfe marched by land towards Panuco, and passed a riuer which he named Rio Montalto; he entred into a great towne where they found many hennes, wherewith they refreshed themselues, and he tooke some of the people of Chila which he vsed for messengers to certaine places: And after great trauaile comming to Panuco they found no victuailes there by reason of the warres of Cortes and the spoile of the soldiers. Garay then sent one Gonçalo de Ocampo to Sant Isteuan del puerto to know whether they would receiue him or no. They had a good answere. But Cortes his men priuily by an ambushment tooke 40. of Garayes horsemen, alleaging that they came to vsurpe the gouernment of another: and besides this misfortune he lost fower of his ships: whereupon he left off to procéede any farther.

Chila.

Gomar. en la Conquesta de Mexico fol. 226.

While Cortes was preparing to set forward to Panuco: Francis de las Casas, and Roderigo de la Paz arriued at Mexico with letters patents, wherein the Emperour gaue the gouernment of Nueua Spagna and all the countrey which Cortes had conquered to Cortes, and namely Panuco. Whereupon he staied his iourney. But he sent Diego de Ocampo with the said letters patents, and Pedro de Aluarado with store of footemen and horsemen. Garay knowing this thought it best to yéeld himselfe vnto Cortes his hands, and to go to Mexico; which thing he did hauing discouered a great tract of land.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 242. Isla Gil de buena Vista in the Bay of Honduras.

In this yéere 1523. Gil Gonçales de Auila made a discouerie, and peopled a towne called San Gil de buena vista standing in 14. degrées toward the north, and almost in the bottome of the Bay called the Ascension or the Honduras. He began to conquere it because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich countrey.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 229. & in sequentibus.

In this yéere 1523. the sixt day of December Peter de Aluarado went from the citie of Mexico by Cortes his commandement to discouer & conquere Quahutemallan, Vtlatlan, Chiapa, Xochnuxco, and other townes toward the South sea. He had with him thrée hundred soldiers, 170. horsemen, foure field péeces, and some noble men of Mexico, with people of the countrey to aide him as well in the warre, as by the way being long. He went by Tecoantepec to Xochnuxco, and other places aboue said with great trauaile and losse of his men: but he discouered and subdued all the countrey. There are in those parts certaine hils that

Oile distilling out of hils. Ibidem fol. 230.

haue Alume in them, and out of which distilleth a certaine liquor like vnto oile, and sulphur or brimstone, whereof the Spanyards made excellent gunpowder. He trauailed 400. leagues in this voiage, and passed certaine riuers which were so hot, that they could not well endure to wade through them. He builded a citie calling it Sant Iago de Quahutemallan. Peter de Aluarado begged the gouernment of this countrey, and the report is that it was giuen him.

Sant Iago de Quahutemallan.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 233. Villa del Espiritu santo. Chamolla.

In the yeere 1523. the 8. day of December Cortes sent Diego de Godoy with 100. footemen and 50. horsemen, two field péeces, and many of his friends Indians vnto the towne Del Espiritu santo: He ioined himselfe with the captaine of that towne, and they went to Chamolla the head citie of that prouince, and that being taken all the countrey grew quiet.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico. fol. 234.

In the yéere 1524. in Februarie Cortes sent one Roderigo Rangel with 150. Spaniards and many of the Tlaxcallans and Mexicans against the Zapotecas and Nixticas and vnto other prouinces and

and countreyes not so well discouered: they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the woorst, and kept them for euer after in subiection.

In this same yéere 1524. one Roderigo de Bastidas was sent to discouer, people, and gouerne the countrey of Santa Martha: where he lost his life because he would not suffer the soldiers to take the spoile of a certaine towne. They ioined with Peter Villa-forte, and he being sometimes his entire friend did helpe to kill him with daggers lying in his bed. Afterward Don Pedro de Lugo, and Don Alfonso his sonne were gouernours of that place, which vsed themselues like couetous tyrants; whereof grew much trouble. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. cap. 21.

In this same yéere also 1524. after that the Licenciate Lucas Vasques de Aillon had obtained of the Emperour the gouernment of Chicora, he armed for that purpose certaine ships from the citie of Santo Domingo and went to discouer the countrey, and to inhabite it: but he was lost with all his companie, leauing nothing done woorthy of memorie. And I cannot tell how it commeth to passe, except it be by the iust iudgement of God, that of so much gold and precious stones as haue béene gotten in the Antiles by so many Spaniards, little or none remaineth, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 7.

In this yéere 1524. Cortes sent one Christopher de Olid with a fléete to the Island of Cuba to receiue the vitailes and munition which Alonso de Contreras had prepared and to discouer and people the countrey about Cape De Higueras and the Honduras; and to send Diego Hurtado de Mendoça by sea, to search the coast from thence euen to Darien to finde out the Streit which was thought to run into the South sea, as the Emperour had commanded. He sent also two ships from Panuco to search along the coast vnto Florida. He commanded also certaine brigandines to search the coast from Zacatullan vnto Panama. This Christopher de Olid came to the Island of Cuba, and made a league with Diego Velasquez against Cortes, and so set saile and went on land hard by Puerto de Cauallos standing in 10. degrées to the north, and built a towne which he called Triumpho de la Cruz. He tooke Gil Gonzales de Auila prisoner, and killed his nephew and the Spaniards that were with him all sauing one childe, and shewed himselfe an enimie to Cortes, who had spent in that expedition thirty thousand Castellans of gold to doe him pleasure withall. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 65. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 243.

Cortes vnderstanding hereof the same yéere 1524. and in the moneth of October he went out of the citie of Mexico to séeke Christopher de Olid to be reuenged of him, and also to discouer, carrying with him thrée hundred Spanish footemen and horsemen, and Quahutimoc king of Mexico, and other great Lords of the same citie. And comming to the towne called La villa del Espiritu santo, he required guides of the Lords of Tauasco and Xicalanco: and they sent him ten of their principall men for guides: who gaue him also a map of cotton wooll, wherein was painted the situation of the whole countrey from Xicalanco vnto Naco, and Nito, and euen as farre as Nicaragua, with their mountaines, hils, fields, meadowes, vallies, riuers, cities and townes. And Cortes in the meane time sent for thrée ships which were at the hauen of Medellin to follow him along the coast. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 66. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 246 & 251.

An excellent large map of cotton woolle.

In this yeere 1524. they came to the citie of Izancanac, where he vnderstood that the king Quahutimoc and the Mexicans that were in his companie were conspired against him and the Spanyards: for the which he hanged the king and two others of the chiefe: and so came to the citie of Mazatlan, and after that to Tiaca the head citie of a prouince so called standing in the middest of a lake: and here about they began to finde the traine of the Spanyards, which they went to seeke, and so they went to Zuzullin, and at length came to the towne of Nito: from Nito Cortes with his owne companie and all the Spanyards that he found there departed to the shore or strand called La Baia de Sant Andres, and finding there a good hauen he builded a towne in that place and called it Natividad de nuestra Señora. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 67. & 68. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 257. Matalan. Tiaca. Zuzullin. Gomar. in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 268. Natividad de Nuestra Seanora.

From hence Cortes went to the towne of Truxillo standing in the hauen of the Honduras, where the Spanyards dwelling there did entertaine him well: and while he was there, there arriued a ship which brought newes of the stirre in Mexico in Cortes his absence: whereupon he sent word to Gonsalo de Sandoual to march with his companie from Naco to Mexico by land toward the South sea vnto Quahutemallan, because that is the vsuall plaine and safest way, and he left as captaine in Truxillo Fernando de Saauedra his cosen: and he himselfe went Truxillo. Honduras. Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 270. & 275.

went by sea along the coast of Iucatan to Chalchicoeca now called Sant Iuan de Vilhua, and so to Medellin, and from thence to Mexico, where he was well receiued, hauing béene from thence 18. monethes, and had gone fiue hundred leagues trauailing often out of his way, and enduring much hardnes.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 1. & 2. Peru.

In the yéere 1525. Francis Pizarro and Diego de Almagro went from Panama to discouer Peru standing beyond the line towarde the South, which they called Nueua Castilia. The gouernour Pedro Arias would not entermeddle with this expedition, because of the euill newes which his captaine Francis Vezerra had brought.

Francis Pizarro went first in a ship hauing with him 124. soldiers, and Almagro went after him in another ship with 70. men. He came to Rio de San Iuan standing in three degrées where he got two thousand pesoes of gold; and not finding Pizarro, he went to séeke him, repenting his doings by reason of a mishap that he had. But he went first to an Island called Isla del Gorgona, and afterward to another called Isla del Gallo, and to the riuer called Rio del Peru standing in two degrées northward, whereof so many famous countreyes take their name. From thence they went to Rio de San Francisco, and to Cabo de Passaos, where they passed the Equinoctiall line, and came to Puerto Vejo standing in one degrée to the south of the line: from whence they sailed to the riuers of Chinapanpa, Tumbez, and Payta standing in 4. or 5. degrées, where they had knowledge of king Atabalipa and of the exceeding wealth and riches of his palace. Which newes mooued Pizarro spéedily to returne home againe to Panama, and so into Spaine, and to request the gouernment of that countrey of the Emperour: which he also obtained. He had spent aboue thrée yéeres before in this discouerie not without enduring great trauaile and perils.

Isla del Gorgona.
Isla del Gallo.
Rio del Peru.
Cabo de Passos.
Puerto vejo.
Tumbez.
Payta.

Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. cap. 9. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 12.

In the same yéere 1525. there was sent out of Spaine a fléete of seuen ships, whereof was captaine generall Don Garsia de Loaisa to the Islands of Maluco. They went from the citie of the Groine and passed by the Islands of the Canaries, and went to Brasill, where they found an Island in two degrées, and named it S. Matthew: and it séemed to be inhabited, because they found in it orenge trées, hogs, and hennes in caues, and vpon the rindes of most of the trées there were grauen Portugall letters, shewing that the Portugals had béene there 17. yéeres before that time. A patache or pinnesse of theirs passed the streight of Magellane hauing in her one Iohn de Resaga, and ran all along the coast of Peru and Noua Spagna: They declared all their successe vnto Cortes, and told him, that frier Garsia de Loaisa was passed to the islands of cloues. But of this fléete the Admirall onely came thither, wherein was captaine one Martine Mingues de Carchoua: for Loaisa and the other captaines died by the way. All the Moores of Maluco were found well affectioned to the Spaniards.

The Isle of S. Mathew.

Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico pag. 287.

Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. pag. 600. Gomara historia general. lib. 1. cap. 5.

In the same yéere 1525. the pilot Stephen Gomes went from the port of the Groine toward the north to discouer the streight vnto the Malucos by the north, to whom they would giue no charge in the fléete of frier Garsia de Loaisa. But yet the Earle Don Fernando de Andrada, and the Doctor Beltram, and the marchant Christopher de Sarro furnished a gallion for him, and he went from the Groine in Galicia to the Island of Cuba, and to the point of Florida, sailing by day because he knew not the land. He passed the bay Angra, and the riuer Enseada, and so went ouer to the other side. It is also reported that he came to Cape Razo in 46. degrées to the north: from whence he came backe againe to the Groine laden with slaues. The newes hereof ran by and by through Spaine, that he was come home laden with cloues as mistaking the word: and it was carried to the Court of Spaine: but when the truth was knowne it turned to a pleasant iest. In this voiage Gomes was ten monethes.

In this yéere 1525. Don George de Meneses captaine of Maluco, and with him Don Garcia Henriques sent a foyst to discouer land towards the north, wherein went as captaine one Diego de Rocha, and Gomez de Sequeira for pilot. In 9. or 10. degrées they found certaine Islands standing close together, and they called them the Islands of Gomes de Sequeira, he being the first pilot that discouered them. And they came backe againe by the Island of Batochina.

The Isle of Batochina by Gibolo.

Gomara historia general. lib. 3. cap. 39.

In the yéere 1526. there went out of Siuill one Sebastian Cabota a Venetian by his father, but

but borne at Bristol in England, being chiefe pilote to the Emperour, with fower ships toward Maluco. They came to Pernambuco, and staied there thrée monethes for a winde to double the Cape of Saint Augustine. In the Bay of Patos or of ducks the Admirall ship perished; and being without hope to get to the Isles of Maluco they there made a pinnesse to enter vp the riuer of Plate, and to search it. They ran 60. leagues vp before they came to the barre: where they left their great ships, and with their small pinnesses passed vp the riuer Parana, which the inhabitants count to be the principall riuer. Hauing rowed vp 120. leagues, they made a fortresse and staied there aboue a yéere: and then rowed further till they came to the mouth of another riuer called Paragioa, and perceiuing that the countrey yéelded gold and siluer they kept on their course, and sent a brigandine before; but those of the countrey tooke it: and Cabote vnderstanding of it thought it best to turne backe vnto their forte, and there tooke in his men which he had left there, and so went downe the riuer where his ships did ride, and from thence he sailed home to Siuill in the yéere 1530. leauing discouered about two hundred leagues within this riuer, reporting it to be very nauigable, and that it springeth out of a lake named Bombo. It standeth in the firme land of the kingdome of Peru, running through the vallies of Xauxa, and méeteth with the riuers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this lake runneth the riuer called Rio de San Francesco; and by this meane the riuers come to be so great. For the riuers that come out of lakes are bigger then those which procéede from a spring.

Rio Parana.

Rio Paraguoa.

The fountaine of the Riuer of Plate.

The biggest riuers procéede from lakes.

In the yéere 1527. one Pamphilus de Naruaez went out of S. Lucar de Barameda to be generall of the coast and land of Florida as farre as Rio de las Palmas, and had with him fiue ships, 600. soldiers, 100. horses, besides a great summe and quantitie of victuailes, armour, clothing and other things. He could not goe on land where his desire was, but went on land somewhat néere to Florida with thrée hundred of his companie, some horses, and some victuailes, commanding the ships to goe to Rio de las Palmas; in which voiage they were almost all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst in an Island called Xamo and by the Spaniards Malhada being very drie and barren, where the Spaniards killed one another, and the people also of the countrey did the like. Naruaez and those which went with him sawe some golde with certaine Indians, and he demanded of them where they gathered it: and they answered that they had it at Apalachen. They therefore searched this gold, and in searching came to the saide towne, where they found no gold nor siluer: they saw many Bay trées, and almost all other kinde of trées with beasts, birds, and such like. The men and women of this place are high and strong, very light and so swift runners, that they will take déere at their pleasure, and will not grow wearie though they run a whole day. From Apalachen they went to a towne called Aute; and from thence to Xamo a poore countrey with small sustinance. These people bring vp their children very tenderly, and make great lamentation when any of them dieth; they neither wéepe nor lament at the death of any olde bodie. Here the people desired the Spanyards to cure their sicke folks, for they had many diseased: and certaine of the Spanyards being in extreme pouertie assaied it, and vsed praier, and it pleased God that they did indéede recouer as well those that were hurt, as those which were otherwise diseased; in so much, that one which was thought verily to be dead, was by them restored to life, as they themselues reporte. They affirme that they passed through many countreies and many strange people differing in language, apparell, and customes. And because they plaied the physitions, they were as they passed greatly esteemed and held for Gods, and the people did no hurt vnto them, but would giue them part of such things as they had. Therefore they passed quietly, and trauailed so farre till they came to a people, that vse continually to liue in heards with their cattel as the Arabians doe. They be poore, and eate snakes, lisards, spiders, ants, and al kinde of vermine, and herewith they liue so well contented that commonly they sing and dance. They buie the women of their enimies, and kill their daughters, because they would not haue them marrie with them, whereby they might increase. They trauailed through certaine places, where the women gaue sucke vnto their children til they were ten or twelue yéeres of age; and where certaine

The Isle of Xamo or Malhada.

Apalachen.

Aute.

Xamo.

men being Hermaphrodites doe marrie one another. These Spaniards trauailed aboue 800. leagues; and there escaped aliue in this iourney not aboue seuen or eight of them. They came vpon the coast of the South sea vnto a citie called Saint Michael of Culuacan standing in 23. degrées and vpward toward the north.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 72. and in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 282.

This yéere 1527. when Cortes vnderstood by the pinnesse aforesaide that Don Garcia de Loaisa was passed by the Streight of Magelan toward the Islands of cloues, he prouided thrée ships to goe séeke him, and to discouer by that way of New Spaine as farre as the Isles of Maluco. There went as gouernour in those ships one Aluaro de Saavedra Ceron, cosen vnto Cortes, a man fit for that purpose. He made saile from Ciuatlanejo, now named S. Christopher standing in 20. degrées toward the north on All Saints day. They arriued at the Islands which Magelan named The Pleasures: and from thence sailed to the Islands, which Gomes de Sequeira had discouered, & not knowing thereof, they named thē Islas de los Reyes, that is to say, The Isles of the kings, because they came vnto them on Twelfe day. In the way Saavedra lost two ships of his company, of which they neuer after heard newes. But from Island to Island he still sailed and came to the Island of Candiga, where he bought two Spanyards for 70. ducats, which had béene of the companie of Frier Loaisa, who was lost thereabout.

Islas de los Reyes.

Candiga.

In the yéere 1528. in March Saavedra arriued at the Islands of Maluco, and came to an anker before the Isle of Gilolo: he found the sea calme and winde at will, without any tempests: and he tooke the distance from thence to Noua Spagna to be 2050. leagues. At this time Martin Yniguez de Carquiçano died, and Fernando de la Torre was chosen their Generall, who then was in the citie of Tidore, who had there erected a gallows and had fierce warre with Don George de Meneses captaine of the Portugals: and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May Saavedra tooke from him a galiotte and slew the captaine thereof called Fernando de Baldaya, and in lune he returned towards New Spaine, hauing with him one Simon de Brito Patalin and other Portugals, and hauing béene certaine monethes at sea, he was forced backe vnto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 73.

In this yéere 1528. Cortes sent two hundred footemen and 60. horsemen, and many Mexicans to discouer and plant the countrey of the Chichimecas, for that it was reported to be rich of gold. This being done he shipped himselfe, and came into Castile with great pompe, & brought with him 250000. marks of gold and siluer: and being come to Toledo where the Emperour then lay, he was entertained according to his deserts, and the Emperour made him Marques Del Valle, and married him to the Lady Iane de Zuniga daughter vnto the Earle de Aguilar, and then the Emperour sent him backe againe to be Generall of New Spaine.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 72. Noua Guinea.

In the yéere 1529. in May Saavedra returned baek againe towards New Spaine, and he had sight of a land toward the South in two degrées, and he ran East along by it aboue fiue hundred leagues till the end of August. The coast was cleane and of good ankerage, but the people blacke and of curled haire; from the girdle downward they did weare a certaine thing plaited to couer their lower parts. The people of Maluco call them Papuas, because they be blacke and friseled in their haire: and so also doe the Portugals call them.

Os Papuas are blacke people with frisled haire.

Saavedra hauing sailed 4. or 5. degrées to the South of the line, returned vnto it, and passed the Equinoctiall towards the north, and discouered an Island which he called Isla de los Pintados, that is to say, The Isle of painted people: for the people thereof be white, and all of them marked with an iron: and by the signes which they gaue he conceaued that they were of China. There came vnto them from the shore a kinde of boate full of these men, making tokens of threatnings to the Spanyards; who séeing that the Spanyards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones, but Saavedra would suffer no shot to be shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harme.

Isla de los Pintados.

A little beyond this Island in 10. or 12. degrées they found many small low Islands full of palme trées and grasse, which they called Los Iardines, and they came to an anker in the middest of them, where they taried certaine daies. The people séemed to descend from them

Los Iardines.

them of China, but by reason of their long continuance there they are become so brutish, that they haue neither law, nor yet giue themselues to any honest labour. They weare white clothing which they make of grasse. They stand in marualious feare of fire, because they neuer saw any. They eate Cocos in stéede of bread, breaking them before they be ripe, and putting them vnder the sand, and then after certaine daies they take them out and lay them in the sunne, and then they will open. They eate fish which they take in a kinde of boate called a Parao, which they make of pine wood, which is driuen thither at certaine times of the yéere, they know not how, nor from whence, and the tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shels. Flote wood.

Saauedra perceiuing that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made saile towards the firme land and citie of Panama, where he might vnlade the cloues and marchandise which he had, that so in cartes it might be carried fower leagues to the riuer of Chagre, which they say is nauigable running out into the North sea not far from Nombre de Dios, where the ships ride, which come out of Spaine: by which way all kinde of goods might be brought vnto them in shorter time, and with lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape of Bona Sperança. For from Malueo vnto Panama they saile continually betwéene the Tropickes and the line: but they neuer found winde to serue that course, and therefore they came backe againe to Maluco very sad, because Saauedra died by the way: who if he had liued meant to haue opened the land of Castillia del Oro and New Spaine from sea to sea. Which might haue béene done in fower places: namely from the Gulfe of S. Michael to Vraba, which is 25. leagues, or from Panama to Nombre de Dios being 17. leagues distance: or through Xaquator a riuer of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a lake thrée or fower leagues from the South sea, and falleth into the North sea; whereupon doe saile great barks and crayers. The other place is from Tecoantepec through a riuer to Verdadera Cruz in the Bay of the Honduras, which also might be opened in a streight. Which if it were done, then they might saile from the Canaries vnto the Malucos vnder the climate of the Zodiake in lesse time and with much lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape de Bona Speranca, or by the streight of Magelan, or by the Northwest. And yet if there might be found a streight there to saile into the sea of China, as it hath béene sought, it would doe much good. Fower narrow passages from sea to sea in the West Indies. Gomara hist. gen. ch. 4. cap. 14. The northwest passage very beneficiall.

In this yéere 1529, one Damian de Goes a Portugal being in Flanders, after that he had trauailed ouer all Spaine, was yet desirous to sée more countreyes, and fashions, and diuersities of people; and therefore went ouer into England and Scotland, and was in the courts of the kings of those parts: and after that came againe into Flanders, and then trauailed through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxenburge, Suitzerland, and so through the cities of Colen, Spyres, Argentine, Basill, and other parts of Alemaine, & then came backe againe into Flanders: and from thence he went into France through Picardie, Normandie, Champaine, Burgundie, the dukedome of Borbon, Gascoigne, Languedoc, Daulphinie, the dukedome of Sauoy, and passed into Italy into the dukedome of Millaine, Ferrara, Lombardie, and so to Venice, and turned backe againe to the territorie of Genoa, and the dukedome of Florence through all Tuscane: and he was in the citie of Rome, and in the kingdome of Naples from the one side to the other.

From thence he went into Germanie to Vlmes, and other places of the Empire, to the dukedome of Sueuia and of Bauier, and the Archdukedome of Austrich, the kingdome of Boeme, the dukedome of Morauia, and the kingdome of Hungarie, and so to the confines of Græcia. From thence he went to the kingdome of Poland, Prussia, and the dukedome of Liuonia, and so came into the great dukedome of Moscouia. From whence he came backe into High Alemayne, and through the countreyes of the Lantzgraue, the dukedome of Saxonie, the countreyes of Denmarke, Gotland, and Norway, trauailing so farre, that he found himselfe in 70. degrées of latitude towards the North. He did sée, speake and was conuersant with all the kings, princes, nobles and chiefe cities of all Christendome in the space of 22. yéeres: So that by reason of the greatnes of his trauell, I thought him a man woorthie to be here remembred.

In the yéere 1529. or 1530. one Melchior de Sosa Tauarez went from the citie of Ormuz vnto

vnto Balsera and the Islands of Gissara with certaine ships of warre, and passed vp as farre as the place, where the riuers Tygris and Euphrates méete one with the other. And although other Portugals had discouered and sailed through that streight, yet neuer any of them sailed so farre vpon the fresh water till that time, when he discouered that riuer from the one side to the other, wherein he saw many things which the Portugals knew not.

Not long after this one Ferdinando Coutinho a Portugall came vnto Ormuz, and being desirous to sée the world, he determined to goe into Portugall from thence ouer land to sée Asia and Europe; And to doe this the better he went into Arabia, Persia, and vpwards the riuer Euphrates the space of a moneth; and saw many kingdomes and countreies, which in our time had not béene séene by the Portugals: He was taken prisoner in Damasco, and afterward crost ouer the prouince of Syria, and came vnto the citie of Alepo. He had béene at the holy Sepulchre in Ierusalem, and in the citie of Cayro, and at Constantinople with the Great Turke; and hauing séene his court he passed ouer vnto Venice, and from thence into Italie, France, Spaine, and so came againe to Lisbon. So that he and Damian de Goes were in our time the most noble Portugals, that had discouered and séene most countreyes and realmes of their owne affections.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 3.

In the same yéere 1530. little more or lesse, one Francis Pisarro, which had béen in Spaine to obtaine the gouernment of Peru, turned backe againe to the citie of Panama with all things that he desired: he brought with him fower brethren, Ferdinand, Iohn, Gonzaluo, and Francis Martines de Alcantara: They were not well receiued by Diego de Almagro, and his friends; for that Pisarro had not so much commended him to the Emperour as he looked for, but omitted the discouerie, wherein he had lost one of his eies, and spent much: yet in the end they agreed, and Diegro de Almagro gaue vnto Pisarro 700. pezoes of golde, victuailes and munition, wherewith he prepared himselfe the better for his iourney.

Much gold and emeraulds.

Not long after this agréement Francis Pisarro and his brethren went in two ships with the most of their soldiers and horses; but he could not arriue at Tumbez as he was minded, and so they went on land in the riuer of Peru; and went along the coast with great paines, because there were many bogs and riuers in their way, wherein some of his men were drowned: They came to the towne of Coaché, where they rested, where they found much gold and emeraulds, of which they brake some to sée if they were perfect. From thence Pisarro sent to Diego de Almagro twentie thousand pezoes of gold to send him men, horses, munition, and victuailes; and so he went on his iourney to the hauen nàmed Porto Viejo: and thither came vnto him one Sebastian de Benalcazar, with all such things as he had sent for, which pleased and pleasured him very much.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Isle of Puna.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 5.

In the yéere 1531. he hauing this aide, passed ouer into a rich Island called Puna, where he was well receiued of the gouernour: yet at last he conspired to kil him and all his men: but Pisarro preuented him, and tooke many of the Indians, and bound them with chaines of gold and siluer. The gouernour caused those that kept his wiues to haue their noses, armes, and priuie members to be cut off, so iealous was he. Here Pisarro found aboue sixe hundred men prisoners belonging to the king Attabalipa, who waged warre against his eldest brother Guascar to winne reputation. These he set at libertie and sent them to the citie of Tombez, who promised to be a meane that he should be well receiued in those partes. But when they saw themselues out of bondage, they forgat their promise, and incited the people against the Spaniards. Then Pisarro sent three Spaniards to Tombez to treate for peace, whome they tooke and slew and sacrificed, and their priestes wept not for pitie but of custome. Pisarro hearing of this cruell fact, passed ouer to the maine, and set vpon the citie one night suddenly and killed many of them, so that they presented him with gifts of gold and siluer and other riches, and so became friends. This done, he builded a towne vpon the riuer of Cira, and called it Saint Michael of Tangarara, which was the first towne inhabited by Christians in those partes; whereof Sebastian de Benalcazar was appointed captaine. Then he searched out a good and sure hauen for his ships, and found that of Payta to be an excellent harbour.

S. Michael of Tangarara.

Payta an excellent harbour in 5. degrees to the South of the line.

In this same yéere 1531. there went one Diego de Ordas to be gouernour in the riuer of Maragnon,

Maragnon, with three ships, sixe hundred soldiers, and 35. horses. He died by the way, so that the intention came to none effect. After that in the yeere 1534. there was sent thither one Hierome Artal with 130. soldiers, yet he came not to the riuer, but peopled Saint Michael de Neueri, and other places in Paria. Also there went vnto this riuer Maragnon a Portugall gentleman named Aries Dacugna, and he had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portugals, and 130. horses. He spent much, but he that lost most was one Iohn de Barros. This riuer standeth in three degrées toward the South, hauing at the entrance of it 15. leagues of breadth and many Islands inhabited, wherein grow trées that beare incence of a greater bignes then in Arabia, gold, rich stones, and one emeraud was found there as big as the palme of a mans hand. The people of the countrey make their drinke of a kinde of dates, which are as big as quinces.

Gomara historie general. lib. 3. cap. 37.

The famous riuer Maragnon.

Iohn de Barros factor of the house of Indi.

In the yeere 1531. one Nunnez de Gusman went from the citie of Mexico towards the northwest to discouer and conquer the countreies of Xalisco, Ceintiliquipac, Ciametlan, Tualla, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places. And to doe this he caried with him 250. horses, and fiue hundred soldiers. He went through the countrey of Mechuacan, where he had much gold, ten thousand marks of siluer, and 6000. Indians to carrie burdens. He conquered many countreyes, called that of Xalisco Nueua Galicia, because it is a ragged countrey, and the people strong. He builded a citie which he called Compostella, and another named Guadalajara, because he was borne in the citie of Guadalajara in Spaine. He likewise builded the townes de Santo Espirito, de la Conception, and de San Miguel standing in 24. degrées of northerly latitude.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 16.

Nueua Galicia.

Compostella.

Guadalajara.

Santo Espirito.

De la conception.

San Miguel.

In the yeere 1532. Ferdinando Cortes sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoça vnto Acapulco 70. leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a small fleete to discouer the coast of the South sea as he had promised the Emperour. And finding two ships readie, he went into them, and sailed to the hauen of Xalisco, where he would haue taken in water and wood: but Nunnez de Gusman caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutined against him, and he put them all into one of the ships, and sent them backe into New Spaine. They wanted water, and going to take some in the bay of the Vanderas, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado sailed 200. leagues along the coast, yet did nothing woorth the writing.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 34.

In the yeere 1533. Francis Pisarro went from the citie of Tumbes to Caxamalca, where he tooke the king Attabalipa, who promised for his ransome much gold and siluer: and to accomplish it there went to the citie of Cusco standing in 17. degrées on the South side Peter de Varco, and Ferdinando de Sotto, who discouered that iourney being 200. leagues all causies of stone, and bridges was made of it, and from one iourney to another, lodgings made for the Yngas: for so they call their kings. Their armies are very great and monstrous. For they bring aboue an hundred thousand fighting men to the field. They lodge vpon these causies; and haue there prouision sufficient and necessarie, after the vse and custome of China, as it is said. Ferdinando Pisarro with some horsemen went vnto Paciacama 100. leagues from Caxamalca, and discouered that prouince: And comming backe he vnderstood how Guascar brother to Attabalipa was by his commandement killed, and how that his captaine Ruminaguy rose vp in armes with the citie of Quito. After this Attabalipa was by the commandement of Pisarro strangled.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 2. & 3.

Guascar slaine. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 12.

Attabalipa strangled.

In the yeere 1534. Francis Pisarro seeing that the two kings were gone, began to enlarge himselfe in his signiories, and to build cities, forts, and townes to haue them more in subiection. Likewise he sent Sebastian de Benalcazar the captaine of S. Michael of Tangarara against Ruminaguy vnto Quito. He had with him two hundred footemen and 80. horsemen: He went discouering and conquering 120. leagues from the one citie to the other east not farre from the Equinoctiall line: where Peter Aluarado found mountaines full of snow, and so cold, that 70. of his men were frosen to death. When he came vnto Quito, he began to inhabite it, and named it S. Francis. In this countrey there is plentie of wheate, barlie, cattell and plants of Spaine, which is very strange. Pisarro went straight

Gomara historie general. lib. 5. cap. 18.

Cruell mowe vnder the line. Gomara historie general. lib. 5. cap. 19.

to

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 16.

to the citie of Cusco, and found by the way the captaine Quisquiz risen in armes, whome shortly he defeated. About this time there came vnto him a brother of Attabalipa named Mango, whom he made Ynga or king of the countrey. Thus marching forward on his iourney after certaine skirmishes he tooke that excéeding rich and wealthie citie

Cusco taken.

of Cusco.

The bay of S. Laurence discouered.

In this same yéere 1534. a Briton called Iaques Cartier with thrée ships went to the land of Cortereális, and the Bay of Saint Laurence, otherwise called Golfo Quadrato, and fell in 48. degrées and an halfe towards the north; and so he sailed till he came vnto 51. degrées hoping to haue passed that way to China, and to bring thence drugs and other marchandise into France. The next yéere after he made another voiage into those partes, and found the countrey abounding with victuailes, houses and good habitations, with many and great riuers. He sailed in one riuer toward the southwest 300. leagues, and named the countrey thereabout Noua Francia: at length finding the water fresh he perceiued he could not passe through to the South sea, and hauing wintered in those parts, the next yéere following he returned into France.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & lib. 2. cap. 98.

In the yéere 1535. or in the beginning of the yéere 1536. Don Antonie de Mendeça came vnto the citie of Mexico as Viceroy of New Spaine. In the meane while Cortes was gone for more men to continue his discouerie, which immediately he set in hand sending foorth two ships from Tecoantepec which he had made readie. There went as captaines in them Fernando de Grijalua, and Diego Bezerra de Mendoça, and for pilots there went a Portugal named Acosta, and the other Fortunio Ximenez a Biscaine. The first night they deuided themselues. Fortunio Ximenez killed his captaine Bezerra and hurt many of his confederacie: and then he went on land to take water and wood in the Bay of Santa Cruz, but the

Plain de Santa Cruz.

Indians there slue him, and aboue 20. of his companie. Two mariners which were in the boate escaped, and went vnto Xalisco, and told Nunnez de Gusman that they had found tokens of pearles: he went into the ship, and so went to séeke the pearles: he discouered along the coast aboue 150. leagues. They said that Ferdinando de Grijalua sailed thrée hundred leagues from Tecoantepec without séeing any land, but onely one Island which he named

The Isle of S. Thomas.

The Isle of Saint Thomas, because he came vnto it on that Saints day: it standeth in 20. degrées of latitude.

Lima builded. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 82.

In this yéere 1535. Pisarro builded the citie de los Reyes vpon the riuer of Lima. The inhabitants of Xauxa went to dwell there, because it was a better countrey, standing in 12. degrées of southerly latitude. In this same yéere of 1535. he caused the citie of Truxillo

Lib. 5. cap. 22. Truxillo.

to be builded on a riuers side vpon a fruitfull soile, standing in 8. degrées on that side. He

S. Iago de Porco vieio.

built also the citie of Saint Iago in Porto Viejo: besides many others along the sea coast and within the land: where there bréede many horses, asses, mules, kine, hogs, goates, shéepe, and other beasts; also trées and plants, but principally rosemary, oranges, limons, citrons, and other sower fruits, vines, wheate, barlie, and other graines, radishes and other kinde of herbage and fruits brought out of Spaine thither to be sowne and planted.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 24. Chili.

In the same yéere 1535. one Diego de Almagro went from the citie of Cusco to the prouinces of Arequipa and Chili, reaching beyond Cusco towards the South vnto 30. degrées. This voiage was long, and he discouered much land, suffering great hunger, cold, and other extremities, by reason of the abundance of ice, which stoppeth the running of the riuers; so that men and horses die in those parts of the colde. About this time Ferdinando Pisarro came out of Spaine to the citie de los Reyes, and brought with him the title of Marquisate of Atanillos for his brother Francis Pisarro, & vnto Diego de Almagro he brought the go-

Lib. 5. cap. 25.

uernment of 100. leagues ouer and besides that which was discouered, and named it The New kingdome of Toledo. Ferdinando Pisarro went straight to the citie of Cusco: and one

Lib. 5. cap. 27.

Iohn de Rada went to Almagro into Chili with the Emperours patents.

Diego de Almagro hauing receiued the letters patents which the Emperour had sent him, went straight from Chili vnto Cusco, to haue it séeing it did appertaine vnto him. Which was the cause of a ciuill warre. They were mightily oppressed with want of victuailes and other

other things in this their returne, and were enforced to eate the horses, which had died fower moneths and a halfe before, when they passed that way.

In this same yéere 1535. Nunnez Dacuña being gouernour of India, while he was making a fortresse at the citie of Diu he sent a fléete to the riuer of Indus, being frō thence 90. or 100. leagues towards ♄ north vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. The Captaines name was Vasques Perez de San Paio: also he sent another armie against Badu the king of Cambaia, the captaine whereof was Cosesofar a renegado. They came to the barre of that mighty riuer in the moneth of December, of the water whereof they found such trial as Quintus Curtius writeth of it, when Alexander came thither. The fortresse of Diu. Badu king of Cambaia.

In this yéere 1535. one Simon de Alcazaua went from Siuill with two ships and 240. Spaniards in them. Some say they went to New Spaine, others that they went to Maluco, but others also say to China, where they had béene with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. Howsoeuer it was, they went first vnto the Canaries, and from thence to the streight of Magelan, without touching at the land of Brasill or any part at all of that coast. They entred into the streight in the moneth of December with contrarie windes and cold weather. The soldiers would haue had him turne backe againe, but he would not. He went into an hauen on the South side in 53. degrées: There the captaine Simon of Alcazaua commanded Roderigo de Isla with 60. Spanyards to goe and discouer land: but they rose vp against him and killed him, and appointed such captaines and officers as pleased them, and returned. Comming thwart of Brasil they lost one of their ships vpon the coast, and the Spanyards that escaped drowning were eaten by the Sauages. The other ship went to Saint Iago in Hispaniola, and from thence to Siuill in Spaine. Gomarabiog. gen. lib. 4. cap. 23.

In this same yéere 1535. Don Pedro de Mendoça went from Cadiz towards the riuer of Plate with twelue ships, and had with him two thousand men: which was the greatest number of ships and men, that euer any captaine carried into the Indies. He died by the way returning homewards. The most part of his men remained in that riuer, and builded a great towne containing now two thousand houses, wherein great store of Indians dwell with the Spanyards. They discouered and conquered the countrey till they came to the mines of Potossi and to the towne La Plata, which is 500. leagues distant from them. Gomara historie general. lib. 3. cap. 29. The riuer of Plata runneth vp to Potossi. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 74. & 98.

In the yéere 1536. Cortes vnderstanding that his ship wherein Fortunio Ximenez was pilote was seazed on by Nunnez de Guzman, he sent foorth thrée ships to the place where Guzman was, and he himselfe went by land well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought all spoiled and rifled. When his thrée other ships were come about, he went aboord himselfe with the most part of his men and horses, leauing for captaine of those which remained on land one Andrew de Tapia. So he set saile, and comming to a point the first day of May he called it Saint Philip, and an Island that lieth fast by it he called Sant Iago. Within three daies after he came into the bay where the pilot Fortunio Ximenez was killed, which he called La plaia de Santa Cruz, where he went on land, and commanded Andrew de Tapia to discouer. Cortes tooke shipping againe and came to the riuer now called Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo, where by a tempest the ships were separated, one was driuen to the bay de Santa Cruz, another to the riuer of Guajaual, and the third was driuen on shore hard by Xalisco, and the men thereof went by land to Mexico. Saint Iago Isle. La plaia de Santa Cruz. Rio de S. Pedro y Paulo. Guajaual Rio.

Cortes long expected his two ships that he wanted: but they not comming he hoised saile & entred into the Gulfe now called Mar de Cortes, Mar Vermejo, or the Gulfe of California, and shot himselfe 50. leagues within it: where he espied a ship at anker & sailing towards her he had béene lost, if that ship had not succored him. But hauing graued his ship, he departed with both the ships from thence. Hée bought victuals at a déere rate at Saint Michael of Culhuacan; and from thence he went to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where hée heard that Don Antonio de Mendoça was come out of Spaine to be Viceroy. He therefore left to be captaine of his men one Francis de Vlloa, to send him certaine ships to discouer that coast. While he was at Acapulco messengers came vnto him from Don Antonio de Mendoça the Viceroy, to certifie him of his arriuall: and also he sent him the coppie of a letter, wherein Francis Pisarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was risen against him, and was come Mar Vermejo or the Gulfe of California. Gomara in the conquest of Mexico folio 290. 291. 292.

to the citie of Cusco with an hundred thousand fighting men, and that they had killed his brother Iohn Pisarro, and aboue 400. Spaniards and 200. horses, and he himselfe was in danger, so that he demanded succour and aide. Cortes being informed of the state of Pisarro, and of the arriuall of Don Antonio de Mendoça, because he would not as yet be at obediẽce; First he determined to sende to Maluco to discouer that way a long vnder the Equinoctial line, because The Islands of Cloues stand vnder that paralele: And for that purpose he prepared 2. ships with prouision, victuals & men, besides all other things necessarie. He gaue the charge of one of these ships to Ferdinando de Grijalua, and of the other vnto one Aluarado a Gentleman. They went first to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru to succour Francis Pisarro, and from thence to Maluco all along nẽere the line as they were commanded. And it is declared that they sailed aboue a thousand leagues without sight of land, on the one side nor yet on the other of the Equinoctiall. And in two degrées toward the north they discouered one Island named Asea, which seemeth to be one of the Islands of Cloues: 500. leagues little more or lesse as they sailed, they came to the sight of another which they named Isla de los Pescadores. Going still in this course they sawe another Island called Hayme towards the south, and another named Apia: and then they came to the sight of Seri: turning towards the north one degrée, they came to anker at another Island named Coroa, and from thence they came to another vnder the line named Meousum, and from thence vnto Bufu standing in the same course.

Asea Island.

Isla de los Pescadores.

Hayme Island.

Apia Island.

Seri.

Coroa.

Meousum.

Bufu.

The people of all these Islands are blacke, and haue their haire frisled, whom the people of Maluco do call Papuas. The most of them eate mans flesh, and are witches, so giuen to diuilishnes, that the diuels walk among them as cõpanions. If these wicked spirits do finde one alone, they kill him with cruell blowes or smoother him. Therefore they vse not to goe, but when two or thrée may be in a companie. There is héere a bird as bigge as a Crane: he flieth not, nor hath any wings wherewith to flée, he runneth on the ground like a Déere: of their small feathers they do make haire for their idols. There is also an herbe, which being washed in warme water, if the leafe thereof be laide on any member and licked with the toong, it will draw out all the blood of a mans body: and with this leafe they vse to let themselues blood.

Os Papuas.

These seeme to be like Ostriches.

From these Islands they came vnto others named the Guelles standing one degree towards the north, east, and west from the Isle Terenate, wherein the Portugals haue a fortresse: these men are haired like the people of the Malucoes. These Islands stande 124. leagues from the Island named Moro; and from Terenate betwéene 40. and 50. From whence they went to the Isle of Moro, & the Islãds of Cloues, going from the one vnto the other. But the people of the countrey would not suffer them to come on lande, saying vnto them: Go vnto the fortresse where the captain Antonie Galuano is, and we will receiue you with a good will: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence: for he was factor of the countrey, as they named him. A thing woorthie to be noted, that those of the countrey were so affectioned to the Portugals, that they would venter for them their liues, wiues, children and goods.

Guelles Islands.

Terenate.

Moro.

Molucca.

Antonie Galuano, the suther of this booke.

The case now is much altered.

In the yéere 1537. the licenciate Iohn de Vadillo gouernour of Cartagena, went out with a good armie from a porte of Vraba called Saint Sebastian de buena Vista, being in the gulfe of Vraba, and from thence to Rio verde, & from thence by land without knowing any way, nor yet hauing any carriages, they went to the end of the countrey of Peru, and to the towne La plata, by the space of 1200. leagues: a thing woorthie of memorie. For from this riuer to the mountaines of Abibe the countrey is full of hils, thicke forrests of trées, and many riuers: and for lacke of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The mountaines of Abibe as it is recorded haue 20. leagues in bredth. They must be passed ouer in Ianuarie, Februarie, March, and Aprill. And from that time forward it raineth much, and the riuers will be so greatly encreased, that you cannot passe for them. There are in those mountaines many heards of swine, many dantes, lyons, tygers, beares, ounses, and great cats, and monkeis, and mightie snakes and other such vermine. Also there be in these mountaines abundance of partridges, quailes, turtle doues, pigeons, and other

Pedro de Cieça parte primera de la Chronica del Peru cap. 9. & cap. 107.

La Plata.

The mountaines of Abibe.

other birdes and foules of sundrie sorts. Likewise in the riuers is such plentie of fish, that they did kill of them with their staues: and carrying canes and nets they affirme that a great army might be sustained that way without being distressed for want of victuals. Moreouer they declared the diuersities of the people, toongs, and apparell that they obserued in the countries, kingdomes, and prouinces which they went through, and the great trauels and dangers that they were in till they came to the towne called Villa de la Plata, and vnto the sea thereunto adioyning. This was the greatest discouerie that hath béene heard of by land, and in so short a time. And if it had not béene done in our daies, the credite thereof would haue béene doubtfull. Villa de la Plata.

In the yéere 1538. there went out of Mexico certaine friers of the order of Saint Francis towards the north to preach to the Indians the Catholicke faith. He that went farthest was one frier Marke de Nizza, who passed through Culuacan, and came to the prouince of Sibola, where he found seuen cities: and the farther he went, the richer he found the countrie of gold, siluer, precious stones, and shéepe bearing very fine wool. Vpon the fame of this welth the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoça, and Cortes, determined to send a power thither. But when they could not agrée thereupon Cortes went ouer into Spaine in the yéere 1540. where afterward he died. Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 356. Frier Marke de Nizza. Sibola.

In this yeere 1538. began the ciuil warre betweene Pisarro and Almagro, wherein at the last Almagro was taken and beheaded.

In the same yéere 1538. Antonie Galuano being chiefe captaine in the isles of Maluco sent a ship towards the north, whereof one Francis de Castro was captaine, hauing commandement to conuert as many as he could to the faith. He himselfe christened many, as the lords of the Celebes, Macasares, Amboynos, Moros, Moratax, and diuers other places. When Francis de Castro arriued at the Island of Mindanao, sixe kings receiued the water of Baptisme, with their wiues, children and subiects: and the most of them Antonie Galuano gaue commandement to be called by the name of Iohn, in remembrance that king Iohn the third raigned then in Portugall. Gomara hist gen. lib. 5. cap. 54. Antonie Galuano chiefe captaine of Maluco author of this worke.

The Portugals and Spaniards which haue béene in these Islands affirme, that there be certaine hogs in them, which besides the téeth which they haue in their mouthes, haue other two growing out of their snouts, and as many behinde their eares of a large span and an halfe in length. Likewise they say there is a trée, the one halfe whereof, which standeth towards the east is a good medicine against all poyson, & the other side of the trée which standeth toward the west is very poison; and the fruite on that side is like a bigge pease; and there is made of it the strongest poyson that is in all the world. Also they report that there is there another trée, the fruite whereof whosoeuer doth eate, shall be twelue houres besides himselfe, and when he commeth againe vnto himselfe he shall not remember what he did in the time of his madnes. Moreouer there are certaine crabs of the land, whereof whosoeuer doth eate shall be a certaine space out of his wits. Likewise the countrey people declare that there is a stone in these Islands whereon whosoeuer sitteth shall be broken in his bodie. It is farther to be noted, that the people of these Islands do gild their téeth.

In the yéere 1539. Cortes sent thrée ships with Francis Vlloa to discouer the coast of Culuacan northward. They went from Acapulco, and touched at S. Iago de buena sperança, and entred into the gulfe that Cortes had discouered, and sailed till they came in 32. degrées, which is almost the farthest end of that gulfe, which place they named Ancon de Sant Andres, because they came thither on that saints daie: Then they came out a long the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of California and entred in betwéene certaine Islands and the point and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32 degrées, from whence they returned to newe Spaine, enforced thereunto by contrarie windes and want of victuals; hauing béene out about a yéere. Cortes according to his account, spent 200000. ducates in these discoueries. Gomara hist gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 339. The bottome of the gulfe of California discouered. California doubled.

From Cabo del Enganno to another cape called Cabo de Liampo in China there are 1000. or 1200. leagues sayling. Cortes and his captaines discouered new Spaine, from 12. degrées to 32. from south to the north, being 700. leagues, finding it more warme then cold, although Cabo del Enganno. The distance betweene America and China in 32. degrees is 1000. leagues.

Gonsa. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17. although snow do lie vpon certaine mountaines most part of the yéere. In new Spaine there be many trées, flowers and fruits of diuers sorts and profitable for many things. The principall trée is named Metl. It groweth not very high nor thicke. They plant and dresse it as we do our vines. They say it hath fortie kinde of leaues like wouen clothes, which serue for many vses. When they be tender, they make conserues of them, paper, and a thing like vnto flaxe: they make of it mantles, mats, shooes, girdles, and cordage. These trées haue certaine prickles so strong and sharpe, that they sewe with them. The roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make excellent good lie. They open the earth from the roote and scrape it, and the iuice which commeth out is like a sirrupe. If you do séeth it, it will become honie; if you purifie it it will be sugar. Also you may make wine and vineger thereof. It beareth the Coco. The rinde rosted and crushed vpon sores and hurts healeth and cureth. The iuice of the tops and roots mingled with incense are good against poyson, and the biting of a viper. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable trée knowne to growe in those parts.

Metl an excellent tree.

Also there be there certaine small birds named Vicmalim, their bill is small and long. They liue of the dewe, and the iuice of flowers and roses. Their feathers be verie small and of diuers colours. They be greatly estéemed to worke golde with. They die or sléepe euerie yéere in the moneth of October sitting vpon a little bough in a warme and close place: they reuiue or wake againe in the moneth of Aprill after that the flowers be sprung, and therefore they call them the reuiued birds.

The reuiued birds.

Likewise there be snakes in these parts, which sound as though they had bels when they créepe. There be other which engender at the mouth, euen as they report of the viper. There be hogges which haue a nauell on the ridge of their backs, which as soone as they be killed and cut out, will by and by corrupt and stinke.

Besides these there be certaine fishes which make a noyse like vnto hogs, and will snort, for which cause they be named snorters.

Snorting fishes.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 35. Chili.

In the yéere 1538. and 1539. after that Diego de Almagro was beheaded, the Marques Francis Pisarro was not idle. For he sent straight one Peter de Baldiuia with a good companie of men to discouer and conquere the countrey of Chili. He was wel receiued of those of the countrey, but afterwards they rose against him and would haue killed him by treason. Yet for all the warre that he had with them, he discouered much land, and the coast of the sea toward the southeast, till he came into 40. degrées and more in latitude. While he was in these discoueries he heard newes of a king called Leucengolma, which commonly brought to the field two hundred thousand fighting men against another king his neighbour, and that this Leucengolma had an Island, and a tempie therein with two thousand priestes: and that beyond them were the Amazones, whose Quéene was called Guanomilla, that is to say, The golden heauen. But as yet there are none of these things discouered. About this time Gomez de Aluarado went to conquer the prouince of Guanuco: and Francis de Chauez went to subdue the Conchincos, which troubled the towne of Truxillo, and the countreys adioyning. Peter de Vergara went to the Bracamores, a people dwelling toward the north from Quito. Iohn Perez de Vergara went against the Ciaciapoians: Alfonsus de Mercadiglio went vnto Mulubamba. Ferdinando and Gonzaluo Pisarros went to subdue Collao, a countrey very rich in gold. Peter de Candia went to the lower part of Collao. Peranzures also went to conquer the said countrey. And thus the Spanyards dispersed themselues, and conquered aboue seuen hundred leagues of countrey in a very short space, though not without great trauailes and losse of men.

This might be the temple in the lake of Titicaca. Ciaça cap. 103.

The countreyes of Brasill and Peru stand east and west almost 800. leagues distant. The néerest is from the Cape of Saint Augustine vnto the hauen of Truxillo: for they stand both almost in one parallele and latitude. And the farthest is 950. leagues, reckoning from the riuer of Peru to the streits of Magellan, which places lie directly north & south, through which country passe certaine mountaines named the Andes, which diuide Brasill from the empire of the Ingas. After this maner the mountaines of Taurus and Imaus diuide Asia into two parts: which mountaines begin in 36. and 37. degrées of northerly latitude at the end of

The mountaines of Andes.

the

the Mediterran sea ouer against the Isles of Rhodes and Cyprus, running still towards the East vnto the sea of China. And so likewise the mountaines of Atlas in Africa diuide the tawnie Moores from the blacke Moores which haue frisled haire, beginning at mount Meies about the desert of Barca, and running along vnder the Tropicke of Cancer vnto the Atlanticke Ocean.

The mountains of the Andes be high, ragged, and in some places barren without trées or grasse, whereon it raineth and snoweth most commonly. Vpon them are windes and sudden blastes; there is likewise such scarcitie of wood, that they make fire of turffes, as they do in Flanders. In some places of these mountaines and countries the earth is of diuers colours, as blacke, white, red, gréene, blew, yellow, and violet, wherewith they die colours without any other mixture. From the bottomes of these mountaines spring many small and great riuers, principally from the east side, as appéereth by the riuers of the Amazones, of S. Francis, of Plata, and many others which runne through the countrey of Brasil, being larger then those of Peru, or those of Castilia del oro. There grow on these mountaines many turneps, rapes, and other such like rootes and herbes. One there is like vnto Aipo or Rue which beareth a yellow flower, and healeth all kinde of rotten sores, and if you apply it vnto whole and cleane flesh it will eate it vnto the bone: so that it is good for the vnsound and naught for the whole. Earth of diuers colours good to dy withall.

They say there be in these mountains tigers, lions, beares, woolues, wilde cats, foxes, Dantes, Ounces, hogs and déere: birdes as well rauenous as others, and the most part of them are blacke, as vnder the North both beasts & birdes be white. Also there be great & terrible snakes which destroied a whole armie of the Ingas passing that way, yet they say that an olde woman did inchant them in such sort that they became so gentle, that a man might sit vpon one of them. The countrey of Peru adioining vnto the mountaines of Andes westward toward the sea, and containing 15. or 20. leagues in bredth is all of very hot sand, yet fresh, bringing foorth many good trées and fruites because it is well watered: where there growe abundance of flags, rushes, herbes, and trées so slender and loose, that laying your hands vpon them the leaues will fall off. And among these herbes and fresh flowers the men and women liue and abide without any houses or bedding, euen as the cattell doe in the fields: and some of them haue tailes. They be grosse, and weare long haire. They haue no beards, yet haue they diuers languages.

Those which liue on the tops of these mountains of Andes betwéene the cold and the heate for the most part be blinde of one eie, and some altogether blinde, and scarce you shall finde two men of them together, but one of them is halfe blinde. Also there groweth in these fields, notwithstanding the great heate of the sand good Maiz, and Potatos, and an herbe which they name Coca, which they carrie continually in their mouthes (as in the East India they vse another herbe named Betele) which also (they say) satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also there are other kindes of graines and rootes whereon they féede. Moreouer there is plentie of wheate, barly, millet, vines, and fruitful trées, which are brought out of Spaine and planted there. For all these things prooue well in this countrey, because it is so commodiously watered. An herbe named Coca which satisfieth hunger and thirst.

Also they sow much cotton wooll, which of nature is white, red, blacke, gréene, yellow, orange tawnie, and of diuers other colours.

Likewise they affirme, that from Tumbez southward it doth neither raine, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of fiue hundred leagues of land: but at some times there falleth some little shower. Also it is reported, that from Tumbez to Chili there breede no peacocks, hennes, cocks, nor eagles, falcons, haukes, kites, nor any other kinde of rauening fowles, and yet there are of them in all other regions and countreies: but there are many duckes, géese, herons, pigeons, partriges, quailes, and many other kindes of birdes. There are also a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto a ducke which hath no wings to flie withall, but it hath fine thinne feathers which couer all the body. Likewise there are bitters that make war with the seale or sea wolfe: for finding them out of the water they will labour to picke out their eies, that they may not sée to get to the water againe, and then they doe kill them.

They

They say it is a pleasant sight to behold the fight betwéene the said bitters and seales. With the beards of these seales men make cleane their téeth, because they be wholesome for the toothach. There are certaine beastes which those of the countrey call Xacos, and the Spanyards shéepe, because they beare wooll like vnto a shéepe, but are made much like vnto a déere, hauing a saddle backe like vnto a camell. They will carrie the burthen of 100. weight. The Spanyards ride vpon them, and when they be wearie they will turne their heads backward, and void out of their mouthes a woonderful stinking water.

Xacos a kinde of great sheepe that men ride vpon.

From the riuer of Plata and Lima southward there bréede no crocodiles nor lizards, no snakes, nor any kinde of venemous vermine, but great store of good fishes bréede in those riuers. On the coast of Saint Michael in The South sea there are many rocks of salt couered with egges. On the point of Saint Helena are certaine Well springs which cast foorth a liquor, that serueth in stead of pitch and tarre. They say that in Chili there is a fountaine, the water whereof will conuert wood into stone. In the hauen of Truxillo there is a lake of fresh water, and the bottome thereof is of good hard salt. In the Andes beyond Xauxa there is a riuer of fresh water, in the bottome whereof there lieth white salt. Also they affirme by the report of those of the countrey, that there haue dwelt giants in Peru, of whose statures they found in Porto viejo, and in the hauen of Truxillo, bones and iawes with téeth, which were thrée and fower fingers long.

Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 363.

In the yéere 1540. the captaine Ferdinando Alorchon went by the commandement of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça with two ships to discouer the bottome of the gulfe of California, and diuers other countries.

In this yéere 1540. Gonsaluo Pisarro went out of the citie of Quito to discouer the countrey of Canell or Cinamome, a thing of great fame in that countrey. He had with him two hundred Spanyards horsemen and footemen, and thrée hundred Indians to carrie burthens. He went forward til he came to Guixos, which is the farthest place gouerned by the Ingas: where there happened a great earthquake with raine and lightning, which sunke 70. houses. They passed ouer cold and snowie hils, where they found many Indians frozen to death, maruelling much of the great snowe that they found vnder the Equinoctiall line. From hence they went to a prouince called Cumaco, where they tarried two monethes because it rained continually. And beyond they sawe the Cinamome trées, which be very great, the leaues thereof resembling bay leeues, both leaues, branches, rootes, and all tasting of Cinamome. The rootes haue the whole taste of Cinamome. But the best are certaine knops like vnto Alcornoques or acornes, which are good marchandise. It appéereth to be wilde Cinamome, and there is much of it in the East Indies, and in the Islands of Iaoa or Iaua.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 36.

Cumaco.

Cinamom trees.

Wild Cinamom in the Islands of Iaua.

From hence they went to the prouince and citie of Coca, where they rested fifty daies. From that place forwards they trauailed along by a riuers side being 60. leagues long, without finding of any bridge, nor yet any foorde to passe ouer to the other side. They found one place of this riuer, where it had a fall of 200. fathoms déepe, where the water made such a noise, that it would make a man almost deafe to stand by it. And not far beneath this fall, they say they found a chanell of stone very smooth, of two hundred foote broad, and the riuer runneth by: and there they made a bridge to passe ouer on the other side, where they went to a countrey called Guema, which was so poore, that they could get nothing to eate but onely fruits and herbes. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certaine clothing made of cotton wooll, where they made a brigandine, &. there they found also certaine Canoas, wherein they put their sicke men, and their treasure and best apparell, giuing the charge of them to one Francis de Orellana: and Gonsaluo Pizarro went by land with the rest of the companie along by the riuers side, and at night went into the boates, and they trauailed in this order two hundred leagues as it appeereth. When Pizarro came to the place where he thought to finde the brigandine and Canoas, and could haue no sight of them nor yet heare of them, he thought himselfe out of all hope, because he was in a strange countrey without victuales, clothing, or any thing else: wherefore they were faine to eate their horses, yea and dogs also, because the countrey was poore and barren, and the iourney long, to goe to Quito. Yet notwithstanding taking a good hart to themselues

Coca.

El ponge, a mighty fall of a riuer.

Guema.

themselues they went on forwards in their iourney, trauailing continually 18. mouethes, and it is reported, that they went almost 5. hundred leagues, wherein they did neither sée sunne nor any thing else whereby they might be comforted, wherefore of two hundred men which went foorth at the first, there returned not backe past ten vnto Quito, and these so weake, ragged, and disfigured that they knew them not. Orellana went fiue hundred or sixe hundred leagues downe the riuer, séeing diuers countreyes and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to be Amazones. He came into Castile, excusing himselfe, that the water and streames draue him downe perforce. This riuer is named The riuer of Orellana, & other name it the riuer of the Amazones, because there be women there which liue like vnto them. Rio de Orellana.

In the yéere 1540. Cortes went with his wife into Spaine where he died of a disease seuen yéeres after.

In the yéere 1541. it is recorded that Don Stephan de Gama gouernour of India sailed toward the streit of Mecca. He came with al his fléete vnto an anker in the Island of Maçua, and from thence vpwards in small shipping he went along the coast of the Abassins and Ethiopia, till he came to the Island of Suachen, standing in 20. degrées towardes the north, and from thence to the hauen of Cossir, standing in 27. degrées, and so he crossed ouer to the citie of Toro standing on the shore of Arabia, and along by it he went vnto Suez, which is the farthest ende of the streit, and so he turned backe the same way, leauing that countrey and coast discouered so far as neuer any other Portugall captaine had done, although Lopez Suarez gouernour of India went to the hauen of Iuda, and the hauen of Mecca standing on the coast of Arabia in 23. degrées of latitude, and 150. leagues from the mouth of the streit. Don Stephan de Gama crossing ouer from Cossir to the citie of Toro, as it is reported found an Island of Brimstone, which was dispeopled by the hand of Mahumet, wherein many crabs doe bréede, which increase nature: wherefore they be greatly estéemed of such as are vnchaste. Also they say that there are in this streit many roses which open when women are in their labour. Maçua. Suachen. Cossir. Toro. Suez. An Island of brimstone in the Red sea.

Iohn Leo writeth in the very end of his Geographie which he made of Africa, that there is in the mountaines of Atlas a roote called Surnag, ouer which if a maid chance to make water shée shall léese her virginitie.

In the same yéere 1541. Don Diego de Almagro killed the Marques Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Martinez of Alcantara in the citie de los Reyes, otherwise called Lima, and made himselfe gouernour of that countrey.

In the yéere 1540. the Viceroy Don Antony de Mendoza sent one Francis Vasquez de Coronado by land vnto the prouince of Sibola, with an armie of Spaniards and Indians. They went out of Mexico, and came to Culuacan, and from thence to Sibola, which standeth in 30. degrées of latitude. They required peace with the people and some victuals, being thereof destitute. But they answered that they vsed not to giue any thing to those that came vnto them in warlike manner. So the Spaniards assalted the towne and tooke it, and called it Nueua Granada, because the generall himselfe was borne in Granada. The soldiers found themselues deceiued by the words of the Friers, which had béene in those parts before; and because they woulde not returne backe to Mexico againe with emptie hands, they went to the towne of Acuco, where they had knowledge of Axa and Quiuira, where there was a king very rich, that did worship a crosse of golde, and the picture of the quéene of Heauen. They indured many extremities in this iourney, and the Indians fled away from them, and in one morning they found thirtie of their horses dead. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which was two hundred leagues off, according to their account, passing all through a plaine countrey, and making by the way certaine hillocks of cowe dung, because thereby they might not loose their way in their returne. They had there baile-stones as bigge as Oranges. Now when they were come to Quiuira, they found the king called Tatarrax, which they sought for, with a iewell of copper hanging about his necke, which was all his riches. They saw neither any crosse, nor any image of the quéene of Heauen, nor any other token of Christian religion. It is written of this countrey that it is but smally inhabited, principally Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17. Sibola. Acuco. Cicuic. Quiuira. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 18. & 19.

pally in the plaine and champion places, because the men and women goe in herds with their cattell, whereof they haue great plentie, euen as the Arabians do in Barbarie, and they remooue from place to place, euen as the season serueth, and the pastures to fēede their cattle. In these parts are certaine beasts almost as bigge as horses, they haue very great hornes, and they beare wooll like vnto shéepe, and so the Spaniards call them. They haue abundance of oxen verie monstrous, being camel backed, and hauing long beards, and on their necke long manes like vnto horses. They liue with eating of these oxen and drinking of their blood, and apparell themselues with the skins of the same. The most part of the flesh that they do eate is rawe, or euill rosted, for they lacke pots to séeth it in. They cut their meat with certaine kniues made of flint stone. Their fruite are damsons, hasel-nuts, walnuts, melons, grapes, pines, and mulberies. There be dogges so bigge, that one of them alone will hold a bull, though he be neuer so wilde. When they remooue, these dogs do carrie their children, wiues, and stuffe vpon their backes, and they are able to carrie fiftie pound waight. I passe ouer many things, because the order which I follow will not permit me to be long.

Sheepe as big as horses.

Dogs carrying 50 pound waight on their backs.

In the yéere of our Lord 1542. one Diego de Freitas being in the realme of Siam, and in citie of Dodra as captaine of a ship, there fled from him thrée Portugals in a Iunco (which is a kind of ship) towards China. Their names were Antony de Mota, Francis Zeimoro, and Antony Pexoto, directing their course to the citie of Liampo, standing in 30. and odde degrées of latitude. There fell vpon their sterne such a storme, that it set them off the land, and in fewe daies they sawe an Island towards the east standing in 32. degrées, which they do name Iapan, which seemeth to be the Isle of Zipangri, whereof Paulus Venetus maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this Island of Iapan hath gold, siluer, and other riches.

Iapan discouered by chance.

In this yéere 1542. Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy of Nueua Spagna, sent his captaines and pilots to discouer the coast of Cape del Enganno, where a fléete of Cortez had béen before. They sailed till they came to a place called Sierras Neuadas, or The snowie mountaines, standing in 40. degrées toward the north, where they saw ships with merchandises, which carried on their stems the images of certaine birdes called Alcatrarzi, and had the yards of their sailes gilded, and their prowesse laid ouer with siluer. They seemed to be of the Isles of Iapan, or of China; for they said that it was not aboue thirtie daies sailing vnto their countrey.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 18.

In the same yéere 1542. Don Antony de Mendoça sent vnto the Islands of Mindanao a fléete of sixe ships with fower hundred soldiers, and as many Indians of the countrey, the generall whereof was one Ruí Lopez de villa Lobos, being his brother in law and a man in great estimation. They set saile from the hauen of Natiuidad standing in 20. degrées towards the north, vpon All Saints éeue, and shaped their course towards the west. They had sight of the Island of S. Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalua had discouered, and beyond in 17. degrées they had sight of another Island which they named La Nublada, that is, The cloudie Island. From thence they went to another Island named Roca partida, that is, The clouen Rocke. The 3. of December they found certaine Baxos or flates of sixe or seuen fathoms déepe. The 15. of the same moneth they had sight of the Islands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Aluaro de Saauedra had discouered, and named them Los Reyes, because they came vnto them on Twelfe day. And beyond them they found other Islands in 10. degrées all standing round, and in the midst of them they came to an anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 13. Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 375. pag. 2.

Saint Thomas.

La Nublada.

Roca Partida.

Baxos.

Los Reyes.

In the same yéere 1542. Don Diego de Almagro was slaine in Peru by the hands of one Don Vaca de Castro.

In the yéere 1543. in Ianuarie they departed from the foresaid Islands with all the fléete, and had sight of certaine Islands, out of which there came vnto them men in a certaine kinde of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish toong saying, Buenas dias, Matelotes, that is to say, Good morrow, companions; whereat the Spaniards much marueiled, being then so farre out of Spaine, to sée the men of that countrey with

with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the Spanish toong, and they seemed in their behauiour to incline somewhat to our Catholique faith. The Spaniards not knowing, that many thereabout had beene Christened by Francis de Castro, at the commandement of Antony Galuano, some of them named these Islands, Islas de las cruzes, and others named them Islas de los Mateletes.

The Iles of Mateletes.

In the same yeere 1543. the first of February Rui Lopez had sight of that noble Island Mindanao standing in 9. degrées: they could not double it nor yet come to an ancre as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, hauing giuen their obedience to Antonie Galuano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were fiue or sixe kings that had receiued baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. Rui Lopez perceiuing this, and hauing a contrary winde, sailed along the coast to finde some aide; and in 4. or 5. degrées he found a small Island which they of the countrey call Sarangam, which they tooke perforce, and in memory of the vizeroy who had sent them thither they named it Antonia, where they remained a whole yeere, in which time there fell out things worthie to be written; but because there are more histories that intreat of the same I leaue them, meaning to medle with the discoueries onely.

Mindanao.

Sarangam.

In the same yeere 1543. and in the moneth of August the generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la Torre in a smal ship into new Spaine, to acquaint the vizeroy don Antonio de Mendoça with all things. They went to the Island of Siria, Gaonata, Bisaia, and many others, standing in 11. and 12. degrées towards the north, where Magellan had béene, and Francis de Castro also, who there baptized many, and the Spaniards called thē Philippinas in memory of the prince of Spaine. Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoised sailes, they sailed for certaine daies with a fore-winde, till it came vpon the skanting, and came right vnder the tropique of Cancer. The 25 of September they had sight of certaine Islands, which they named Malabrigos, that is to say, The euil roads. Beyond them they discouered Las dos Hermanas, that is The two sisters. And beyond them also they saw 4. islands more, which they called los Volcanes. The second of October they had sight of Farfana, beyond which there standeth an high pointed rock, which casteth out fire at 5. places. So saying in 16. degrées of northerly latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth wanting winde, they arriued againe at the Islands of the Philippinas. They had sight of 6. or 7. Islands more, but they ankered not at them. They found also an Archepelagus of Islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15. or 16. degrées: the people be white, and the weomen well proportioned, and more beautifull and better arraied than in any other place of those parts, hauing many iewels of gold, which was a token, that there was some of that metal in the same countrie. Here were also barkes of 43. cubits in length, and 2. fathomes and a halfe in bredth, and the plankes 5. inches thicke, which barkes were rowed with oares. They told the Spaniards, that they vsed to saile in them to China, and that if they would go thither they should haue pilots to conduct them, the countrie not being aboue 5. or 6. daies sayling from thence. There came vnto them also certaine barkes or boates handsomely decked, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and vnderneath were very blacke moores with frizled haire: and being demanded where they had these black moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine Islands standing fast by Sebut, where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much marualled at, because from thence it was aboue 300. leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally-borne in that climate, but that they be in certaine places scattered ouer the whole circuite of the world. For euen so they be in the Islands of Nicobar and Andeman, which stand in the gulfe of Bengala, and from thence by the space of 500. leagues we doe not know of any blacke people. Also Vasco Nunez de Valboa declareth that as he went to discouer The South sea, in a certaine land named Quareca he found black people with frizled haire, whereas there were neuer any other found either in Noua Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

The relation of Iohn Gaetan in the first vol. of Ramusius fol. 376.

The Philippinas.

Malabrigos.

Las dos Hermanas.

Los Volcanes.

La Farfana.

Site or seuen Islands more.

An Archipelagus of Islands.

Pilots for China.

In the yeere 1544. Don Gutierre de Vargas bishop of Placenza sent a fleet from the city of Siuil vnto the streits of Magellan: which is reported to haue béene done by the counsel of

Gomara hist. gen. Ind. 4. cap. 14.

the vizeroy Don Antonie de Mendoça his cousin. Some suspected, that they went to Maluco, others to China, others, that they went onely to discouer the land betwixt the streite and the land of Peru on the other side of Chili, because it was reported to be very rich in gold and siluer. But this fléete by reason of contrary windes could not passe the streit, yet one small barke passed the same, and sailed along the coast, and discouered all the land, till he came vnto Chirimai, and Arequipa, which was aboue 500. leagues, for the rest was alreadie discouered by Diego de Almagro, and Francis Pizarro, and their captaines and people at diuers times. By this it appéereth, that from The streit of the Equinoctial line on both sides is wholy discouered.

The Ile of Moro.

In the yéere 1545. & in the moneth of Ianuarie Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo with the Castilians came to the Island of Moro, and the citie of Camafo, where they were well receiued of the kings of Gilolo and Tidóre, and of the people of the countrey (because Antony Galuano was gone) and put the Captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appéered by those things which passed betwéene him and the Portugals, and the great expences whereunto he put the fortresse.

Antonie Galuano gon out of the Maluccs.

In the same yéere 1545. Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Island of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the south side of the line, wherein was captaine one Inigo Ortez de Rotha, and for pilot one Iaspar Rico. They sailed to the coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saauedra had béene there before, they chalenged the honor and fame of that discouerie. And because the people there were blacke and had frisled haire, they named it Nueua Guinea. For the memorie of Saauedra as then was almost lost. As all things else do fall into oblíuion, which are not recorded and illustrated by writing.

Os Papuas.

Nueua Guinea.

In this yéere 1545. and in the moneth of Iune, there went a Iunk from the citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo, and by contrary windes he was driuen towards the north; where he founde an Island standing in 9. or 10. degrées, that stretched it selfe to 22. degrées of latitude, which is called The Isle of the Luçones, because the inhabitants thereof were so named. It may haue some other name and harborowes, which as yet we know not: it runneth from the north vnto the southwest, and standeth betwéene Mindanao and China. They say they sailed along by it 250. leagues, where the land was fruitfull and well couered, and they affirme, that there they will giue two Pezos of gold for one of siluer: and yet it standeth not farre from the countrey of China.

The Isle of Luçones.

Siluer more esteemed then gold.

In the yéere 1553. there went out of England certaine shipping, and as it appéered they sailed northward along the coast of Norway and Finmark, and from thence east, till they came betwéene 70. and 80. degrées vnto Moscouie, for so far one of the ships went: but I know not what became of the rest: & this was the last discouerie made vntil this time. From this lande of Moscouie eastward you saile vnto Tartary, and at the farther end of it standeth the countrey and prouince of China. It is said that betwéene China and Tartary there is a wall aboue 200. leagues in length, standing néere vnto 50. degrées of latitude.

Moscouie discouered by sea, by the English.

Now I gather by all the precedent discoueries, that the whole earth is in circuite 360. degrées according to the Geometrie thereof: and to euery degrée the ancient writers allow 17. leagues & a halfe, which amount vnto 6300. leagues yet I take it that euery degrée is iust 17. leagues. Howsoeuer it be, all is discouered and sailed from the east vnto the west almost euen as the sunne compásseth it: but from the south to the north there is great difference; for towardes the north pole there is found discouered no more than 77. or 78. degrées, which come to 1386. leagues: and towards the south pole there is discouered from the Equinoctial to 52. or 53. degrees, that is, to the streit which Magellan passed through, which amounted to about 900. leagues; and putting both these saide maine sums togither, they amount to 2226. leagues. Now take so many out of 6300. leagues, there remaineth as yet vndiscouered north and south aboue the space of 4000. leagues.

THE

THE

Worldes Hydrographical Discription.

WHEREIN IS PROVED

NOT ONELY BY AUCTHORITIE OF WRITERS,

BUT ALSO

BY LATE EXPERIENCE OF TRAUELLERS

AND

REASONS OF SUBSTANTIALL PROBABILITIE,

THAT

THE WORLDE IN ALL HIS ZONES, CLYMATS AND PLACES,
IS HABITABLE AND INHABITED, AND THE SEAS LIKEWISE VNIUERSALLY NAUIGABLE
WITHOUT ANY NATURALL ANOYANCE TO HINDER THE SAME

WHEREBY APPEARES

THAT FROM ENGLAND THERE IS A SHORT AND SPEEDIE PASSAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS,
TO CHINA, MOLUCCA, PHILIPPINA, AND INDIA, BY NORTHERLY NAUIGATION
TO THE RENOWNE, HONOUR AND BENIFIT
OF HER MAIESTIES STATE, AND COMMUNALTY.

PUBLISHED BY

J. DAUIS OF SANDRUDG BY DARTMOUTH
IN THE COUNTIE OF DEUON. GENTLEMAN.

ANNO 1595. MAY 27.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON

BY THOMAS DAWSON

DWELLING AT THE THREE CRANES IN THE VINETREE.

AND ARE THERE TO BE SOLD.

1595.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

Lordes of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Counsayle.

MY most honorable good Lords for as much as it hath pleased God, not only to bestow vpon your Lordships, the excellent gifts of natures benefite, but hath also beutified the same with such speciall ornamentes of perfection: As that thereby the mindes and attentiue industrie of all, haue no small regard vnto your honorable proceedings. And so much the rather, because to the great content of all her maiesties most louing subiectes, it hath pleased her highnes in her stately regard of gouernment, to make choise of your honours as speciall members in the regall disposition of the mightinesse of her imperiall command: Emboldeneth me among the rest to humble my selfe at your honorable feete, in presenting vnto the fauour of your excellent iudgementes this short treatise of the Worldes Hydrographicall bands. And knowing that not onely your renowned places, but also the singularitie of your education, by the prudent care of your noble progeniters hath and still doth induce and drawe you to fauour and imbrace whatsoeuer beareth but a seeming of the commonweales good: Much more then that which in substantiall truth shal be most beneficiall to the same. I am therefore the more encouraged not to slacke this my enterprise, because that through your honorable assistance when in the ballance of your wisdomes this discouery shall haue indifferent consideration, I knowe it will be ordered by you to bee a matter of no small moment to the good of our countrie. For thereby wee shall not onely haue a copious and rich vent for al our naturall and artificiall comodities of England, in short time by safe passage, and without offence of any, but also shall by the first imployment retourne into our countrey by spedie passage, all Indian commodities in the ripenes of their perfection, whereby her Maiesties dominions should bee the storehouse of Europe, the nurse of the world and the glory of nations, in yielding all forrayne naturall benefites by an easie rate: In communicating vnto all whatsoeuer God hath vnto any one assigned: And by the increase of all nations through the mightinesse of trade. Then should the merchant, tradesman, and poore artificer, haue imployment equall to their power and expedition, whereby what notable benefites would growe to her Maiestie, the state, and communaltie, I refer to your perfect iudgementes. And for that I am desirous to auoyde the contradiction of vulgar conceipts, I haue thought it my best course, before I make profe of the certaintie of this discouerie, to lay downe whatsoeuer may against the same be obiected, and in the ouerthrowe of those conceipted hinderances the safenes of the passage shall most manifestly appeare, which when your wisdomes, shall with your patience peruse, I doe in no sort distruct your fauorable acceptance and honorable assistance of the same. And although for diuers considerations I doe not in this treatis discouer my ful knowledge for the place and altitude of this passage, yet whensoeuer it shall so please your honours to commaund I will in few wordes make the full certainty thereof knowne vnto your honours being alwaies redie with my person and poore habilitie to prosecute this action as your honours shall direct, beseeching God so to support you with all happines of

this

this life, fauour of her Maiestie, loue of her highnes subiectes, and increase of honour as may be to your best content.

I most humbly take my leaue from Sandrudg by Dartmouth
this 27. of May 1595.

Your Honors in all dutifull seruice to command

I. D.

THE

THE

WORLDS HYDROGRAPHICALL

OBIECTIONS

AGAINST

AL NORTHERLY DISCOUERIES.

ALL * impediments in nature, and circumstances of former practises duly considered. The Northerly passage to China seme very improbable. For first it is a matter very doubtfull whether there bee any such passage or no, sith it hath beene so often attempted and neuer performed, as by historical relation appeareth, whereby wee may fully perswade our selues that America and Asia, or some other continent are so conioyned togeather as that it is impossible for any such passage to be, the certaintie whereof is substantially proued vnto vs by the experience of Sebastian Gabota an expert Pylot, and a man reported of especiall iudgement, who being that wayes imployed returned without successe. Iasper Corteriallis a man of no meane practise did likewise put the same in execution, with diuers others, all which in the best parte haue concluded ignorance. If not a full consent of such matter. And therfore sith practise hath reproued the same, there is no reason why men should dote vpon so great an incertayntie, but if a passage may bee prooued and that the contenentes are disioyned whereof there is small hope, yet the impedimentes of the clymate (wherein the same is supposed to lie) are such, and so offensiue as that all hope is thereby likewise vtterly secluded, for with the frozen zone no reasonable creature will deny, but that the extremitie of colde is of such forceable action, (being the lest in the fulnes of his owne nature without *mitigation*,) as that it is impossible for any mortall creature to indure the same, by the vertue of whose working power, those Northerly Seas are wholly congealed, making but one mas or contenent of yse, which is the more credible because the ordenary experience of our fishermen geueth vs sufficient notice thereof, by reason of the great quantitie of yse which they find to be brought vpon the cost of newefound land from those Northerne regions. By the aboundance whereof they are so noysomly pestred, as that in many weekes they haue not beene able to recouer the shore, yea and many times recouer it not vntill the season of fishing bee ouer passed. This then being so in the Septentrionall latitude of 46, 47 and 48 degrees, which by natures benifit are latitudes of better temperature than ours of England, what hope should there remayne for a nauegable passing to be by the norwest, in the altitude of 60, 70 or 80 degres, as it may bee more Northerly, when in these temperate partes of the world the shod of that frozen sea breadeth such noysome pester: as the pore fishermē doe continually sustain. And therfore it seemeth to be more then ignorance that men should attempt Nauigation in desperate clymates and through seas congeled that neuer dissolue, where the stiffnes of the colde maketh the ayre palpably grosse without certainty that the landes are disioyned.

* Hakluyt has published an extract from this treatise in his Collection of Voyages; but the original work is so very rare and occupies so small a space that it has been deemed eligible to reprint it entire. Edit.

All

All which impediments if they were not, yet in that part of the world, Nauigation cannot be performed as ordenarily it is vsed, for no ordenarie sea chart can describe those regions either in the partes Geographicall or Hydrographicall, where the Meridians doe so spedily gather themselues togeather, the parallels beeing a verye small proportion to a great circle, where quicke and vncertayne variation of the Compasse may greatly hinder or vterly ouerthrow the attempt. So that for lack of Curious lyned globes to the *right vse* of Nauigation; with many other instruments either vnknowne or out of vse, and yet of necessitie for that voyage, it should with great difficultie be attayned. All which the premises considered I refer the conclusion of these obiections and certainty of this passage to the generall opinion of my louing countrymen, whose dangerous attemptes in those desperate vncertainties I wish to be altered, and better imployed in matters of great probabilitie.

To prove a passage by the Norwest, without any land impedimentes to hinder the same, by auctboritie of writters, and experience of trauellers, contrary to the former obiections.

HOmer an ancient writer affirmeth that the world being deuided into Asia, Africa, and Europe is an Iland, which is likewise so reported by Strabo in his first book of Cosmographie, Pomponius Mela in his third booke, Higinius, Solinus, with others. Whereby it is manifest that America was then vndiscouered and to them vnknowne, otherwise they would haue made relation of it as of the rest. Neither could they in reason haue reported Asia, Africa and Europa to bee an Iland vnles they had knowne the same to be conioyned and in all his partes to be inuironed with the seas. And further America being very neere of equall quantitie with all the rest could not be reported as a parte either of Africa, Asia, or Europa in the ordenarie lymites of discretion. And therefore of necessitie it must be concluded that Asia, Africa and Europa the first reueiled world being knowne to bee an Iland, America must likewise be in the same nature because in no parte it conioyneth with the first.

By experience of Trauellers to proue this passage.

ANd that wee neede not to range after forrayne and ancient authorities, whereat curious wittes may take many exceptions, let vs consider the late discoueryes performed, within the space of two ages not yet passed, whereby it shall so manifestly appeare that Asia, Africa, and Europa are knit togeather, making one continent, & are wholy inuironed with the seas, as that no reasonable creature shall haue occasion thereof to doubt. And first beginning at the north of Europe, from the north cape in 71 degrees, whereby our merchantes passe in their trade to S. Nicholas in Rouscia descending towardes the South, the Nauigation is without impediment to the cape of Bona Esperanca, *ordenarilie traded & daily practised.* And therefore not to be gaynesayd: which two capes are distant more then 2000 leagues by the neerest tract, in all which distaunces America is not founde to bee any thing neere the coastes either of Europe or Afric, for from England the chefest of the partes of Europa to Newfoundland being parte of America it is 600. leagues the neerest distance that any part thereof beareth vnto Europa. And from cape Verde in Gynny being parte of Africa, vnto cape Saint Augustine in Brasill beeing parte of America, it wanteth but little of 500 leagues, the neerest distance betweene Africa and America. Likewise from the sayd North Cape to Noua Zemla by the course of East and West neerest, there is passable sayling, and the North partes of Tartaria are well knowne to be banded with the Scithian Seas to the promontory Tabin so that truely it is apparant that America is farre remooued & by a great sea diuided from any parte of Africa or Europa. And for the Southerne partes of the firste reueiled worlde it is most manifest that from the cape of Bona Esperanca towardes the east, the costes of Safallà, Mosombique, Melinde, Arabia, and Persia, whose gulfes lye open to the mayne ocean: And all the coastes of East India to the capes of Callacut & Malacca, are banded with a mightie sea vpon the South whose lymmates are yet vndiscouered. And from the cape of Malacca towardes the North so high as the Ile of Iapan, & from thence the cost of China being part of Asia continueth still North to the promontory Tabin, where the Scithian sea & this

this Indian sea have recourse togeather, no part of America being nere the same by many 100 leages to hinder this passage.

For from the Callafornia being parte of America, to the yles of Philippina bordering vpon the coastes of China being parte of Asia is 2100 leages and therefore America is farther separated from Asia, then from any the sea coastes either of Europe or Africa. Wherby it is most manifest that Asia, Africa & Europa are conioyned in an Iland. And therefore of necessity followeth that America is contained vnder one or many ylands, for from the septentrionall lat. of 75 deg. vnto the straights of Magilan it is knowne to be nauigable & hath our west occian to lymet the borders thereof, & through the straightes of Magillane no man doubteth but there is Nauigable passage, from which straightes, vpon all the Westerne borders of America, the costs of Chili, Chuli, Rocha, Baldiuia, Peru to the ystmos of Dariena & so the whole West shores of Noua Hispania are banded out by a long & mightie sea, not hauing any shore neere vnto it by one thousand leagues towardes the West, howe then may it be possible that Asia & America should make one contenent:

To proue the premisses by the attemptes of our owne Countreymen, besides others.

BUt least it should be obiected that the premises are conceites, the acting aucthors not nominated, I will vse some boldnes to recyte our owne countreymen by whose paynefull trauells these truthes are made manifest vnto vs. Hoping & intreting that it may not bee offensiue, though in this sorte I make relation of their actions. And firste to begin with the North partes of Europe, it is not vnknowne to all our countrymen, that from the famous citie of London Syr Huge Willobie, knight, gaue the first attempt for the North estren discoueries, which were afterward most notably accomplished by master Borrowes, a Pylot of excellent iudgemente & fortunate in his actions, so farre as Golgoua Vaygats and Noua Zembla, with trade thereby procured to S. Nicholas in Rouscia. Then succeded master Ginkinson who by his land trauell discouered the Scithian sea to lymit the North coastes of Tartaria, so farre as the riuer Ob. So that by our countrymen the North partes of Europe are at full made knowne vnto vs: & prooued to ioyne with no other continent to hinder this passage. The common & ordenary trade of the Spanyard & Portingall from Lysbome to the coasts of Guyny, Bynny, Mina, Angola, Manicongo, & the cost of Ethiopia to the cape of Bona Esperanca, & all the cost of Est India & Illes of Molucca, (by which wonderfull & copious trade, they are so mightily inriched, as that now they challeng a monarchy vnto themselues vpon the whole face of the earth) that their trade I say, prooueth that America is farre seperated from any parte of Africa or the South of Asia. And the same Spaniard trading in the Citye of Canton within the kingdome of China, hauing layd his storehouse of aboundance in Manellia a Citye by him erected in Luzon one of the Illes of Philippa bordring vpon the cost of China, doth by his common & ordenarie passages to Iapan & other the borders of the coast, knowe that the Est continent of Asia lieth due North & South so high as the promontory Tabin, wher the Scithian sea & his maine occian of China are conioyned. But with what care they labour to conceale that matter of Hydrographie for the better preseruation of their fortunate estate, I refer to the excellent iudgement of statesmen, that painefully labour in the glorious administration of a well gouerned Common weale, so that by them Africa & Asia are proued in no parte to ioyne with America, thereby to hinder this passage.

By late experience to proue that America is an Iland, & may be sayled round about contrary to the former obiection.

ASia, Africa & Europa being prooued to be conioyned & an Iland, it now resteth to bee knowne by what authoritie America is proued to be likewise an Iland, so that thereby all land impedimentes are remoued, which might brede the dread or vncertaynty of this passage. The first Englishman that gaue any attempt vpon the coastes of West India being parte of America was syr Iohn Hawkins knight: who there & in that attempt as in many others sithins, did and hath prooued himselfe to be a man of excellent capacity, great gouernment, & per-

fect resolution. For before he attempted the same it was a matter doubtfull & reported the extremest lymit of danger to sayle vpon those coastes. So that it was generally in dread among vs, such is the slownes of our nation, for the most part of vs rather ioy at home like Epicures to sit & carpe at other mens hassardes, our selues not daring to giue any attempt. (I meane such as are at leisure to seeke the good of their countrie not being any wayes imployed as paynefull members of a common weale,) then either to further or giue due commendations to the deseruers, howe then may Syr Iohn Hawkins bee esteemed, who being a man of good account in his Country, of wealth & great imployment, did notwithstanding for the good of his Countrey, to procure trade, giue that notable & resolute attempt. Whose steps many hundreds following sithins haue made themselues men of good esteeme, & fit for the seruice of her sacrid maiestie.

And by that his attempt of America (wherof West India is a parte) is well prooued to be many hundred leagues distant from any part of Afric or Europe.

Then succeeded Syr Francis Drake in his famous & euer renowned voyage about the world, who departing from Plimouth, directed his course for the straightes of Magillane, which place was also reported to be most dangerous by reason of the continuall violent & vnresistable current that was reported to haue continuall passage into the straightes, so that once entring therein there was no more hope remayning of returne, besides the perill of shelues, straightness of the passage & vncertayne wyndinges of the same, all which bread dread in the highest degree, the distance & dangers considered. So that before his revealing of the same the matter was in question, whether there were such a passage or no, or whether Magillane did passe the same, if there was such a man so named, but Syr Frauncis Drake, considering the great benefit that might arise by his voyage through that passage, & the notable discoueries, that might be thereby performed, regarded not these dastardly affections of the idle multitude, but considering with iudgement that in nature there cold be no such perpetuitie of violence where the occian is in no sorte straighted, proceeded with discreet prouision & so departing from England arriued vnto the same, & with good sucesse (through Gods most fauorable mercy passed through) wherein his resolution hath deserued everlasting commendations. For the place in viewe is dangerous & veryе vnpleasing, & in the execution to passe Nothing may seeme more doubtful, for 14 leagues west within the cape of Saint Maria lyeth the first straight, where it floweth & ebbeth with violent swiftnes, the straight not half a mile broad, the first fall into which straight is veryе dangerous & doubtfull. This straight lasteth in his narrownes, 3 leages, then falling into another sea 8 leages broad & 8 leages through there lyeth the second straight due west South West from the firste, which course being vnknowne it is no small perill in finding this second straightes, & that agayne is not a myle broad & continueth the bredth 3 or 4 leages Southwest, with violent swiftnes of flowing & reflowing, & there agayne he falleth into another Sea, through which due, South South West, lyeth the cape Froward, & his straight (so rightly named in the true nature of his peruersnes, for be the wind neuer so fauorable, at that cape it will be directly agaynst you with violent & daungerous flaughes) where there are three places probable to continue the passage. But the true straight lyeth from this cape West Nor West, where the land is very high all couered with snowe, & full of dangerous counter-windes, that beate with violence from those huge mountaines, from which cape the straight is neuer broder then 2 leages & in many places not halfe a mile, without hope of ancorage, the channell being shore deepe more then tow hundreth fadomes, & so continueth to the South sea forty leages only to bee releued in little dangerous coues, with many turnings & chang of courses; how perilous then was this passage to Syr Frauncis Drake, to whom at that time no parte thereof was knowne. And being without reliefe of ancorage was inforced to follow his course in the hell darke nights, & in all the fury of tempestious stormes. I am the bolder to make this particuler relation in the praise of his perfect constancy & magnanemitye of spirite, because I haue thrise passed the same straights & haue felt the most bitter & mercyles fury thereof. But now knowing the place as I doe (for I haue described euery creke therein) I know it to be a voiage of as great certaynty, pleasure & ease, as any whatsoeuer that beareth but $\frac{1}{4}$ the distaunce from England that these straightes

straightes doe. And this straight is founde to be 1200 leages from any parte of Africa so that truely it is manifest that these two landes are by no small distance seperated.

And after that Syr Frauncis was entred into the South Seas he coasted all the Westerne shores of America vntill he came into the Septentrionall latitude of forty eight degrees being on the backe syde of Newfound land. And from thence shaping his course towardes Asia found by his trauells that the Ills of Molucca are distant from America more then two hundreth leages, howe then can Asia & Africa be conioyned & make one continent to hinder the passage, the men yet liuing that can reproue the same, but this conceipt is the bastard of ignorance borne through the fornication of the malitious multitude that onely desire to hinder when themselues can doe no good.

Now their onely resteth the North parts of America, vpon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that waye imployed for the discouery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell vpon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snow, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading therof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling vpon the West side of this coast by me named Desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene & pleasant Isles bordering vpon the shore, but the mountaines of the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there mored to refresh ourselues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countrey hauing espyed our shippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, & holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, vnbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we vnderstood that towards the North and West there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindenes in giuing them nayles and knives which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selues to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entered into the same thirty or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was in the fine of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 29. of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting master Secretary with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the

The 1. voyage.

The 2. voyage.

West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, vntill we found the same to fall into another sea vpon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and ariuing vnto the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same vpon his West shore to the latitude of sixetie sixe degrees, and there ancored among the Isles bordering vpon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I vnderstood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed, shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had giuen my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any fiue others whatsoeuer out of his owne purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduenture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauor of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther comfort or company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome vpright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vsed that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore retourning agayne recouered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entered in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seuenth of September, but coasting the shore towardes the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboord our barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being vnprouided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastening the same to one of our sounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more than fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserued some thirtie couple, or thereabouts, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, & heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Westerne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honorable & worshipfull continued their willing fauour and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

The North parts of America, all Islands.

The 3. voyage.

Departing from Dartmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for the discouerie: but after my departure, in sixeteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me,

me, and Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westerne shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westerne shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-base and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds and other kindes of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, thē I departed from that coast, thinking to discouer the North parts of America: & after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large very salt and blew, & of an vnsearcheable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken & left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, & vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discouery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish fleet & vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted & neuer sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discouery, is to stay this obiection, why hath not Dauis discouered this passage being thrise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this discouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor & commendations. Made by master Emery Mullineux a man wel qualited of a good iudgement & very experte in many excellent practises, in myselfe being the onely meane with master Sanderson to imploy master Mulineux therein, whereby he is now growne to a most exquisite perfection.

Anthony de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, sent certayne of his captaynes by land & also a nauy of ships by sea to search out the Norwest passage, who affirmed by his letters dated from Mexico in anno 1541 vnto the Emperour being then in Flaunders, that towardes the Norwest hee had founde the Kingdome of Cette, Citta, Alls, Ceuera, seuen cities & howe beyond the sayd Kingdome farther towardes the Norwest, Francisco Vasques of Coronado hauing passed great desarts came to the sea side, where he found certayne shippes which sayled by that sea with merchandize, & had in their banners vpon the prows of their shippes, certayne fowles made of golde & siluer, named Alcatrazzi, & that the mariners signified vnto him by signes, that they were thirtie dayes comming to the hauen, whereby he vnderstoode that those could be of no other country but of Asia, the next knowne continent towardes the West. And farther the sayd Anthony affirmed that by men wel practised hee vnderstoode that 950 leages of that country was discouered vpon the same Sea, now if the cost in that distance of leages should lye to the West, it would then adioyne with the North partes of Asia, & then it would be a far shorter voyage then thirtie dayes sayling, but that it is nothing neere Asia by former authoritie is sufficiently expressed, then if it should lie towardes the North it would extend itself almost vnto the pole, a voiage ouer tedious to be perfourmed by land trauell. Therefore of necessity this distance of 950 leages must lie betweene the North & East, which by Anthony de Especio in his late trauells vpon the North of America is sufficiently discouered, then this beeing so, the distance is very small betweene the East parte of this discouered Sea & the passage wherein I haue so painefully laboured, what doth then hinder vs of England vnto whom of all nations this discouery would be most beneficiall to be incredulus slow of vnderstanding, & negligent in the highest degree, for the search of this passage which is most apparently prooued & of wonderfull benefit to the vniversal state of our countrey. Why should we be thus blinded seeing our enemies to posses the fruites

of

of our blessednes & yet will not perceiue the same. But I hope the eternall maiestie of God the sole disposer of all thinges will also make this to appeare in his good time.

Cornelius Nepos recyteth that when Quintus Metellus Cæsar was proconsull for the Romanes in Fraunce, the King of Sueuia gaue him certayne Indians, which sayling out of India for merchandize were by tempest driuen vpon the coastes of Germany, a matter very strange that Indians in the fury of stormes should ariue vpon that coast, it resteth now carefully to consider by what winde they were so driuen, if they had beene of any parte of Africa how could they escape the ylls of Cape Verd, or the ylles of Canaria, the coastes of Spayne, Fraunce, Ireland or England to arriue as they did, but it was neuer knowne that any the natyues of Afric or Ethiopia haue vsed shippings. Therefore they could not bee of that parte of the worlde, for in that distance sayling they would haue been starued if no other shore had giuen them relefe. And that they were not of America is verye manifest, for vpon all the Est parte of that continent, beeing now thereby discouered, it hath not at any time beene perceiued that those people were euer accustomed to any order of shipping, which appeareth by the arriual of Colon vpon those coastes, for they had his shipping in such wonderfull admiration that they supposed him & his companie to haue descended from heauen, so rare & strange a thing was shipping in their eyes. Therefore those Indians could not bee of America safely to bee driuen vpon the coastes of Germany, the distance & impedimentes well considered.

Then comming neither from Afric nor America, they must of necessitie come from Asia by the Noreast or Norwest passages. But it should seme that they came not by the Noreast to double the promontory Tabin, to bee forced through the Scithian Sea, & to haue good passage through the narrow straight of Noua Zemla & neuer to recouer any shore is a matter of great impossibilitie. Therefore it must needes be concluded that they came by the North partes of America through that discouered sea of 950 leages, & that they were of those people which Francisco Vasques of Coronado discouered, all which premises considered there remaineth no more doubting but that the landes are disioyned & that there is a Nauigable passage by the Norwest, of God for vs alone ordained to our infinite happines & for the euer being glory of her maiestie, for then her stately seate of London should be the storehouse of Europe: the nurse of the world: & the renowne of Nations, in yelding all forraine naturall benifits, by an easie rate, in short time returned vnto vs, & in the fulnes of their natural perfection: by natural participation through the world of all naturall & artificiall benefites, for want whereof at this present the most part liue distressed: & by the excellent comoditie of her seate, the mightines of her trade, with force of shipping thereby arising, & most aboundant accesse & intercourse from all the Kingdomes of the worlde, then should the ydle hand bee scorned & plenty by industry in all this land should be proclamed.

And therefore the passage prooued & the benefites to all most apparant, let vs no longer neglect our happines, but like Christians with willing & voluntary spirits labour without fainting for this so excellent a benefit.

To proone by experience that the sea fryseth not.

HAuing sufficiently prooued that there is a passage without a land impediments to hinder the same, contrary to the first obiection, it nowe resteth that the other supposed impediments bee likewise answered. And firste as touching the frost & fresing of the seas, it is supposed that the frozen zone is not habitable, & seas innauigable by reason of the vehemencie of cold, by the diuine creator allotted to that part of the world, & we are drawn into that absurdity of this opinion by a coniectural reason of the sunnes far distance & long absence vnder the horizon of the greatest parte of that zone, whereby the working power of colde perfourmeth the fulnesse of his nature, not hauing any contrary disposition to hinder the same & when the Sunne by his presence should comfort that parte of the world, his beames are so far remoued from perpendicularitie by reason of his continuall neerenes to the horizon, as that the effectes thereof answere not the violence of the winters cold. And therefore

therefore those seas remayne for euer vndissolued. Which if it be so, that the nature of cold can congeale the seas, it is very likely that his first working power, beginneth vpon the vpper face of the waters, & so descending worketh his effect, which if it were, howe then commeth it to passe that shippes sayle by the North cape, to Saint Nicholas fiue degrees or more within the frozen zone, & finde the seas free from pester of yse, the farther from the shore the clearer from yse. And myselfe likewise howe coulde I haue sayled to the septentrionall latitude of seuentie fiue degrees, being nine degrees within the frozen zone, betweene two lands where the sea was straightened not fortie leages broade in some places, & thereby restrained from the violent motion & set of the maine occian & yet founde the same Nauigable & free from yse not onely in the midst of the chanell, but also close aborde the estern shore by me name Desolation, & therefore what neede the repetition of authorities from writers, or wrested philosophical reasons, when playne experience maketh the matter so manifest, & yet I deny not but that I haue seene in some part of those seas, tow sortes of yse, in very great quantity, as a kind of yse by seamen name ylands of yse, being very high aboue the water, fortie & fiftie fadomes by estimation & higher, & euery of those haue beene seuen times as much vnder the water, which I haue proued by taking a peece of yse & haue put the same in a vessell of salt water, & still haue found the seuenth part thereof to bee aboue the water, into what forme soeuer I haue reduced the same, & this kind of yse is nothing but snow, which falleth in those great peeces, from the high mountains bordering close vpon the shore depe seas. (For all the sea coastes of Desolation are mountains of equall height with the pike of Tenerif with verye great vallies betweene them) which I haue seene incredible to bee reported, that vpon the toppe of some of these ylls of yse, there haue beene stones of more then one hundreth tonnes wayght, which in his fall, that snowe hath torne from the clyffs, & in falling maketh such an horible noyse as if there were one hundreth canons shot of at one instant, & this kind of yse is verye white, & freshe, & with shore winds is many times beaten far of into the seas, perhaps twentie leages & that is the farthest distance that they haue euer bin seene from the shore. The other kind is called flake yse, blue, very heard & thinne not aboue three fadomes thick at the farthest, & this kinde of yse bordreth close vpon the shore. And as the nature of heate with apt vessels deuideth the pure spirit from his grosse partes by the coning practise of distillation: so doth the colde in these regions deuide & congeale the fresh water from the salt, nere such shores where by the aboundance of freshe riuers, the saltnes of the sea is mittigated, & not else where, for all yse in general beeing dissolued is very fresh water, so that by the experience of all that haue euer trauelled towardes the North it is well knowne that the sea neuer fryseth, but wee know that the sea dissolueth this yse with great speede, for in twentie foure houres I haue seen an ylande of yse turne vp & downe, as the common phrase is, because it hath melted so fast vnder water that the heauier parte hath beene vpwarde, which hath beene the cause of his so turning, for the heuiest part of all things swiming is by nature downwards, & therefore sith the sea is by his heate of power to dissolue yse, it is greatly against reason that the same should be frozen, so that the congealation of the seas can bee no hinderance to the execution of this passage, contrary to the former obiection, by late experience reprooued, yet if experience wanted in ordenary reason men should not suppose nature to bee monstrous, for if all such yse & snowe as congealeth & descendeth in the winter did not by natures benefit dissolue in the sommer, but that the cold were more actual then the heate, that difference of inequalitie bee it neuer so little would by time bread natures ouerthrowe, for if the one thousand parte of the yse which in winter is congealed, did the next sommer remayne vndissolued, that continual difference sithins the worldes creation would not onely haue conuerted all those North Seas into yse, but would also by continuall accesse of snow haue extended himselfe aboue all the ayers regions by which reason all such exalations as should be drawn from the earth & seas within the temperate zones & by windes driuen into these stiffe regions, that moysture was no more to bee hoped for that by dissolution it should haue any returne, so that by time the world should be left waterlesse. And therefore how ridiculous this imagination of the seas frysing is, I refer to the worlds generall opinion.

That

That the ayre in colde regions is tollerable.

ANd now for a full answere of all obiections, if the ayre bee proued tollerable then this most excellent & commodious passage is without al contradiction to be perfourmed. And that the ayre is tollerable as well in the winter as in the Sommer is thus prooued. The inhabitantes of Moscouia, Lapland, Swethland, Norway & Tartaria omit not to trauel for their commodity: in the deepest of winter, passing by sleades ouer the yse & congealed snowe being made very slipperie & compact like yse by reason of much wearing & trading, hauing the vse of a kind of stag by them called Reen to drawe those their sleades.

Groynland (by me lately named Desolation) is likewise inhabited by a people of good stature & tractable conditions, it also mayntayneth diuers kinde of foules & beastes which I haue their seene, but know not their names, & these must trauell for their food in winter, & therefore the ayre is not intollerable in the extremest nature of coldnes: & for the quality thereof in Sommer by my owne experience I knowe that vpon the shore it is as hot there as it is at the ylls of cape de Verde in which place there is such aboundance of moskeetes, (a kind of gnat that is in India very offensiue & in great quantitie) as that we were stong with them like lepers, not beeing able to haue quiet being vpon the shore.

And vnder the clyfe in the pooles vnto which the streames aryse not, I haue found salt in great plenty as whyte as the salt of Mayo congeled from the salt water which the spryng tyds bring into those poles, which could not be but by the benefit of a noble heat, of which salt I brought with me & gaue to master Secretory Walsingham & to master Sanderson, as a rare thing to be found in those parts & farther the same was of an extraordenary saltnes: And therefore it is an idle dreame that the ayre should there be insufferable, for ourselues haue with the water of those seas made salt, because we desired to know whether the benefit of the sunne were the cause of this cogulation, what better confirmation then can there be then this.

Island is likewise inhabited & yeldeth haukes in great store, as falcons, Ierfalcons, lanardes & sparrow haukes, rauens, crowes, beares, hares & foxes, with horses & other kinde of cattell, vpon which coast in August & September the yse is vtterly dissolued, all which the premises are certainly verified by such as trade thither from Lubec, Hambro, Amsterdam & England yerely, then why should wee dread this fayned distemperature: from cold regions come our most costly furres as sables beeing esteemed for a principall ornament & the beastes that yeld vs those furrs are chiefely hunted in the winter, how grieuous then shall we thinke the winter to be, or howe insufferable the ayre, where this little tender beast liueth so well, & where the hunters may search the dennes & hauntes of such beastes through the woods & snow.

Vpsaliensis affirmeth that he hath felt the Sommer nights in Gotland scarcely tollerable for heate, whereas in Rome hee hath felt them cold.

The Mountaynes of Norway & Swethland are *fruitefull of metalls in which siluer* & copper are concoct & molten in veines, which may scarcely bee done with fornaces, by which reason also the vapors & hot exhalations pearcing the earth & the waters & through both those natures breathing forth into the ayre, tempereth the quantitie thereof making it tollerable, as wyttnes the huge bignes of whales in those seas, with the strength of body & long life of such beastes as liue on the land, which thing could not bee except all thinges were there comodiously nourished, by the benefit of the heauen & the ayre, for nothing that in time of increase is hindred by any iniury or that is euill seed all the time it liueth can prosper well.

Also it is a thing vndoubtedly knowne by experience that vpon the coastes of newfounde land, (as such as the yse remayneth vndissolued vpon those shores,) the wind being esterly comming from the seas, causeth very sharpe colde, & yet the same is sufferable, but comming from the shore, yt presently yeldeth heat aboundantly according to the true nature of the scituation of the place, whereby it plainely appeareth that the very breth of the yse is rather the cause of this cold, then the distempreture of the ayre.

Wherefore if in winter where is aboundance of yse & snowe the ayre is so sufferable, as that traueling & hunting may be exercised how much rather may wee iudge the seas to be

Nauigable,

Nauigable, & that in the deepest of winter, where there is neither yse nor snow that may yeld any such damps or cold breathings to the anoiance of such as shall take these interprises in hand. And therefore the Sommer in no sort to be feared, but some curious witt may obiect that the naturall anoyance of cold is preuented by reason of the trauell of the body with other artificiall prouisions to defend the fury thereof, as also the whot vapors which the earth may yeld, whereof experience vrgeth confession, but vpon the seas it cannot be sith it is a cold body subiect to yeld great dampes & cold brethinges most offensiue to nature. To the which I answere in the vniuersall knowledge of all creatures, that God the most glorious incomprehensible & euer being sole creatour of all thinges visible, invisible, rationall, irrationall, momentory & eternall in his diuine prouidence hath made nothing vncommunicable, but hath giuen such order vnto all things, whereby euery thing may be tollerable to the next, the extremities of ellements consent with their next the ayre is grosse about the earth & water, but thinn & hot about the fyre, by this prouidence in nature the sea is very salt, & salt (sayth Plinie) yeldeth the fatnes of oyle, but oyle by a certayne natiue heate is of propertie agreeable to fire, then being all of such qualitie by reason of the saltnes thereof moueth & stirreth vp generatiue heate, &c. Whereby the sea hath a working force in the dissolution of yse for things of so great contrariety as heate & cold haue togeather no affinitye in coniunction, but the one must of necessitye auoyde, the seas not being able by the bandes of nature to stop backe, doth therefore cause the coldnesse of the ayre (by reason of his naturall heate) to giue place, whereby extremities being auoyded, the ayre must of necessitie remayne temperate, for in nature the ayre is hote & moyst, the colde then being but accidentall is the soner auoided, & natures wrongs with ease redressed.

That vnder the Pole is the place of greatest dignitie.

REason teacheth vs & experience confirmeth the same, that the Sun is the onely sufficient cause of heat through the whole world & therefore in such places where the Sunne hath longest continuance, the ayre there receueth the greatest impression of heat, as also in his absence it is in like sort afflicted with colde. And as the heate in all clymates is indurable, by the eternall ordinance of the creator, so likewise the cold is sufferable by his euerlasting decree, for otherwise nature should bee monstrous & his creation wast, as it hath beene ydly affirmed by the most Cosmographicall writers, distinguishing the sphere into fiue Zones haue concluded three of them to be wast, as vaynely created, the burning Zone betweene the two tropikes, & the two frozen Zones, but experience hauing reprooued the grosenes of that errour it shall be needlesse to say farther therein. For although in the burning Zone the sun beames are at such right angles as that by the actuall reuerberation thereof the lower region of the ayre is greatly by that reflexion warmed, yet his equall absence breadeth such mitigation as that there we find the ayre tollerable, & the countries pleasant & fruitfull, being populus & well inhabited: so likewise vnder the pole being the center of the supposed frozen Zone, during the time that the Sunne is in the South signes, which is from the thirteenth of September vnto the 10 of March, it is there more cold then in any place of the world, because the Sunne in all that time doth neuer appeare aboue the Horyzon, but during the time that the Sunne is in the North signes which is from the tenth of March vnto the thirteenth of September he is in continuall view to all such as posses that place, by which his continuall presence, he worketh that notable effect, as that therby all the force of frysing is wholy redressed & vtterly taken away, working then & there more actuall then in any other part of the world. In which place their continuall day from the Sunne rising to the sunne setting is equall with twenty sixe weekes & fiue dayes, after our rate: & their night is equall with twenty fiue weekes & three dayes such as we haue, so that our whole yeere is with them but one night & one day, a wonderfull difference from al the rest of the world, & therefore no doubt but those people haue a wonderfull excellencie & an exceeding prorogatiue aboue all nations of the earth & this which is more to be noted. In all other places of the world the absence & presence of the Sun is in equall proportion of time, hauing as

much night as day, but vnder the Pole their artificiall day (that is the continuall presence of the Sunne before he sett) is nine of our naturall dayes or two hundreth 16 houres longer then is their night, whereby it appeareth that they haue the life, light & comfort of nature in a higher measure then all the nations of the earth. How blessed then may we thinke this nation to be: for they are in perpetuall light, & neuer know what darkenesse meaneth, by the benefit of twylight & full moones, as the learned in Astronomie doe very well knowe, which people if they haue the notice of their eternitie by the comfortable light of the Gospel, then are they blessed & of all nations most blessed. Why then doe we neglect the search of this excellent discouery, agaynst which there can be nothing sayd to hinder the same. Why doe we refuse to see the dignity of Gods Creation, sith it hath pleased his diuine Maiestie to place vs the nerest neighbor therevnto. I know ther is no true Englishman that can in conscience refuse to be a contributer to procure this so great a happines to his country, whereby not onely the Prince & mightie men of the land shall be highly renowned, but also the Merchant, tradesman & artificer mightily inriched.

And now as touching the last obiection that the want of skill in Nauigation with curious instrumentes, should be the hinderance or ouerthrow of this action. I holde that to bee so friuolous as not worth the answering, for it is wel knowne that we haue globes in the most excellent perfection of arte, & haue the vse of them in as exquisite sort, as master Robert Hues in his book of the globes vse, lately published hath at large made knowne, & for Horizontall paradox & great circle sayling I am myself a witnesse in the behalfe of many, that we are not ignorant of them, as lately I haue made knowne in a briefe treatis of Nauigation naming it the Seamans Secreats. And therfore this as the rest breadeth no hinderance to this most commodious discouery.

What benefits would growe vnto Englande by this passage being discouered.

THe benefits which may grow by this discouery, are copious & of two sorts, a benifit spirituall & a benifit corporall. Both which sith by the lawes of God & nature we are bound to regard, yet principally we are admonished first to seeke the Kingdome of God & the righteousnes thereof & all thinges shall be giuen vnto vs. And therfore in seeking the Kingdome of God we are not onely tied to the depe search of Gods sacred word & to liue within the perfect lymits of Christianity, but also by al meanes we are bound to multiply, & increase the flocke of the faithfull. Which by this discouery wil be most aboundantly perfourmed to the preseruation of many thousands which now most miserably are couered vnder the lothsome vayle of ignorance, neither can we in any sort doubt of their recouery by this passage discouered, Gods prouidence therein being considered who most mercifully sayth by the mouth of his prophet Esaias 66 I will come to gather all people and tongues, then shall they come and see my glory, of them that shall be saued. I will send some to the Gentils in the sea & the yls far of that haue not heard speak of me, & haue not sene my glory, shall preach my peace among the Gentiles.

And in his 65 Chapter he farther sayth, They seeke me that hitherto haue not asked for me, they find me that hitherto haue not sought me.

And againe chapter 49 I wil make waies vpon al my mountains & my footpathes shall be exalted, & behold these shall come from farre, some from the North & West, some from the land of Symis which is in the South. Then sith it is so appointed that there shal be one shepheard & one flocke, what hindreth vs of England, (being by Gods mercy for the same purpose at this present most aptly prepared,) not to attempt that which God himselfe hath appointed to be performed, there is no doubt but that wee of England are this saued people by the eternal & infallible presence of the Lord predestinated to be sent vnto these Gentiles in the sea, to those ylls & famous Kingdoms ther to preach the peace of the Lorde, for are not we onely set vpon Mount Sion to giue light to all the rest of the world, haue not we the true handmayd of the Lord to rule vs, vnto whom the eternall maiestie of God hath reueled his truth & supreme power of excellencye, by whom then shall the truth be preached,

preached, but by them vnto whom the truth shall be reueled, it is onely we therefore that must be these shining messengers of the Lord & none but we for as the prophet sayth, O how beautifull are the feet of the messenger that bringeth the message from the mountain, that proclameth peace, that bringeth the good tidings & preacheth health & sayth to Sion thy God is King, so that hereby the spirituall benefit arising by this discouery is most apparant, for which if there were no other cause wee are all bound to labour with purse & minde for the discouery of this notable passage. And nowe as touching the corporall & worldly benifits which will thereby arise, our owne late experience leadeth vs to the full knowledge thereof, as by the communitie of trade groweth the mightines of riches, so by the kinde & guide of such tradinges may grow the multiplication of such benifits, with assurance how the same may in the best sort be continued. In the consideration whereof it is first to bee regarded with what commodities our owne country aboundeth either naturall or artificiall, what quantity may be spared, & wher the same may with the easiest rate be gained, & how in his best nature vnto vs returned, all which by this passage shall be vnto vs most plentifully effected, & not onely that, but this also which is most to be regarded that in our thus trading wee shall by no meanes inrich the next adioyning states vnto vs, for riches bread dread, & pouertie increaseth feare, but here I cease fering to offend, yet it is a question whether it were better by an easy rate to vent our commodities far of or by a more plentifull gayne to passe them to our neerer neighbours, & those therby more inriched then our selues, the premises considered wee finde our country to abound with woll, & wollen cloth, with lead, tin, copper and yron, matters of great moment, wee also knowe our soyle to be fertill, & would if trad did so permit haue equal imploiment with any of our neighbours, in linnen cloth, fustians, seys, grograms or any other forraine artificiall commodities, besides the excellent labours of the artsmen, either in metallyne mechanicall faculties, or other artificiall ornaments, whereof India is well knowne to receiue all that Europe can afford, rating our commodities in the highest esteeme of valewe, which by this passage is speedily perfourmed, & then none of these should lie dead vpon our handes as now they doe, neither should we bee then ignorant as now we are in many excellent practises into which by trade wee shoulde bee drawne. And by the same passage in this ample vent, we should also at the first hand receiue all Indian commodities both naturall & artificial in a far greter measure by an easier rate & in better condition, then nowe they are by many exchaunges brought vnto vs, then would all nations of Europe repayre vnto England not only for these forraine merchandizes by reason of their plenty, perfection & easy rates, but also to passe away that which God in nature hath bestowed vpon them & their countrie, wherby her maiestie & her highnes successors for euer, should be monarks of the earth & commaunders of the Seas, through the aboundance of trade her coustomes would bee mightily augmented, her state highly inriched, & her force of shipping greatly aduanced, as that thereby shee should be to all nations moste dredful, & we her subiects through imploiment should imbrace aboundance & be clothed with plenty. The glory whereof would be a deadly horrer to her aduersaries, increase frindly loue with al & procure her maiestie stately & perpetuall peace, for it is no small aduantage that ariseth to a state by the mightines of trade: being by necessity linked to no other nation, the same also beeing in commodities of the highest esteeme, as gold, siluer, stones of price, iuels, pearls, spice, drugs, silkes raw & wrought veluetts, cloth of gold, besides many other commodities with vs of rare & high esteeme, whereof as yet our countrie is by nature depriued, al which India doth yeld at reasonable rates in great aboundance receiuing ours in the highest esteeme, so that hereby plenty retourning by trade abroade, & no smale quantity prouided by industry at home, all want then banished in the aboundance of her maiesties royalty, so through dred in glory, peace and loue, her maiesty should be the commaunding light of the world, & we her subiects the stars of wonder to al nations of the earth. Al which the premises considered it is impossible that any true English hart should be staied from willing contribution to the performance of this so excellent a discouery, the Lords and subiectes spirituall for the sole

publication of Gods glorious gospell. And the Lords and subiectes temporal for the renowne of their prince & glory of their nation should be thervnto most vehemently affected. Which when it shall so please God in the mightines of his mercy, I beseech him to effect. Amen.

FINIS.

VOYAGE D'OUTREMER

ET

RETOUR DE JÉRUSALEM EN FRANCE

PAR LA VOIE DE TERRE,

PENDANT LE COURS DES ANNÉES 1432 ET 1433,

PAR BERTRANDON DE LA BROCQUIÈRE,

CONSEILLER ET PREMIER ÉCUYER TRANCHANT DE PHILIPPE-LE-BON,
DUC DE BOURGOGNE;

OUVRAGE EXTRAIT D'UN MANUSCRIT DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE,
REMIS EN FRANÇAIS MODERNE, ET PUBLIÉ

PAR LE CITOYEN LEGRAND D'AUSSY.

DISCOURS PRÉLIMINAIRE.

LEs relations de voyages publiées par nos Français remontent fort haut.

Dès les commencemens du Ve siècle, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus en avoit donné une, qui ne nous est parvenue qu'incomplète, parce que apparemment la mort ne lui permit pas de l'achever. L'objet étoit son retour de Rome dans la Gaule, sa patrie. Mais, comme il n'avoit voyagé que par mer, il ne put voir et décrire que des ports et des côtes; et de là nécessairement a resulté, pour son ouvrage, une monotonie, qu'un homme de génie auroit pu vaincre sans doute, mais qu'il étoit au dessus de ses forces de surmonter. D'ailleurs, il a voulu donner un poëme: ce qui l'oblige à prendre le ton poétique, et à faire des descriptions poétiques, ou soi-disant telles. Enfin ce poëme est en vers élégiaques. Or qui ne sait que cette sorte de versification, dont le propre est de couper la pensée de deux en deux vers et d'assujettir ces vers au retour continuel d'une chute uniforme, est peut être celle de toutes qui convient le moins en genre descriptif? Quand l'imagination a beaucoup à peindre; quand sans cesse elle a besoin de tableaux brillans et variés, il lui faut, pour développer avantageusement toutes ses richesses, une grande liberté; et elle ne peut par conséquent s'accommoder d'une double entrave, dont l'effet infaillible seroit d'éteindre son feu.

Païen de religion, Rutilius a montré son aversion pour la religion chrétienne dans des vers où, confondant ensemble les chrétiens et les Juifs, il dit du mal des deux sectes.

C'est par une suite des même sentimens qu'ayant vu, sur sa route, des moines dans l'île Capraia, il fit contre le monachisme ces autres vers, que je citerai pour donner une idée de sa manière.

Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit;
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos, Graïo cognomine, dicunt,
Quòd, soli, nullo vivere teste, volunt.
Munera fortunæ metuunt, dum damna verentur:
Quisquam *sponte* miser, ne miser esse queat.
Quænam perversi rabies tam crebra cerebri,
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati*?

Son ouvrage contient des détails précieux pour le géographe; il y en a même quelques uns pour l'antiquaire et l'historien: tels par exemple, que sa description d'un marais salant, et l'anecdote des livres Sibyllins brûlés à Rome par l'ordre de Stilicon†. Enfin on y remarque quelques beaux vers, et particulièrement celui-ci sur une ville ruinée.

Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

* "He afterwards," says Gibbon, "mentions a religious madman on the isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius and his accomplices, are styled, by his commentator, Barthius, rabiosi canes diaboli."

† The verses relating to Stilicho are very spirited and elegant. I will transcribe them.

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
Proditor arcani qui fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.

Mais

Mais il pèche par la composition. Ses tableaux sont secs et froids; sa manière petite et mesquine. Du reste, point de génie, point d'imagination, et par conséquent, point d'invention ni de coloris. Voilà ce qu'il présente, ou au moins ce que j'ai cru y voir; et ce sont probablement ces défauts qui ont fait donner à son poëme le nom dégradant d'Itinéraire, sous lequel il est connu.

Nous en avons une traduction Française par le Franc de Pompignan*.

Vers 505, Arculfe, évêque Gaulois, étoit allé en pélerinage à Jérusalem. A son retour, il voulut en publier la relation; et il chargea de cette rédaction un abbé écossais, nommé Adaman, auquel il donna des notes tant manuscrites que de vive voix. La relation composée par Adaman, intitulées: De locis sanctis, est divisée en trois livres, a été imprimée par Gretser, puis, plus complète encore, par Mabillon†.

Arculfe, après avoir visité la Terre Sainte, s'étoit embarqué pour Alexandrie. D'Alexandrie, il avoit passé à l'île de Cypre, et de Cypre à Constantinople, d'où il étoit revenu en France. Un pareil voyage promet assurément beaucoup; et certes l'homme qui avoit à décrire la Palestine, l'Egypte et la capitale de l'Empire d'Orient pouvoit donner une relation intéressante. Mais pour l'exécution d'un projet aussi vaste il falloit une philosophie et des connoissances que son siècle étoit bien loin d'avoir. C'est un pélerinage, et non un voyage, que publie le prélat. Il ne nous fait connoître ni les lois, ni les mœurs, ni les usages des peuples, ni ce qui concerne les lieux et la contrée qu'il parcourt, mais les reliques et les objets de dévotion qu'on y révéroit.

Ainsi, dans son premier livre, qui traite de Jérusalem, il vous parlera, de la colonne où Jésus fut flagellé, de la lance qui lui perça le côté, de son suaire, d'une pierre sur laquelle il pria et qui porte l'empreinte de ses genoux, d'une autre pierre sur laquelle il étoit quand il monta au ciel, et qui porte l'empreinte de ses pieds; d'un linge tissu par la Vierge et qui le représente; du figuier où se pendit Judas; enfin de la pierre sur laquelle expira saint Etienne, etc. etc.

Dans son second livre, où il parcourt les divers lieux de la Palestine que visitoient les pélerins, il suit les mêmes erremens. A Jéricho, il cite la maison de la courtisane Rasb; dans la vallée de Mambré, les tombeaux d'Adam, d'Abraham, d'Isaac, de Jacob, de Sara, de Rébecca, de Lia; à Nazareth, l'endroit où l'ange vint annoncer à Marie qu'elle seroit mère en restant vierge; à Bethléem, la pierre sur laquelle Jésus fut lavé à sa naissance; les tombeaux de Rachel, de David, de saint Jérôme, de trois des bergers qui vinrent à l'adoration, etc.

Dumque timet, quicquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
Immisit Latiæ barbara tela neci.
Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,
Illatæ clarîs liberiore deis.
Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat,
Et captiva prius, quam caperetur, erat.
Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis;
Ante Sibyllinæ fata cremavit opis.
Odimus Althæam consumti fumere torris:
Niseum crinem flere putantur aves:
At Stilicho æterni fatalia pignora regni;
Et plenas voluit præcipitare colus.
Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis,
Consumat Stygius tristior umbra facem.
Hic immortalem, mortalem perculit ille;
Hic mundi matrem perculit, ille suam. R. H. E.

Claudian draws a very different portrait of Stilicho. Indeed, as Gibbon observes, "Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian."

* Mélanges de littér. de poés. et d'hist. par l'Acad. de Montauban. p. 81.

† Acta ord. S. Bened. sec. 3, t. 2. p. 502.

Le

Le troisième livre enfin est consacré en grande partie à Constantinople ; mais il n'y parle que de la vraie croix, de saint George, d'une image de la Vierge, qui, jettee par un Juif dans les plus dégoûtantes ordures, avoit été ramassée par un chrétien et distilloit une huile miraculeuse.

Pendant bien des siècles, les relations d'outre mer ne continrent que les pieuses et grossières fables qu'imaginoient journellement les Orientaux pour accréditer certains lieux qu'ils tentoient d'ériger en pélerinages, et pour soutirer ainsi à leur profit l'argent des pélerins. Ceux-ci adoptoient aveuglément tous les contes qu'on leur débitoit; et ils accomplissoient scrupuleusement toutes les stations qui leur étoient indiquées. A leur retour en Europe, c'étoit-là tout ce qu'ils avoient à raconter ; mais c'étoit-là aussi tout ce qu'on leur demandoit.

Cependant notre saint (car à sa mort il a été déclaré tel, ainsi que son rédacteur Adaman) a, dans son second livre, quelques phrases historiques sur Tyr et sur Damas. Il y parle également et avec plus de détails encore d'Alexandrie ; et je trouve même sous ce dernier article deux faits qui m'ont paru dignes d'attention.

L'un concerne les crocodiles, qu'il répresente comme si multipliés dans la partie inférieure du Nil, que dès l'instant où un bœuf, un cheval, un âne, s'avançoient sur les bords du fleuve, ils étoient saisis par eux, entraînes sous les eaux, et dévorés ; tandis qu'aujourd'hui, si l'on en croit le rapport unanime de nos voyageurs modernes, il n'existe plus de crocodiles que dans la haute Egypte ; que c'est un prodige d'en voir descendre un jusqu'au Caire, et que du Caire à la mer on n'en voit pas un seul.

L'autre a rapport à cette île nommée Pharos, dans laquelle le Ptolémée-Philadelphe fit construire une tour dont les feux servoient de signal aux navigateurs, et qui porta également le nom de Phare. On sait que, postérieurement à Ptolémée, l'île fut jointe au continent par un mole qui, à chacune de ses deux extrémités, avoit un pont ; que Cléopatre acheva l'isthme, en détruisant les ponts et en faisant la digue pleine ; enfin qu'aujourd'hui l'île entière tient à la terre ferme. Cependant notre prélat en parle comme si, de son temps, elle eût été île encore : in dextera parte portûs parva insula habetur, in qua maxima turris est quam, in commune, Græci ac Latini, ex ipsius rei usu, Pharum vocitaverunt. Il se trompe sans doute. Mais, probablement, à l'époque où il la vit, elle n'avoit que sa digue encore : les atterrissemens immenses qui en ont fait une terre, en la joignant au continent, sont postérieurs à lui ; et il n'aura pas cru qu'un môle fait de main d'homme empêchât une île d'être ce que l'avoit faite la nature.

Au neuvième siècle, nous eûmes une autre sorte de Voyage par Hetton, moine et abbe de Richenou, puis évêque de Bâle. Cet homme, habile dans les affaires, et employé comme tel par Charlemagne, avoit été en 811 envoyé par lui en ambassade à Constantinople. De retour en France, il y publia, sur sa mission, une relation, que jusqu'ici l'on n'a pas retrouvée, et que nous devons d'autant plus regretter qu'infailliblement elle nous fourniroit des détails curieux sur un Empire dont les rapports avec notre France étoient alors si multipliés et si actifs. Peut être au reste ne doit on pas la regarder comme tout-à-fait perdue ; et il seroit possible qu'après être restée pendant plusieurs siècles ensevelie dans un manuscrit ignoré, le hasard l'amenât un jour sous les yeux de quelqu'un de nos savans, qui la donneroit au public.

C'est ce qui est arrivé pour celle d'un autre moine Français nommé Bernard ; laquelle, publiée en 870, a été retrouvée par Mabillon et mise par lui au* jour. Ce n'est, comme celle d'Arculfe, qu'un voyage de Terre Sainte, à la vérité beaucoup plus court que le sien, écrit avec moins de prétention, mais qui, à l'exception de quelques details personnels à l'auteur, ne contient de même qu'une sèche énumération des saints lieux : ce qui l'a fait de même intituler : De locis sanctis.

Cependant la route des deux pélerins fut différente. Arculfe étoit allé directement en

* Ubi suprà, p. 523.

Palestine, et de là il s'étoit embarqué une seconde fois pour voir Alexandrie. Bernard, au contraire, va d'abord débarquer à Alexandrie. Il remonte le Nil jusqu'à Babylone, redescend à Damiette, et, traversant le désert sur des chameaux, il se rend par Gaza en Terre-Sainte.

Là, il fait, comme saint Arculfe, différens pélerinages, mais moins que lui cependant, soit que sa profession ne lui eût point permis les mêmes dépenses, soit qu'il ait négligé de les mentionner tous.

Je remarquerai seulement que dans certaines églises on avoit imaginé, depuis l'évêque, de nouveaux miracles, et qu'elles en citoient dont il ne parle pas, et dont certainement il eût fait mention s'ils avoient eu lieu de son temps. Tel étoit celui de l'église de Sainte-Marie, où jamais il ne pleuvoit, disoit-on, quoiqu'elle fût sans toit. Tel celui auquel les Grecs ont donné tant de célébrité, et qui, tous les ans, la veille de Pâques, s'opéroit dans l'église du Saint-Sépulcre, où un ange descendoit du ciel pour allumer les cierges : ce qui fournissoit aux chrétiens de la ville un feu nouveau, qui leur étoit communiqué par le patriarche, et qu'ils emportoient réligieusement chez eux.

Bernard rapporte, sur son passage du désert, une anecdote qui est à recueillir : c'est que, dans la traversée de cette immense mer de sable, des marchands païens et chrétiens avoient formé deux hospices, nommés l'un Albara, l'autre Albacara, où les voyageurs trouvoient à se pourvoir de tous les objets dont ils pouvoient avoir besoin pour leur route.

Enfin l'auteur nous fait connoître un monument formé par Charlemagne dans Jérusalem en faveur de ceux qui parloient *la langue Romane*, et que les Français, et les gens de lettres spécialement, n'apprendront pas, sans beaucoup de plaisir, avoir existé.

Ce prince, la gloire de l'Occident, avoit, par ses conquêtes et ses grandes qualités, attiré l'attention d'un homme qui remplissoit également l'Orient de sa renommée : c'étoit le célèbre calife Haroun-al-Raschild. Haroun, empressé de témoigner à Charles l'estime et la considération qu'il lui portoit, lui avoit envoyé des ambassadeurs avec des présens magnifiques; et ces ambassadeurs, disent nos historiens, étoient même chargés de lui présenter, de la part de leur maître, les clés de Jérusalem.

Probablement Charles avoit profité de cette faveur pour établir dans la ville un hôpital ou hospice, destiné aux pélerins de ses états Français. Tel étoit l'esprit du temps. Ces sortes de voyages étant réputés l'action la plus sainte que pût imaginer la dévotion, un prince qui les favorisoit croyoit bien mériter de la réligion. Charlemagne d'ailleurs avoit le goût des pélerinages; et son historien *Eginhard remarque avec surprise que, malgré la prédilection qu'il portoit à celui de Saint-Pierre de Rome, il ne l'avoit fait pourtant que *quatre fois* dans sa vie.

Mais souvent le grand homme se montre grand encore jusqu'au sein des prejugés qui l'entourent. Charles avoit été en France le restaurateur des lettres ; il y avoit rétabli l'orthographe, régénéré l'écriture, formé de belles bibliothèques : il voulut que son hospice de Jérusalem eût une bibliothèque aussi à l'usage des pélerins. L'établissement la possédoit encore tout entière, au temps de Bernard : nobilissimam habens bibliothecam, studio Imperatoris; et l'empereur y avoit même attaché, tant pour l'entretien du dépôt et celui du lieu, que pour la nourriture des pélerins, douze manses situées dans la vallée de Josaphat, avec des terres, des vignes et un jardin.

Quoique notre historien dût être rassasié de pélerinages, il fit néanmoins encore, à son retour par l'Italie, celui de Rome ; puis, quand il fut rentré en France, celui du mont Saint-Michel.

Sur ce dernier, il observe que ce lieu, situé au milieu d'une grève des côtes de Normandie, est deux fois par jour, au temps de flux, baigné des eaux de la mer. Mais il ajoute que, le jour de la fête du saint, l'accès du rocher et de la chapelle reste libre ; que l'Océan y forme, comme fit la Mer rouge, au temps de Moïse, deux grands murs, entre lesquels on peut passer à pied sec ; et que ce miracle, que n'a lieu qui ce jour-là, dure tout le jour.

* Vita Carol. Mag. cap. 27.

Notre

Notre littérature nationale possédoit quatre voyages; un des côtes d'Italie, un de Constantinople, deux de Terre-Sainte. Au treizième siècle, une cause fort étrange lui en procura deux de Tartarie.

Cette immense contrée dont les habitans, en divers temps et sous différens noms, ont peuplé, conquis, ou ravagé la très-grande partie de l'Europe et de l'Asie, se trouvoit pour ainsi dire tout entière en armes.

Fanatisés par les incroyables conquêtes d'un de leurs chefs, le fameux Gengis-Kan; persuadés que la terre entière devoit leur obéir, ces nomades belliqueux et féroces étoient venus, après avoir soumis la Chine, se précipiter sur le nord-est de l'Europe. Par tout où s'étoient portées leurs innombrables hordes, des royaumes avoient été ravagés; des nations entières exterminées ou trainées en esclavage; la Hongrie, la Pologne, la Bohème, les frontières de l'Autriche, dévastées d'une manière effroyable. Rien n'avoit pu arrêter ce débordement qui, s'il éprouvoit, vers quelque côte, une résistance, se jetoit ailleurs avec plus de fureur encore. Enfin la chrétienté fut frappée de terreur, et selon l'expression d'un de nos historiens, * elle trembla jusqu'à l'Océan.

Dans cette consternation générale, Innocent IV voulut se montrer le père commun des fidèles. Ce tendre père se trouvoit à Lyon, ou il étoit venu tenir un concile pour excommunier le redoutable Frédéric II, qui trois fois déja l'avoit été vainement par d'autres papes. Là, en accablant l'empereur de toutes ses foudres, Innocent forme un projet dont l'idée seule annonce l'ivresse de la puissance; celui d'envoyer aux Tartares des lettres apostoliques, afin de les engager à poser les armes et à embrasser la religion chrétienne: ut ab hominum strage desisterent et fidei veritatem reciperent. †Il charge de ses lettres un ambassadeur; et l'ambassadeur est un Frère-mineur nommé Jean du Plan de Carpin (Joannes de Plano Carpini,) qui, le jour de Pâques, 1245, part avec un de ses camarades, et qui en chemin se donne un troisième compagnon, Polonois et appelé Benoît.

Soit que l'ordre de Saint-Dominique eût témoigné quelque déplaisir de voir un pareil honneur déféré exclusivement à l'ordre de Saint François; soit qu'Innocent craignît pour ses ambassadeurs les dangers d'un voyage aussi long et aussi pénible; soit enfin par quelque motif que nous ignorons, il nomma une seconde ambassade, à laquelle il fit prendre une autre route, et qui fut composée uniquement de Frères-prêcheurs. Ceux-ci, au nombre de cinq, avoient pour chef un nommé Ascelin, et parmi eux étoit un frère Simon, de Saint-Quentin, dont j'aurai bientôt occasion de parler. Ils etoient, comme les Frères-mineurs, porteurs de lettres apostoliques, et avoient auprès des Tartares la même mission, cette de déterminer ce peuple formidable à s'abstenir de toute guerre et à recevoir le baptême.

De Carpin cependant avoit, avec la sienne, reçu l'ordre particulier et secret d'examiner attentivement et de recueillir avec soin tout ce qui chez ce peuple lui paroîtroit digne de remarque. Il le fit; et à son retour il publia une relation, qui est composée dans cet esprit, et qu'en conséquence il a intitulée Gesta Tartarorum. Effectivement il n'y emploie, en détails sur sa route et sur son voyage, qu'un seul chapitre. Les sept autres sont consacrés à décrire tout ce qui concerne les Tartares; sol, climat, mœurs, usages, conquêtes, manière de combattre, etc. Son ouvrage est imprimé dans la collection d'Hakluyt‡. J'en ai trouvé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale (N°. 2477, à la page 66) un exemplaire plus complet que celui de l'édition d'Hakluyt, et qui contient une assez longue préface de l'auteur, que cette édition n'a pas. Enfin, à l'époque où parut ce Voyage, Vincent de Beauvais l'avoit inséré en grande partie dans son Speculum historiale.§

Ce frère Vincent, religieux dominicain, lecteur et prédicateur de saint Louis, avoit été invité par ce prince à entreprendre différens ouvrages, qu'en effet il mit au jour, et qui aujourd'hui forment une collection considérable. De ce nombre est une longue et lourde compilation historique, sous le titre de Speculum historiale, dans laquelle il a fait entrer et il a fondu, comme je viens de le dire, la relation de notre voyageur. Pour rendre celle-ci plus

* La Chaise, Vie de Saint Louis, liv. V, p. 301.
† Vincent Bellovac. Spec. histor. lib. xxxii, cap. 2.
‡ Vol. I. p. 24.
§ Lib. xxxii, cap. 2.

intéressante et plus complète, il y a joint, par une idée assez heureuse, certains détails particuliers que lui fournit son confrère Simon de Saint-Quentin, l'un des associés d'Ascelin dans la seconde ambassade. Ayant eu occasion de voir Simon à son retour de Tartarie, il apprit de lui beaucoup de choses qu'il a insérées en plusieurs endroits de son Miroir et spécialement dans le 32ᵉ et dernier livre. Là, avec ce qu'avoit écrit et publié de Carpin, et ce que Simon lui raconta de vive voix, il a fait une relation mixte, qu'il a divisée en cinquante chapitres; et c'est celle que connoissent nos modernes. Bergeron en a donné une traduction dans son recueil des voyages faits pendant le douzième siècle et les trois suivans. Cependant il a cru devoir séparer ce qui concernoit de Carpin d'avec ce qui appartient à Simon, afin d'avoir des mémoires sur la seconde ambassade, comme on en avoit sur la première. Il a donc détaché du récit de Vincent six chapitres attribués par lui à Simon; et il en a fait un article à part, qu'il a mis sous le nom d'Ascelin, chef de la seconde légation. C'est tout ce que nous savons de celle-ci.

Quant au succès qu'eurent les deux ambassades, je me crois dispensé d'en parler. On devine sans peine ce qu'il dut être; et il en fut de même de deux autres que saint Louis, quoique par un autre motif, envoya peu après dans la même contrée.

Ce monarque se rendoit en 1248 à sa désastreuse expédition d'Egypte, et il venoit de relâcher en Cypre avec sa flotte lorsqu'il reçut dans cette île, le 12 Décembre, une députation des Tartares, dont les deux chefs portoient les noms de David et de Marc. Ces aventuriers se disoient délégués vers lui par leur prince, nouvellement converti à la foi chrétienne, et qu'ils appeloient Ercalthay. Ils assuroient encore que le grand Kan de Tartarie avoit également reçu le baptême, ainsi que les principaux officiers de sa cour et de son armée, et qu'il desiroit faire alliance avec le roi.

Quelque grossière que fût cette imposture, Louis ne put pas s'en défendre. Il résolut d'envoyer au prince et au Kan convertis une ambassade pour les féliciter de leur bonheur et les engager à favoriser et à propager dans leurs états la religion chrétienne. L'ambassadeur qu'il nomma fut un Frère-prêcheur nommé André Longjumeau ou Longjumel, et il lui associa deux autres Dominicains, deux clercs, et deux officiers de sa maison.

David et Marc, pour lui en imposer davantage, affectèrent de se montrer fervens chrétiens. Il sassistèrent avec lui fort dévotieusement aux offices de Noël; mais ils lui firent entendre que ce seroit une chose fort agréable au Kan d'avoir une tente en écarlate. C'étoit-là que vouloient en venir les deux fripons. Et en effet le roi en commanda une magnifique, sur laquelle il fit broder l'Annonciation, la Passion, et les autres mystères du christianisme. A ce présent il en ajouta un autre, celui de tout ce qui étoit nécessaire, soit en ornemens, soit en vases et argenterie pour une chapelle. Enfin il donna des reliques et du bois de la vraie croix; c'est-à-dire ce que, dans son opinion, il estimoit plus que tout au monde. Mais une observation que je ne dois point omettre ici, parce qu'elle indique l'esprit de cette cour Romaine qui se croyoit faite pour commander à tous les souverains: c'est que le légat que le pape avoit placé dans l'armée du roi pour l'y représenter et ordonner en son nom, écrivit, par la voie des ambassadeurs, aux deux souverains Tartares, et que dans sa lettre il leur annonçoit qu'il les adoptoit et les réconnoissoit enfans de l'église. Il en fut pour ses prétentions et les avances de sa lettre, ainsi que le roi, pour sa tente, pour sa chappelle et ses reliques. Longjumeau, arrivé en Tartarie, eut beau chercher le prince Ercalthay et ce grand Kan baptisé avec sa cour; il revint comme il étoit parti. Cependant il devoit avoir, sur cette contrée, quelques renseignemens. Déjà il y avoit voyagé, disoit-on; et même quand David parut devant lui en Cypre, il prétendit le reconnoître, comme l'ayant vu chez les Tartares.

Ces circonstances nous ont été transmises par les historiens du temps. Pour lui, il n'a rien laissé sur sa mission. On diroit qu'il en a eu honte.

Louis avoit été assez grossièrement dupé pour partager un peu ce sentiment, ou pour en tirer au moins une leçon de prudence. Et néanmoins très-peu d'années après il se laissa tromper encore: c'étoit en 1253; et il se trouvoit alors en Asie.

Quoique au sortir de sa prison d'Egypte tout lui fît une loi de retourner en France où il avoit

avoit tant de plaies à fermer et tant de larmes à tarir, une devotion mal éclairée l'avoit conduit en Palestine. Là, sans songer ni à ses sujets ni à ses devoirs de roi, non seulement il venoit de perdre deux années, presque uniquement occupé de pélerinages; mais malgré l'épuisement des finances de son royaume, il avoit dépensé des sommes très-considérables à relever et à fortifier quelques bicoques que les chrétiens de ces contrées y possédoient encore.

Pendant ce temps, le bruit courut qu'un prince Tartare nommé Sartach avoit embrassé le christianisme. Le baptême d'un prince infidèle étoit pour Louis une de ces béatitudes au charme desquelles il ne savoit pas résister. Il résolut d'envoyer une ambassade à Sartach pour le féliciter, comme il en avoit envoyé une à Ercalthay. Sa première avoit été confiée à des Frères-prêcheurs; il nomma, pour celle-ci, des Franciscains, et pour chef frère Guillaume Rubruquis. Déja Innocent avoit de même donné successivement une des deux siennes à l'un des deux autres. Suivre cet exemple étoit pour Louis une grande jouissance. Il avoit pour l'un et pour l'autre une si tendre affection, que tout son vœu, disoit-il, eût été de pouvoir se partager en deux, afin de donner à chacun des deux une moitié de lui-même.

Rubruquis, rendu près de Sartach, put s'y convaincre sans peine combien étoient fabuleux les contes que de temps en temps les chrétiens orientaux faisoient courir sur ces prétendues conversions de princes Tartares. Pour ne pas perdre tout-à-fait le fruit de son voyage il sollicita près de ce chef la permission de prêcher l'évangile dans ses états. Sartach répondit qu'il n'osoit prendre sur lui une chose aussi extraordinaire; et il envoya le convertisseur à son père Baathu, qui le renvoya au grand Kan.

Pour se présenter devant celui-ci, Rubruquis et ses deux camarades se revêtirent chacun d'une chape d'église. L'un d'eux portoit une croix et un missel, l'autre un encensoir, lui une bible et un psautier et il s'avance ainsi entre eux deux en chantant des cantiques. Ce spectacle, que d'après ses préjugés monastiques, il croyoit imposant, et qui n'étoit que burlesque, ne produisit rien, pas même la risée du Tartare; et peu content sans doute d'un voyage très-inutile il revint en rendre compte au roi.

Louis n'étoit plus en Syrie. La mort de Blanche sa mère l'avoit rappelé enfin en France, d'où il n'auroit jamais dû sortir, et où néanmoins il ne se rendit qu'après une année de retard encore. Rubruquis s'apprêtoit à l'y suivre quand il reçut de son provincial une défense de partir, avec ordre de se rendre au couvent de Saint-Jean d'Acre, et là d'écrire au roi pour l'instruire de sa mission. Il obéit. Il envoya au monarque une relation, que le temps nous a conservée, et qui, comme la précédente, se trouve traduite dans Bergeron; mais c'est à la contrariété despotique d'un supérieur dur et jaloux que nous la devons. Peut-être que si le voyageur avoit obtenu permission de venir à la cour, il n'eût rien écrit.

Ainsi des quatre ambassadeurs monastiques envoyés en Tartarie tant par Innocent que par le roi, il n'y a que les deux Franciscains de Carpin et Rubruquis, qui aient laissé des mémoires; et ces ouvrages, quoiqu'ils se ressent de leur siècle et particulièrement de la profession de ceux qui les composèrent, sont cependant précieux pour nous par les détails intéressans qu'ils contiennent sur une contrée lointaine dont alors on connoissoit à peine le nom, et avec laquelle nous n'avons depuis cette époque conservé aucun rapport.

On y admirera sur-tout le courage de Rubruquis, qui ne craint pas de déclarer assez ouvertement au roi que David étoit un imposteur qui l'avoit trompé. Mais Louis avoit le fanatisme du prosélytisme et des conversions; et c'est-là chez certains esprits une maladie incurable.

Dupé deux fois, il le fut encore par la suite pour un roi de Tunis qu'on lui avoit représenté comme disposé à se faire baptiser. Ce baptême fut long-temps sa chimère. Il regardoit comme le plus beau jour de sa vie celui où il seroit le parrain de ce prince. Il eût consenti volontiers, disoit-il, à passer le reste de sa vie dans les cachots d'Afrique, si à ce prix il eût pu le voir chrétien. Et ce fut pour être le parrain d'un infidèle qu'il alla sur les côtes de Tunis perdre une seconde flotte et une seconde armée, déshonorer une seconde fois les armes Françaises qu'avoit tant illustrées la journée de Bovines, enfin perir de la peste au milieu

milieu de son camp pestiféré, et mériter ainsi, par les malheurs multipliés de la France, d'être qualifié martyr et saint.

Quant à Bergeron, il n'est personne qui ne convienne qu'en publiant sa traduction il a rendu aux lettres et aux sciences un vrai service, et je suis bien loin assurément de vouloir en déprécier le mérite. Cependant je suis convaincu qu'elle en auroit davantage encore s'il ne se fût point permis, pour les différens morceaux qu'il y a fait entrer, une traduction trop libre, et surtout s'il s'y fut interdit de nombreux retranchemens qui à la vérité nous épargnent l'ennui de certains détails peu faits pour plaire, mais qui aussi nous privent de l'inestimable avantage d'apprécier l'auteur et son siècle. Lui-même, dans la notice préliminaire d'un des voyages qu'il a imprimés, il dit l'avoir tiré d'un Latin assez grossier où il étoit écrit selon le temps, pour le faire voir en notre langue avec un peu plus d'élégance et de clarté*. De-là il est arrivé qu'en promettant de nous donner des relations du treizième et du quatorzième siècle, il nous en donne de modernes, qui toutes ont la même physionomie à peu près, tandis que chacune devroit avoir la sienne propre.

Le recueil de Bergeron, bon pour son temps, ne l'est plus pour le nôtre. Composé d'ouvrages qui contiennent beaucoup d'erreurs, nous y voudrions des notes critiques, des discussions historiques, des observations savantes ; et peut-être seroit-ce aujourd'hui une entreprise utile et qui ne pourroit manquer d'être accueillie très-favorablement du public, que celle d'une édition nouvelle des voyages anciens, faite ainsi, surtout si l'on y joignoit, autant qu'il seroit possible, le texte original avec la traduction. Mais cette traduction, il faudroit qu'elle fût très-scrupuleusement fidèle. Il faudroit avant tout s'y interdire tout retranchement, ou au moins en prévenir et y présenter en extrait ce qu'on croiroit indispensable de retrancher. Ce n'est point l'agrément que s'attend de trouver dans de pareils ouvrages celui qui entreprend la lecture ; c'est l'instruction. Dès le moment où vous les dénaturerez, où vous voudrez leur donner une tournure moderne et être lu des jeunes gens et des femmes, tout est manqué. Avez-vous des voyages, quels qu'ils soient, de tel ou tel siècle ? Voila ce que je vous demande, et ce que vous devez me faire connoître.

Si parmi ceux de nos gens de lettres qui avec des connoissances en histoire et en géographie réunissent du courage et le talent de recherches, il s'en trouvoit quelqu'un que ce travail n'effrayât pas, je la préviens que, pour ce qui concerne le Speculum historiale, il en existe à la Bibliothèque nationale quatre exemplaires manuscrits, sous les numéros 4898, 4900, 4901, et 4902.

Les deux Voyageurs du quatorzième siècle qui ont publié des relations ne sont point nés Français ; mais tous deux écrivirent primitivement dans notre langue : ils nous appartiennent à titre d'auteurs, et sous ce rapport je dois en parler. L'un est Hayton, l'Arménien ; l'autre, l'Anglais Mandeville.

Hayton, roi d'Arménie, avoit été dépouillé de ses états par les Sarrasins. Il imagina d'aller solliciter les secours des Tartares, qui en effet prirent les armes pour lui et le rétablirent. Ses négociations et son voyage lui parurent mériter d'être transmis à la postérité, et il dressa des mémoires qu'en mourant il laissa entre les mains d'Hayton son neveu, seigneur de Courchi.

Celui-ci, après avoir pris une part très-active tant aux affaires d'Arménie qu'aux guerres qu'elle eut à soutenir encore, vint se faire Prémontré en Cypre, où il apprit la langue Française, qui, portée là par les Lusignans, y étoit devenue la langue de la cour et celle de tout ce qui n'étoit pas peuple.

De Cypre, le moine Hayton ayant passé à Poitiers, voulut y faire connoître les mémoires de son oncle, ainsi que les événemens dans lesquels lui-même avoit été, ou acteur, ou témoin. Il intitula ce travail Histoire d'Orient, et en confia la publication à un autre moine nommé de Faucon, auquel il le dicta de mémoire en Français. L'ouvrage eut un tel succès que, pour en faire jouir les peuples auxquels notre langue étoit étrangère, Clement V.

* Tome I. p. 160, à la suite du Voyage de Rubruquis.

chargea

chargea le même de Faucon de le traduire en Latin. Celui-ci fit paroître en 1307 sa version, dont j'ai trouvé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale trois exemplaires sous les numéros 7514, 7515—A, et 6041. (Page 180) à la fin du numéro 7515, on lit cette note de l'éditeur, qui donne la preuve de ce qui je viens de dire du livre.

Explicit liber Historiarum Parcium [Partium] Orientis, à religioso viro fratre Haytono, ordinis beati Augustini, domino Churchi, consanguineo regis Armeniæ, compilato [compilatus] ex mandato summi pontificis domini Clementis papæ quinti, in civitate pictaviensi regni Franchiæ: quem ego Nicolaüs Falconi, primò scripsi in gallico ydiomate, sicut idem frater H. michi [mihi] ore suo dictabat, absque nota sive aliquo* exemplari. Et de gallico transtuli in latinum; anno domini M°CCC°. septimo, mense Augusti.

Bergeron a publié l'histoire d'Hayton. Mais, au lieu de donner le texte Français original, au ou moins la version Latine de l'éditeur, il n'a donné qu'une version Française de ce Latin: de sorte que nous n'avons ainsi qu'une traduction de traduction.

Pour ce qui regarde Mandeville, il nous dit que ce voyageur composa son ouvrage dans les trois langues, Anglaise, Française et Latine. C'est une erreur. J'en ai en ce moment sous les yeux un exemplaire manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale, n°. 10024† écrit en 1477 ainsi que le porte une note finale du copiste. Or, dans celui-ci je lis ces mots:

Je eusse mis cest livre en latin, pour plus briefment délivrez (pour aller plus vite, pour abréger le travail). Mais pour ce que plusieurs ayment et entendent mieulx romans [le français] que latin, l'ai-ge [je l'ai] mis en Romans, affin que chascun l'entende, et que les seigneurs et les chevaliers et aultres nobles hommes qui ne scèvent point de latin, ou petit [peu] qui ont esté oultre-mer, saichent se je dy voir [vrai], ou non.

D'ailleurs, au temps de Mandeville, c'étoit la langue Française qu'on parloit en Angleterre. Cette langue y avoit été portée par Guillaume-le-Conquérant. On ne pouvoit enseigner qu'elle dans les écoles. Toutes les sentences des Tribunaux, tous les actes civils devoient être en Français; et quand Mandeville écrivoit en Français, il écrivoit dans sa langue. S'il se fût servi de la Latine, c'eût été pour être lu chez les nations qui ne connoissoient pas la nôtre.

A la vérité, son Français se ressent du sol. Il a beaucoup d'anglicismes et de locutions vicieuses; et la raison n'en est pas difficile à deviner. On sait que plus un ruisseau s'éloigne de sa source, et plus ses eaux doivent s'altérer. Mais c'est-là, selon moi, le moindre défaut de l'auteur. Sans goût, sans jugement, sans critique, non seulement il admet indistinctement tous les contes et toutes les fables qu'il entend dire; mais il en forge lui-même à chaque instant.

A l'entendre il s'embarqua l'an 1332, jour de Saint-Michel; il voyagea pendant trente-cinq ans, et parcourut une grande partie de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. Eh bien, ayez comme moi le courage de le lire; et si vous lui accordez d'avoir vu peut-être Constantinople, la Palestine et l'Egypte (ce que moi je me garderois bien de garantir), à coup sûr au moin vous resterez convaincu que jamais il ne mit le pied dans tous ces pays dont il parle à l'aveugle; Arabie, Tartarie, Inde, Ethiopie, etc. etc.

Au moins, si les fictions qu'il imagine offroient ou quelque agrément ou quelque intérêt! s'il ne faisoit qu'user du droit de mentir, dont se sont mis depuis si long-temps en possession la plupart des voyageurs! Mais chez lui ce sont des erreurs géographiques si grossières, des fables si sottes, des descriptions de peuples et de contrées imaginaires si ridicules, enfin des âneries si révoltantes, qu'en vérité on ne sait quel nom lui donner. Il en conteroit d'avoir à traiter de charlatan un écrivain. Que seroit-ce donc si on avoit à la qualifier de hâbleur effronté? Cependant comment désigner le voyageur qui nous cite des géans de trente pieds de long; des arbres dont les fruits se changent en oiseaux qu'on mange; d'autres arbres qui tous les jours sortent de terre et s'en élèvent depuis le lever du soleil

* L'exemplaire n°. 5514 ajoute, a verbo ad verbum.

† Il y en a dans la même bibliothèque un autre exemplaire noté 7972; mais celui-ci, mutilé, incomplet, très-difficile à lire, par la blancheur de son encre, ne peut guères avoir de valeur qu'en le collationant avec l'autre.

jusqu'à

jusqu'à midi, et qui depuis midi jusqu'au soir y rentrent en entier ; un val périlleux, dont il avoit près la fiction dans nos vieux romans de chevalerie, val ou il dit avoir éprouvé de telles aventures qu'infailliblement il y auroit péri si précédemment il n'avoit reçeu Corpus Domini (s'il n'avoit communié); un fleuve qui sort du paradis terrestre et qui, au lieu d'eau, roule des pierres précieuses ; ce paradis qui, dit-il, est au commencement de la terre et placé si haut qu'il touche de près la lune ; enfin mille autres impostures ou sottises de même espèce, qui dénotent non l'erreur de la bêtise et de la crédulité, mais le mensonge de la réflexion et de la fraude ?

Je regarde même comme tels ces trente-cinq ans qu'il dit avoir employés à parcourir le monde sans avoir songé à revenir dans sa patrie que quand enfin la goute vint le tourmenter.

Quoiqu'il en existe trois éditions imprimées, l'une en 1487 chez Jean Cres, l'autre en 1517 chez Regnault, la troisième en 1542 chez Canterel, on ne le connoît guère que par le court extrait qu'en a publié Bergeron. Et en effet cet editeur l'avoit trouvé si invraisemblable et si fabuleux qu'il l'a réduit à douze pages quoique dans notre manuscrit il en contienne cent soixante et dix-huit.

Dans le quinzième siècle, nous eûmes deux autres voyages en Terre-Sainte : l'un que je publie aujourd'hui ; l'autre, par un carme nommé Huen, imprimé en 1487, et dont je ne dirai rien ici, parce qu'il est posterieur à l'autre.

La même raison m'empêchera de parler d'un ouvrage mis au jour par Mamerot, chantre et chanoine de Troyes. D'ailleurs celui-ci, intitulé passages faiz oultre-mer par les roys de France et autres princes et seigneurs François contre les Turcqs et autres Sarrasins et Mores oultre-marins, n'est point, à proprement parler, un voyage, mais une compilation historique des différentes croisades qui ont eu lieu en France, et que l'auteur, d'après la fausse Chronique de Turpin et nos romans de chevalerie, fait commencer à Charlemagne. La Bibliothèque nationale possède de celui-ci un magnifique exemplaire, orné d'un grand nombre de belles miniatures et tableaux.

Je viens à l'ouvrage de la Brocquière ; mais celui-ci demande quelque explication.

SECONDE PARTIE.

LA folie des Croisades, comme tous les genres d'ivresse, n'avoit eu en France qu'une certaine durée, ou, pour parler plus exactement, de même que certaines fièvres, elle s'étoit calmée après quelques accès. Et assurément la croisade de Louis-le-Jeune, les deux de saint Louis plus désastreuses encore, avoient attiré sur le royaume assez de honte et de malheurs pour y croire ce fanatisme éteient à jamais.

Cependant la superstition cherchoit de temps en temps à le rallumer. Souvent, en confession et dans certains cas de pénitence publique, le clergé imposoit pour satisfaction un pélerinage à Jérusalem, ou un temps fixe de croisade. Plusieurs fois même les papes employèrent tous les ressorts de leur politique et l'ascendant de leur autorité pour renouer chez les princes chrétiens quelqu'une de ces ligues saintes, où leur ambition avoit tant à gagner sans rien risquer que des indulgences.

Philippe-le-Bel, par hypocrisie de zèle et de religion, affecta un moment de vouloir en former une nouvelle pour la France. Philippe-de-Valois, le prince le moins propre à une entreprise si difficile et qui exigeoit tant de talens, parut s'en occuper pendant quelques années. Il reçut une ambassade du roi d'Arménie, entama des négociations avec la cour de Rome,

Rome, ordonna même des préparatifs dans le port de Marseille. Enfin dans l'intervalle de ces mouvemens, *l'an 1332*, un dominicain nommé Brochard (surnommé l'Allemand, du nom de son pays), lui présenta deux ouvrages Latins composés à dessein sur cet objet.

L'un, dans lequel il lui faisoit connoître la contrée qui alloit être le but de la conquête, étoit une description de la Terre-Sainte; et comme il avoit demeuré vingt-quatre ans dans cette contrée en qualité de missionnaire et de prédicateur, peu de gens pouvoient alléguer autant de droits que lui pour en parler.

L'autre, divisé en deux livres, par commémoration des deux épées dont il est mention dans l'Evangile, sous-divisé en douze chapitres à l'honneur des douze apôtres, traitoit des différentes routes entre lesquelles l'armée avoit à choisir, des précautions de détail à prendre pour le succès de l'entreprise, enfin des moyens de diriger et d'assurer l'expédition.

Quant à celui-ci, dont les matières concernent entièrement la marine et l'art militaire, on est surpris de voir l'auteur l'avoir entrepris, lui qui n'étoit qu'un simple religieux. Mais qui ne sait que, dans les siècles d'ignorance, quiconque est moins ignorant que ses contemporains, s'arroge le droit d'écrire sur tout? D'ailleurs, parmi les conseils que Brochard donnoit au roi et à ses généraux, son expérience, pouvoit lui en avoir suggéré quelques-uns d'utiles. Et après tout, puisque dans la classe des nobles auxquels il eût appartenu de traiter ces objets, il ne se trouvoit personne peut-être qui pût offrir et les mêmes connoissances locales que lui et un talent égal pour les écrire, pourquoi n'auroit-il pas hasardé ce qu'ils ne pouvoient faire?

Quoiqu' il en soit du motife et de son excuse, il paroît que l'ouvrage fit sur le roi et sur son conseil une impression favorable. On voit au moins, par la continuation de la Chronique de Nangis, que le monarque envoya in terram Turcorum Jean de Cépoy et l'évêque de Beauvais avec quelque peu d'infanterie ad explorandos portus et passus, ad faciendos aliquas munitiones et præparationes victualium pro passagio Terre Sanctæ; et que la petite troupe, après avoir remporté quelques avantages aussi considérables que le permettoient ses foibles forces, revint en France l'an 1335*.

Au reste tout ce fracas d'armemens, de préparatifs et de menaces dont le royaume retentit pendant quelques années, s'évanouit en un vain bruit. Je ne doute point que, dans les commencemens, le roi ne fût de bonne foi. Sa vanité s'étoit laissée éblouir par un projet brillant qui alloit fixer sur lui les yeux de l'Asie et de l'Europe; et les esprits médiocres ne savent point résister à la séduction de pareilles chimères. Mais bientôt, comme les caractères foibles, fatigué des difficultés, il chercha des prétextes pour se mettre à l'écart; et dans ce dessein il demanda au pape des titres et de l'argent, que celui-ci n'accorda pas. Alors on ne parla plus de l'expédition; et tout ce qu'elle produisit fut d'attirer la colère et la vengeance des Turcs sur ce roi d'Arménie, qui étoit venu en France solliciter contre eux une ligue et des secours.

Au siècle suivant, la même fanfaronnade eut lieu à la cour de Bourgogne, quoique avec un début plus sérieux en apparence.

L'an 1432, cent ans après la publication des deux ouvrages de Brochard, plusieurs grands seigneurs des états de Bourgogne et officiers du duc Philippe-le Bon font le pélerinage de la Terre-Sainte. Parmi eux est son premier écuyer tranchant, nommé la Brocquière. Celui-ci, après plusieurs courses dévotes dans le pays, revient malade à Jérusalem, et pendant sa convalescence il y forme le hardi projet de retourner en France par la voie de terre. C'étoit s'engager à traverser toute la partie occidentale d'Asie, toute l'Europe orientale; et toujours, excepté sur la fin du voyage, à travers la domination musulmane. L'exécution de cette entreprise, qui aujourd'hui même ne seroit point sans difficultés passoit alors pour impossible. En vain ses camarades essaient de l'en détourner: il s'y obstine; il part, et, après avoir surmonté tous les obstacles, il revient, dans le cours de l'année 1433, se présenter au duc sous le costume Sarrasin, qu'il avoit été obligé de prendre, et avec le cheval qui seul avoit fourni à cette étonnante traite.

* Spicil. t. II. p. 764.

Une si extraordinaire aventure ne pouvoit manquer de produire à la cour un grand effet. Le duc voulut que le voyageur en rédigeât par écrit la relation. Celui-ci obéit; mais son ouvrage ne parut que quelques années après, et même postérieurement à l'année 1438, puisque cette époque y est mentionnée, comme on le verra ci-dessous.

Il n'étoit guère possible que le duc eût journellement sous les yeux son écuyer tranchant sans avoir quelquefois envie de le questionner sur cette terre des Mécréans; et il ne pouvoit guère l'entendre, sur-tout à table, sans que sa tête ne s'échauffât, et ne formât aussi des chimères de croisade et de conquête.

Ce qui me fait présumer qu'il avoit demandé à la Brocquière des renseignemens de ce genre, c'est que celui-ci a inséré dans sa relation un long morceau sur la force militaire des Turcs, sur les moyens de les combattre vigoureusement, et, quoiqu'avec une armée médiocre, mais bien conduite et bien organisée, de pénétrer sans risques jusqu'à Jérusalem. Assurément un épisode aussi étendu et d'un résultat aussi important est à remarquer dans un ouvrage présente au duc et composé par ses ordres; et l'on conviendra qu'il n'a guère pu y être placé sans un dessein formel et une intention particulière.

En effet on vit de temps en temps Philippe annoncer sur cet objet de grands desseins; mais plus occupé de plaisirs que de gloire, ainsi que le prouvent les quinze bâtards connus qu'il a laissés, toute sa forfanterie s'évaporoit en paroles. Enfin cependant un moment arriva où la chrétienté, alarmée des conquêtes rapides du jeune et formidable Mahomet II. et de l'armement terrible qu'il préparoit contre Constantinople, crut qu'il n'y avoit plus de digne à lui opposer qu'une ligue générale.

Le duc, qui, par l'étendue et la population de ses états, étoit plus puissant que beaucoup de rois, pouvoit jouer dans la coalition un rôle important. Il affecta de se montrer en scène un des premiers; et pour le faire avec éclat, il donna dans Lille en 1453 une fête splendide et pompeuse, ou plutôt un grand spectacle à machines, fort bizarre dans son ensemble, fort disparate dans la multitude de ses parties, mais le plus étonnant de ceux de ce genre que nous ait transmis l'histoire. Ce spectacle dont j'ai donné ailleurs la description*, et qui absorba en pur faste des sommes considérables qu'il eût été facile dans les circonstances d'employer beaucoup mieux, se termina par quelques vœux d'armes tant de la part du duc que de celle de plusieurs seigneurs de sa cour: et c'est tout ce qui en résulta. Au reste il eut lieu en février, et Mahomet prit Constantinople en Mai.

La nouvelle de ce désastre, les massacres horribles qui avoient accompagné la conquête, les suites incalculables qu'elle pouvoit avoir sur le sort de la chrétienté, y répendirent la consternation. Le duc alors crut qu'il devoit enfin se prononcer autrement que par des propos et des fêtes. Il annonça une croisade, leva en conséquence de grosses sommes sur ses sujets, forma même une armée et s'avança en *Allemagne*. Mais tout-à-coup ce lion fougueux s'arrêta. Une incommodité qui lui survint fort à propos lui servit de prétexte et d'excuse; et il revint dans ses états.

Néanmoins il affecta de continuer à parler croisades comme auparavant. Il chargea même un de ses sujets, Joseph Miélot, chanoine de Lille, de lui traduire en Français les deux traités de Brochard dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Enfin, quand le Pape Pie II. convoqua dans Mantoue en 1459, une assemblée de princes chrétiens pour former une ligue contre Mahomet, il ne manqua pas d'y envoyer ses ambassadeurs, à la tête desquels étoit le duc de Clèves.

Miélot finit son travail en 1455, et le court préambule qu'il a mis en tête l'annonce. Les deux traductions se trouvent dans un de ces manuscrits que la Bibliothèque nationale a reçus récemment de la Belgique. Elles sont, pour l'écriture, de la même main que le voyage de la Brocquière; mais quoique des trois ouvrages celui-ci ait dû paroître avant les deux autres, tout trois cependant, soit par économie de reliure, soit par analogie de matières, ont été réunis ensemble; et ils forment ainsi un gros volume in-folio; numéroté 314 relié en bois avec basane rouge, et intitulé au dos, Avis directif de Brochard.

Ce manuscrit, auquel son écriture, sa conservation, ses miniatures, et le beaux choix de son vélin donnent déja beaucoup de prix, me paroît en acquérir davantage encore sous un

* Hist. de la vie privée des Français, t. III, p. 324.

autre

autre aspect, en ce qu'il est composé, selon moi, des traités originaux présentés par leurs auteurs à Philippe-le-Bon, ou de l'exemplaire commandé par lui à l'un de ses copistes sur l'autographe des auteurs, pour être placé dans sa bibliothèque.

Je crois voir la preuve de cette assertion non seulement dans la beauté du manuscrit, et dans l'écusson du prince, qui s'y trouve armorié en quatre endroits, et deux foix avec sa devise *Aultre n'aray*; mais encore dans la vignette d'un des deux frontispices, ainsi que dans la miniature de l'autre.

Cette vignette, qui est en tête du volume, représente Miélot à genoux, faisant l'offrande de son livre au duc, lequel est assis et entouré de plusieurs courtisans, dont trois portent, comme lui, le collier de la Toison.

Dans la miniature qui précède le Voyage, on voit la Brocquière faire de la même manière son offrande. Il est en costume Sarrasin, ainsi qu'il a été dit ci-dessus, et il a auprès de lui son cheval, dont j'ai parlé.

Quant à ce duc Philippe qu'on surnomma le Bon, ce n'est point ici le lieu d'examiner s'il mérita bien véritablement ce titre glorieux, et si l'histoire n'auroit pas à lui faire des reproches de plus d'un genre. Mais, comme littérateur, je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer ici, à l'honneur de sa mémoire, que les lettres au moins lui doivent de la reconnoissance; que c'est un des princes qui, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à François Ier, ait le plus fait pour elles; qu'au quinzième siècle il fut dans les deux Bourgognes, et dans la Belgique sur-tout, ce qu'au quatorzième Charles V avoit été en France; que comme Charles, il se créa une bibliothèque, ordonna des traductions et des compositions d'ouvrages, encouragea les savans, les dessinateurs, les copistes habiles; enfin qu'il rendit peut-être aux sciences plus de services réels que Charles, parce qu'il fut moins superstitieux.

Je donnerai, dans l'Histoire de la littérature Française, à laquelle je travaille, des détails sur ces différens faits. J'en ai trouvé des preuves multipliées dans les manuscrits qui de la Belgique ont passé à la Bibliothèque nationale, ou, pour parler plus exactement, dans les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Bruxelles, qui faisoient une des portions les plus considérables de cet envoi.

Cet bibliothèque, pour sa partie Française, qui est spécialement confiée à ma surveillance, et qu'à ce titre j'ai parcourue presque en entier, étoit composée de plusieurs fonds particuliers, dont les principaux sont:

1°. Un certain nombre de manuscrits qui précédemment avoient formé la bibliothèque de Charles V, celle de Charles VI, celle de Jean, duc de Berri, frère de Charles V, et qui pendant les troubles du royaume sous Charles VI, et dans les commencemens du règne de son fils, furent pillés et enlevés par les ducs de Bourgogne. Ceux de Jean sont reconnoissables à sa signature, apposée par lui à la dernière page du volume et quelquefois en plusieurs autres endroits. On reconnoît ceux de deux rois à l'écu de France blasonné qu'on y a peint, à leurs épîtres dédicatoires, à leurs vignettes, qui représentent l'offrande du livre fait au monarque, et le monarque revêtu du manteau royal. Il en est d'autres, provenus de ces deux dépôts, sur l'enlèvement desquels je ne puis alléguer des preuves aussi authentiques, parci que dans le nombre il s'en trouvoit beaucoup qui n'étoient point ornés de miniatures, ou qui n'avoient point été offerts au roi, et qui par conséquent ne peuvent offrir les mêmes signalemens que les premiers; mais j'aurois, pour avancer que ceux-là ont été pris également, tant de probabilités, tant de conjectures vraisemblables, qu'elles équivalent pour moi à une preuve positive.

2°. Les manuscrits qui appartinrent legitimement aux ducs de Bourgogne, c'est-à-dire qui furent, ou acquis par eux, ou dédiés et présentés à eux, ou commandés par eux, soit comme ouvrages, soit comme simples copies. Dans la classe des dédiés, le très-grand nombre l'a été à Philippe-le-Bon; dans celle des faits par ordre, presque tous furent ordonnés par lui: et c'est là qu'on voit, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, l'obligation qui lui ont les lettres et tout ce qu'il fit pour elles.

3°. Les manuscrits qui, après avoir appartenu à des particuliers, ou à de grands seigneurs des états de Bourgogne, ont passé en différens temps et d'une manière quelconque dans la bibliothèque de Bruxelles. Parmi ceux-ci l'on doit distinguer spécialement ceux de Charles

de Croy, comte de Chimay, parrain de Charles-Quint, chevalier de la toison, fait en 1486 prince de Chimay par Maximilien. Les siens sont assez nombreux, et ils portent pour signe distinctif ses armoiries et sa signature, apposée par lui-même.

De tout ceci il résulte, quant au mérite de la collection Française de Bruxelles, qu'elle ne doit guère offrir que des manuscrits modernes. J'en ai effectivement peu vu qui soient précieux par leur ancienneté, leur rareté, la nature de l'ouvrage; mais beaucoup sont curieux par leur écriture, leur conservation, et spécialement par leurs miniatures; et ces miniatures seront un objet intéressant pour les personnes qui, comme moi, entreprendont l'histoire des arts dans les bas siècles. Elles leur prouveront qu'on Belgique l'état florissant de certaines manufactures y avoit fort avancé l'art de la peinture et du dessin. Mais je reviens aux trois traités de notre volume.

Je ne dirai qu'un mot sur la description de la Palestine par Brochard, parce que l'original Latin ayant été imprimé, elle est connue, et que Miélot, dans le préambule de sa traduction, assure, ce dont je me suis convaincu, n'y avoir adjousté riens du sien. Brochard, de son côté, proteste de son exactitude. Non seulement il a demeuré vingt-quatre ans dans le pays, mais il l'a traversé dans son double diamètre du nord au sud, depuis le pied du Liban jusqu'à Bersabée; et du couchant au levant, depuis la Méditerranée jusqu'à la mer Morte. Enfin il ne décrit rien qu'il n'ait, pour me servir des termes de son traducteur, veu corporellement, lui, estant en iceulx lieux.

La traduction commence au folio 76 de notre volume, et elle porte pour titre: Le livre de la description de la Terre-Saincte, fait en l'onneur et loenge de Dieu, et compilé jadis, l'an M.III[c].XXXII, par frère Brochard, l'Alemant, de l'ordre des Preescheurs.

Son second ouvrage étant inédit, j'en parlerai plus au long, mais uniquement d'après la traduction la Miélot.

Le volume est composé de deux parties, et porte pour titre, Advis directif (conseils de marche et de direction) pour faire le passage d'oultremer.

On a pour ce passage, dit Brochard, deux voies différentes, la terre et la mer; et il conseille au roi de les employer toutes les deux à la fois, la première pour l'armée, la seconde pour le transport des vivres, tentes, machines, et munitions de guerre, ainsi que pour les personnes qui sont accoutumées à la mer.

Celle-ci exigera dix à douze galères, qu'on pourra, par des négociations et des arrangemens, obtenir des Génois et des Vénitiens. Les derniers possèdent Candie, Négrepont et autres îles, terres ou places importantes. Les Génois ont Péra, près de Constantinople, et Caffa, dans la Tartarie. D'ailleurs les deux nations connoissent bien les vents et les mers d'Asie, de même que la langue, les îles, côtes et ports du pays.

Si l'on choisit la voie de mer, on aura le choix de s'embarquer, soit à Aigues-Mortes soit à Marseille ou à Nice; puis on relâchera en Cypre, comme fit Saint Louis. Mais la mer et le séjour des vaisseaux ont de nombreux inconvéniens, et il en résulte de fâcheuses maladies pour les hommes et pour les chevaux. D'ailleurs on dépend des vents: sans cesse on est réduit à craindre les tempêtes et le changement de climat. Souvent même, lorsqu'on ne comptoit faire qu'une relâche, on se voit forcé de séjourner. Ajoutez à ces dangers les vins de Cypre, qui de leur nature sont trop ardens. Si vous y mettez de l'eau, ils perdent toute leur saveur; si vous n'en mettez point, ils attaquent le cerveau et brûlent les entrailles. Quand saint Louis hiverna dans l'île, l'armée y éprouva tous ces inconvéniens. Il y mourut deux cens et cinquante, que contes, que barons, que chevaliers des plus nobles qu'il eust en son ost.

Il est un autre passage composé de mer et de terre, et celui-ci offre deux routes; l'une par l'Afrique, l'autre par l'Italie.

La voie d'Afrique est extrêmement difficile, à raison des châteaux fortifiés qu'on y rencontrera, du manque de vivres auquel on sera exposé, de la traversée des déserts, et de l'Egypte qu'il faudra franchir. Le chemin d'ailleurs est immense par sa longueur. Si l'on part du détroit de Gibraltar, on aura, pour arriver à deux petites journées de Jérusalem, 2500 milles à parcourir; si l'on part de Tunis, on en aura 2400. Conclusion: la voie d'Afrique est impraticable, il faut y renoncer.

Celle d'Italie présente trois chemins divers. L'un par Aquilée, par l'Istrie, la Dalmatie, le

le royaume de Rassie (Servie) et Thessalonique (Salonique), la plus grande cité de Macédoine, laquelle n'est qu'à huit petites journées de Constantinople. C'est la route que suivoient les Romains quand ils alloient porter la guerre en Orient. Ces contrées sont fertiles; mais le pays est habité de gens non obeïssans à l'église de Rome. Et quant est de leur vaillance et hardiesse à résister, je n'en fais nulle mention, néant plus que de femmes.

Le second est par la Pouille. On s'embarqueroit à Brandis (Brindes), pour débarquer à Duras (Durazzo) qui est à monseigneur le prince de Tarente. Puis on avanceroit par l'Albanie, par Blaque et Thessalonique.

La troisième traverse également la Pouille; mais il passe par Ydronte (Otrante), Curpho (Corfou) qui est à mondit seigneur de Tarente, Desponte, Blaque, Thessalonique. C'est celui qu'à la première croisade prirent Robert, comte de Flandre; Robert, duc de Normandie; Hugues, frère du roi Philippe Ier, et Tancrède, prince de Tarente.

Après avoir parlé du passage par mer et du passage composé de terre et de mer, Brochard examine celui qui auroit lieu entièrement par terre.

Ce dernier traverse l'Allemagne, la Hongrie et la Bulgarie. Ce fut celui qu'à la même première expédition suivit une grande partie de l'armée de France et d'Allemagne, sous la conduite de Pierre l'hermite, et c'est celui que l'auteur conseille au roi.

Mais quand on est en Hongrie on a deux routes à choisir: l'une par la Bulgarie, l'autre par l'Esclavonie, qui fait partie du royaume de Rassie. Godefroi de Bouillon, ses deux frères, et Baudouin, comte de Mons, prirent la première. Raimond, comte de Saint-Gilles, et Audemare, évêque du Puy et légat du Saint-Siége, prirent la seconde, quoique quelques auteurs prétendent qu'ils suivirent celle d'Aquilée et de Dalmatie.

Si le roi adoptoit ce passage par terre, l'armée, arrivée en Hongrie, pourroit se diviser en deux; et alors, pour la plus grande commodité des vivres, chacune des deux parties suivroit un des deux chemins; savoir, l'une, celui de la Bulgarie; l'autre, celui de l'Esclavonie. Le roi prendroit la première route, comme la plus courte. Quant aux Languedociens et Provençaux, qui sont voisins de l'Italie, il leur seroit permis d'aller par Brindes et Otrante. Leur rendez-vous seroit à Thessalonique, où ils trouveroient le corps d'armée, qui auroit pris par Aquilée.

A ces renseignemens sur les avantages et les inconvéniens des divers passages, le dominicain en ajoute quelques autres sur les princes par les états desquels il faudra passa, et sur les ressources que fourniront ces états.

La Rassie est un pays fertile, dit-il; elle a en activité cinq mines d'or, cinq d'argent, et plusieurs autres qui portent or et argent. Il ne faudroit pour la conquête de cette contrée que mille chevaliers et six mille hommes d'infanterie. Ce seroit un joyel (joyau) gracieux et plaisant à acquérir.

L'auteur veut qu'on ne fasse aucun traité d'alliance ni avec ce roi ni même avec l'empereur Grec; et, pour mieux motiver son assertion, il rapporte quelques détails sur le personnel de ces princes, et principalement sur le premier, qu'il dit être un usurpateur.

Quant à l'autre, il demande non seulement qu'on ne fasse avec lui ni paix ni trêve, mais encore qu'on lui déclare la guerre. En conséquence il donne des moyens pour assiéger Constantinople, Andrinople et Thessalonique. Et comme, d'après ce qui est arrivé, il ne doute nullement de ce qui doit arriver encore, c'est-à-dire de la prise de Constantinople, il propose divers réglemens pour gouverner l'empire d'Orient quand on l'aura conquis une seconde fois, et pour le ramener à la religion Romaine.

Il termine ses avis directifs par avertir les croisés de se mettre en garde contre la perfidie des Grecs, ainsi que contre les Syriens, les Hassassins et autres habitans de l'Asie. Il leur détaille une partie des piéges qu'on leur tendra, et leur enseigne à s'en garantir.

Brochard, dans sa première partie, a conduit par terre jusqu'à Constantinople l'ost de Nostre Seigneur, et il lui a fait prendre cette ville. Dans la seconde il lui fait passer le détroit et le mène en Asie. Au reste il connoissoit très-bien ces contrées; et, indépendamment de ses vingt-quatre ans de séjour dans la Palestine, il avoit parcouru encore l'Arménie, la Perse, l'empire Grec, etc.

Selon lui, ce qui, dans les croisades précédentes, avoit fait échouer les rois de France et d'Angleterre,

d'Angleterre, c'est que mal adroitement on attaquoit à la fois et les Turcs et le soudan d'Egypte. Il propose de n'attaquer que les premiers, et de n'avoir affaire qu'à eux seuls.

Pour le faire avec succès il donne des renseignemens sur la Turquie, nommée Anachély (Anatolie) par les Grecs; sur la manière de tirer par mer des vivres pour l'armée; sur l'espoir bien fondé de réussir contre un peuple nécessairement abandonné de Dieu, parce que sa malice est accomplie; contre un peuple qui intérieurement est affoibli par des guerres intestines et par le mangue de chefs; dont la cavalerie est composée d'esclaves; qui, avec peu de courage et d'industrie n'a que des chevaux petits et foibles, de mauvaises armes, des arcs Turquois et des haubergeons de cuir qu'on pourroit appeler des *cuirasses; contre un peuple enfin qui ne combat qu'en fuyant, et qui, après les Grecs et les Babyloniens, est le plus vil de tout Orient, en fais-d'armes.

L'auteur déclare en finissant que dans tout cet Orient il n'est presque aucune nation qu'il n'ait veue aller en bataille, et que la seule puissance de France, sans nuls aydes quelsconques, peut défaire, non seulement les Turcs et les Egyptiens†, mais encore les Tartres (Tatars) fors (excepté) les Indiens, les Arabes, et les Persains.

La collection de Bruxelles contient un autre exemplaire de l'Advis directif, in fol. pap. miniat. N°. 352. Celui-ci forme un volume à part. Sa vignette représente Brochard travaillant à son pupitre. Vient ensuite une miniature où on le voit présentant son livre au roi; puis une autre où le roi est en marche avec son armée pour la Terre-Sainte.

J'ai également trouvé dans la même collection les deux traités Latins de l'auteur, réunis en un seul volume in fol. pap. N°. 319, couvert en basane rouge. Le premier porte en titre: Directorium ad passagium faciendum, editum per quemdam fratrem ordinis Predicatorum, scribentem experta et visa potiùs quàm audita; ad serenissimum principem et dominum Philippum, regem Francorum, anno Domini M.CCC°. xxxii°.

Le second est intitulé: Libellus de Terrâ Sanctâ, editus à fratre Brocardo, Theutonico, ordinis fratrum predicatorum. A la fin de celui-ci on lit qu'il a été écrit par Jean Reginaldi, chanoine de Cambrai. Comme l'autre est incontestablement de la même main, je ne doute nullement qu'il ne soit aussi de Reginaldi.

Il me reste maintenant à faire connoître notre troisième ouvrage Français, ce Voyage de la Brocquière que je publie aujourd'hui.

L'auteur étoit gentilhomme, et l'on s'en aperçoit sans peine quand il parle de chevaux, de châteaux forts et de joutes.

Sa relation n'est qu'un itinéraire qui souvent, et surtout dans la description du pays, et des villes, présente un peu de monotonie et des formes peu variées; mais cet itinéraire est intéressant pour l'histoire et la géographie du temps. Elles y trouveront des matériaux très-précieux, et quelquefois même des tableaux et des aperçus qui ne sont pas sans mérite.

Le voyageur est un homme d'un esprit sage et sensé, plein de jugement et de raison. On admirera l'impartialité avec laquelle il parle des nations infidèles qu'il a occasion de connoître, et spécialement des Turcs, dont la bonne foi est bien supérieure, selon lui, à celle de beaucoup de chrétiens.

Il n'a guère de la superstition de son siècle que la dévotion pour les pèlerinages et les reliques; encore annonce-t-il souvent peu de foi sur l'authenticité des reliques qu'on lui montre.

Quant aux pélerinages, on verra en le lisant combien ils étoient multipliés en Palestine, et son livre sera pour nous un monument qui, d'une part, constatera l'aveugle crédulité avec laquelle nos dévots occidentaux avoient adopté ces pieuses fables; et de l'autre l'astuce criminelle des chrétiens de Terre-Sainte, qui pour soutirer l'argent des croisés et des pélerins, et se faire à leurs dépens un revenu, les avoient imaginées.

* Le haubert et le haubergeon (sorte de haubert plus léger et moins lourd) étoient une sorte de chemise en mailles de fer, laquelle descendoit jusqu'à mi-cuisse. Les haubergeons Turcs, au contraire, étoient si courts qu'on pouvoit, selon l'auteur, les qualifier du nom de cuirasses.

† Les Turcs et les Egyptiens! frère Brochard, vous oubliez Louis-le-Jeune, et saint Louis.

La

La Brocquière écrit en militaire, d'un style franc et loyal qui annonce de la véracité et inspire la confiance; mais il écrit avec négligence et abandon: de sorte que ses matières n'ont pas toujours un ordre bien constant, et que quelquefois il commence à raconter un fait dont la suite se trouve à la page suivante. Quoique cette confusion soit rare, je me suis cru permis de la corriger et de rapprocher ce qui devoit être réuni et ne l'étoit pas.

Notre manuscrit a, pour son orthographe, le défaut qu'ils ont la plupart, c'est que, dans certains noms, elle varie souvent d'une page à l'autre, et quelquefois même dans deux phrases que se suivent. On me blâmeroit de m'astreindre à ces variations d'une langue qui, alors incertaine, aujourd'hui est fixée. Ainsi, par exemple, il écrit Auteriche, Autheriche, Autherice, Austrice, Ostrice. Je n'emploierai constamment que celui d'Autriche.

Il en sera de même des noms dont l'orthographe ne varie point dans le manuscrit, mais qui en ont aujourd'hui une différente. J'écrirai Hongrie, Belgrade, Bulgarie, et non Honguerie, Belgrado, Vulgarie.

D'autres noms enfin ont changé en entier et ne sont plus les mêmes. Nous ne disons plus la mer Majeure, la Dunoë; mais la mer Noire, le Danube. Quant à ceux-ci je crois intéressant pour la géographie de les foire connoître; mais je croire en même temps qu'il suffira pour cela de les citer une fois. Ainsi la première fois que dans la relation le mot Dunoë s'offrira, j'écrirai Dunoë; mais par la suite je dirai toujours Danube et il en sera de même pour les autres.

On m'objectera, je m'y attends, qu'il est mal de prêter à un auteur des expressions qui n'étoient ni les siennes ni souvent même celles de son siècle; mais, après avoir bien pesé les avantages et les inconvéniens d'une nomenclature très-littérale, j'ai cru reconnoître que cette exactitude rigoureuse rendroit le texte inintelligible ou fatigant pour la plupart des lecteurs; qui si l'on veut qu'un auteur soit entendu, il faut le faire parler comme il parleroit lui-même s'il vivoit parmi nous; enfin qu'il est des choses que le bon sens ordonne de changer ou de supprimer, et qu'il seroit ridicule, par exemple, de dire, comme la Brocquière, un seigneur hongre, pour un seigneur Hongrois; des chrétiens vulgaires, pour des chrétiens Bulgares, etc.

VOYAGE DE LA BROCQUIÈRE.

CY COMMENCE LE VOYAGE DE BERTRANDON DE LA BROCQUIÈRE EN LA TERRE D'OULTRE MER, L'AN DE GRACE MIL QUATRE CENS ET TRENTE-DEUX.

POur animer et enflammer le cœur des nobles hommes qui desirent voir le monde; Et par l'ordre et commandement de très-haut, très-puissant et mon très-redouté seigneur, Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, duc de Bourgogne, de Lothrik (Lorraine), de Brabant et de Limbourg; comte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Bourgogne*; palatin de Hainaut, de Hollande, de Zélande et de Namur; marquis du Saint-Empire; seigneur de Frise, de Salins et de Malines;

Je, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, natif du duché de Guienne, seigneur de Vieux-Château, conseiller et premier écuyer tranchant de mondit très-redouté seigneur;

* La Bourgogne étoit divisée en deux parties, duché et comté. Cette dernière, que depuis fut connue sous le nom de Franche-Comté, commença dès-lors à prendre ce nom; et voilà pourquoi l'auteur désigne à la fois Philippe et comme duc de Bourgogne, et comme comte de Bourgogne.

D'après

D'après ce que je puis me rappeler et ce que j'avois consigné en abrégé dans un petit livret en guise de mémorial, j'ai rédigé par écrit ce peu de voyage que j'ai fait ;

Afin que si quelque roi ou prince chrétien vouloit entreprendre la conquête de Jérusalem et y conduire par terre une armée, ou si quelque noble homme vouloit y voyager, les uns et les autres pussent connoître, depuis le duché de Bourgogne jusqu'à Jerusalem, toutes les villes, cités, régions, contrées, rivières, montagnes et passages du pays, ainsi que les seigneurs auxquels ils appartiennent.

LA route d'ici à la cité sainte est si connue que je ne crois pas devoir m'arrêter à la décrire. Je passerai donc légèrement sur cet article, et ne commencerai à m'étendre un peu que quand je parlerai de la Syrie. J'ai parcouru ce pays en entier, depuis Gazère (Gaza), qui est l'entrée de l'Egypte, jusqu'à une journée d'Halep, ville située au nord sur la frontière et où l'on se rend quand on veut aller en Perse.

J'avois résolu de faire le saint pélerinage de Jérusalem. Déterminé à l'accomplir, je quittai, au mois de Février l'an 1432, la cour de mon très-redouté seigneur, qui alors étoit à Gand. Après avoir traversé la Picardie, la Champagne, la Bourgogne, j'entrai en Savoie où je passai le Rhône, et arrivai à Chambéri par le Mont-du-Chat.

Là commence une longue suite de montagnes, dont la plus haute, nommée mont Cénis, forme un passage dangereux dans les temps de neige. Par-tout la route, étant couverte et cachée, il faut avoir, si l'on ne veut pas se perdre, des guides du pays, appelés marrons. Ces gens vous recommandent de ne faire en chemin aucune sorte de bruit qui puisse étonner la montagne, parce qu'alors la neige s'en détache et vient très-impétueusement tomber au bas. Le mont Cénis sépare l'Italie de la France.

Descendu de là dans le Piémont, pays beau et agréable, qui par trois côtés est clos de hautes montagnes, je passai par Turin, où je traversai le Pô ; par Ast, qui est au duc d'Orléans ; par Alexandrie, dont la plupart des habitans sont usuriers, dit-on ; par Plaisance, qui appartient au duc de Milan ; enfin par Bologne-la-Grasse, qui est au pape. L'empereur Sigismond étoit dans Plaisance. Il venoit de Milan, ou il avoit reçu sa seconde couronne, et alloit à Rome chercher la *troisième.

De Bologne, pour arriver dans l'état des Florentins, j'eus à passer une autre chaîne de montagnes (l'Apennin). Florence est une grande ville où la commune se gouverne par elle-même. De trois en trois mois elle se choisit, pour son administration, des magistrats qu'elle appelle prieurs, et qui sont pris dans diverses professions. Tant qu'ils restent en place on les honore ; mais, quand leurs trois mois sont expirés, chacun retourne à son †état.

De Florence j'allai à Mont-Poulchan (Monte-Pulciano), château bâti sur une hauteur et entouré de trois côtés par un grand lac (le lac de Pérouse) ; à Espolite (Spolète) ; à Mont-Flaschon (Monte Fiascone) ; enfin à Rome.

Rome est connue. On sait par des écrits véridiques que pendant sept cents ans elle a été maîtresse du monde. Mais quand ces écrits ne l'attesteroient pas, on n'en auroit pas moins la preuve dans tous ces beaux édifices qu'on y voit encore, dans ces grands palais, ces colonnes de marbre, ces statues et tous ces monumens aussi merveilleux à voir qu'à décrire.

Joignez à cela l'immense quantité de belles reliques qu'elle possède, tant de choses qui N. S. a touchées, tant de saints corps d'apôtres, de martyrs, de confesseurs et de vierges ; enfin plusieurs églises où les saints pontifes ont accordé plein pardon de peine et de coulpe (indulgence plénière).

* En 1414, Sigismond, élu empereur, avoit reçu la couronne d'argent à Aix-la-Chapelle. Au mois de Novembre 1431, peu avant le passage de notre voyageur, il avoit reçu à Milan la couronne de fer. Ce ne fut qu'en 1433 qu'il reçut à Rome, des mains du pape, celle d'or.

† Pour donner une idée favorable du talent de la Brocquière, ne pourroit-on pas citer le court et bel éloge qu'il fait ici du gouvernement représentatif et républicain qu'avoit alors Florence ?

J'y

J'y vis Eugène IV, Vénitien, qui venoit d'être élu pape*. Le prince de Salerne lui avoit déclaré la guerre. Celui-ci étoit un Colonne, et neveu du pape Martin†.

Je sortis de Rome le 25 Mars, et passant par une ville du comte de Thalamoné, parent du cardinal des Ursins, par Urbin; par la seigneurie des Malatestes, par Reymino (Rimini), par Ravenne, qui est aux Vénitiens, je traversai trois fois le Pô (trois branches de l'embouchure du Pô), et vins à Cloge (Chiosa), ville des Vénitiens qui autrefois avoit un bon port, lequel fut détruit par eux quand les Jennevois (Génois) vinrent assiéger Venise‡. Enfin, de Cloge je me rendis à Venise, qui en est distante de vingt-cinq milles.

Venise, grande et belle ville, ancienne et marchande, est bâtie au milieu de la mer. Ses divers quartiers, séparés par les eaux, forment des îles; de sorte qu'on ne peut aller de l'une à l'autre qu'en bateau.

On y possède le corps de sainte Hélène, mère de l'empereur Constantin, ainsi que plusieurs autres que j'ai vus, et spécialement plusieurs des Innocens, qui sont entiers. Ceux-ci se trouvent dans une île qu'on appelle Réaut (Realto), île renommée par ses fabriques de verre.

Le gouvernement de Venise est sage. Nul ne peut être membre du conseil ou y posséder quelque emploi s'il n'est noble et né dans la ville. Il y a un duc qui sans cesse, pendant le jour, est tenu d'avoir avec lui six des anciens du conseil les plus remarquables. Quand il meurt, on lui donne pour successeur celui qui a montré le plus de sagesse et le plus de zèle pour le bien commun.

Le 8 Mai je m'embarquai, pour accomplir mon voyage, sur une galée (galère) avec quelques autres pélerins. Elle côtoya l'Esclavonie, et relâcha successivement à Pole (Pola), Azarre (Zara), Sébénich (Sebenico) et Corfo (Corfou).

Pola me parut avoir été autrefois une grande et forte ville. Elle a un très-beau port. On voit à Zara le corps de ce saint Siméon à qui N. S. fut présenté dans le temple. Elle est entourée de trois côtés par la mer, et son port, également beau, est fermé d'une chaîne de fer. Sebenico appartient aux Vénitiens, ainsi que l'île et la ville de Corfou, qui, avec un très-beau port, a encore deux châteaux.

De Corfou nous vînmes à Modon, bonne et belle ville de Morée, qu'ils possèdent aussi; à Candie, île très-fertile, dont les habitans sont excellens marins et où la seigneurie de Venise nomme un gouverneur qui porte le titre de duc, mais qui ne reste en place que trois ans; à Rhodes, où je n'eus que le temps de voir la ville; à Baffe, ville ruinée de l'île de Cypre; enfin à Jaffe, en la sainte terre de permission.

C'est à Jaffa que commencent les pardons de ladite sainte terre. Jadis elle appartint aux chrétiens, et alors elle étoit forte; maintenant elle est entièrement détruite, et n'a plus que quelques cahuttes en roseaux, où les pélerins se retirent pour se défendre de la chaleur du soleil. La mer entre dans la ville et forme un mauvais havre peu profond, où il est dangereux de rester, parce qu'on peut être jeté à la côte par un coup de vent. Elle a deux sources d'eau douce, dont l'une est couverte des eaux de mer quand le vent de Ponent souffle un peu fort. Dès qu'il débarque au port quelques pélerins, aussitôt des truchemens et autres officiers du soudan § viennent pour s'assurer de leur nombre, pour leur servir de guides, et recevoir en son nom le tribut d'usage.

Rames (Ramlé), où nous nous rendîmes de Jaffe, est une ville sans murailles, mais bonne et marchande, sise dans un canton agréable et fertile. Nous allâmes dans le voisinage visiter ung village où monseigneur saint Georg fu martirié; et de retour à Rames, nous reprîmes

* On va voir que la Brocquière sortit de Rome le 25 Mars, et Eugène avoit été élu dans les premiers jours du mois.

† Martin V, prédécesseur d'Eugène, étoit de la maison des Colonne, et il y avoit inimitié declarée entre cette famille et celle des Ursins. Eugène, dès qu'il se vit établi sur le Saint-Siége, prit parti entre ces deux maisons. Il se déclara pour la seconde contre la première, et sur-tout contre ceux des Colonne, qui étoient neveux de Martin. Ceux-ci prirent les armes et lui firent la guerre.

‡ Jennevois ou Gennevois. Les auteurs de ce temps appellent toujours ainsi les Génois. Je n'emploierai désormais que cette dernière dénomination, l'autre étant aujourd'hui exclusivement consacrée aux habitans de Genève.

§ C'est du soudan d'Egypte qu'il s'agit ici. C'étoit à lui qu'obéissoient alors la Palestine et la Syrie. Il en sera souvent mention dans le cours du voyage.

notre route, et arrivâmes en deux jours en la sainte cité de Jhérusalem, où nostre Seigneur Jhésu Crist reçut mort et passion pour nous.

Après y avoir fait les pélerinages qui sont d'usage pour les pélerins, nous fîmes ceux de la montagne où Jésus jeûna quarante jours; du Jourdain, où il fut baptisé; de l'église de Saint-Jean, qui est près du fleuve; de celle de Sainte-Marie-Madelaine et de Sainte-Marthe, où notre Seigneur ressuscita le Ladre (Lazare); de Bethléem, où il prit naissance; du lieu où naquit Saint-Jean-Baptiste; de la maison de Zacharie; enfin de Sainte-Croix, où crût l'arbre de la vraie croix: après quoi nous revînmes à Jérusalem.

Il y a dans Bethléem des cordeliers qui ont une église où ils font le service divin; mais ils sont dans une grande sujétion des Sarrasins. La ville n'a pour habitans que des Sarrasins et quelques chrétiens de la ceinture*.

Au lieu de la naissance de saint Jean Baptiste, on montre une roche qui, pendant qu'Hérode persécutoit les innocens, s'ouvrit miraculeusement en deux. Sainte Elisabeth y cacha son fils; aussitôt elle se ferma, et l'enfant y resta, dit-on, deux jours entiers.

Jérusalem est dans un fort pays de montagnes, et c'est encore aujourd'hui une ville assez considérable, quoiqu'elle paroisse l'avoir été autrefois bien davantage. Elle est sous la domination du soudan: ce qui doit faire honte et douleur à la chrétienté. Il n'y a de chrétiens Francs que deux cordeliers qui habitent au Saint-Sépulcre, encore y sont ils bien vexés des Sarrasins; et je puis en parler avec connoissance de cause, moi qui pendant deux mois en ai été le témoin.

Dans l'église du Sépulcre se trouvent aussi d'autres sortes de chrétiens: Jacobites, Erménins (Arméniens), Abécins (Abyssins), de la terre du prêtre Jehan, et chrétiens de la ceinture; mais de tous ce sont les Francs qui éprouvent la sujétion la plus dure.

Après tous ces pélerinages accomplis, nous en entreprîmes un autre également d'usage, celui de Sainte-Catherine au mont Sinaï; et pour celui-ci nous nous réunîmes dix pélerins: messire André de Thoulongeon, messire Michel de †Ligne, Guillaume de Ligne son frère, Sanson de Lalaing, Pierre de Vaudrey, Godefroi de Thoisi, Humbert Buffart, Jean de la Roe, Simonnet (le nom de la famille est en blanc), et moi‡.

Pour l'instruction de ceux qui, comme moi, voudroient l'entreprendre, je dirai que l'usage est de traiter avec le grand trucheman de Jérusalem; que celui ci commence par percevoir un droit pour le soudan et un autre pour lui, et qu'alors il envoie prévenir le trucheman de Gaza, qui à son tour traite du passage avec les Arabes du désert. Ces Arabes jouissent du droit de conduire les pélerins; et comme ils ne sont pas toujours fort soumis au soudan, on est obligé de se servir de leurs chameaux, qu'ils louent à dix ducats par bête.

Le Sarrasin qui remplissoit alors l'emploi de grand trucheman se nommoit Nanchardin. Quand il eut reçu la réponse des Arabes, il nous assembla devant la chapelle qui est à l'entrée et à la gauche de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre. Là il prit par écrit nos âges, noms, surnoms et signalemens très-détaillés, et en envoya le double au grand trucheman du Caire. Ces précautions ont lieu pour la sûreté des voyageurs, afin que les Arabes ne puissent en retenir aucun; mais je suis persuadé qu'il y entre aussi de la méfiance, et qu'on craint quelque échange ou quelque substitution qui fasse perdre le tribut.

Prêts à partir, nous achetâmes du vin pour la route, et fîmes notre provision de vivres, excepté celle de biscuit, parce que nous devions en trouver à Gaza. Nanchardin nous fournit, pour notre monture et pour porter nos provisions, des ânes et des mulets. Il nous donna un trucheman particulier, nommé Sadalva, et nous partîmes.

* L'an 235 de l'hégire, 856 de l'ère chrétienne, le calife Motouakkek astreignit les chrétiens et les Juifs à porter une large ceinture de cuir, et aujourd'hui encore ils la portent dans l'Orient. Mais depuis cette époque les chrétiens d'Asie, et spécialement ceux de Syrie, qui sont presque tous Nestoriens ou Jacobites, furent nommés chrétiens de la ceinture.

† On sait que le nom de messire ou de monseigneur étoit un titre qu'on donnoit aux chevaliers.

‡ Ces noms, dont les cinq premiers sont ceux de grands seigneurs des états du duc de Bourgogne, attestent que plusieurs personnes de la cour du duc s'étoient réunies pour le voyage d'outremer, et ce sont probablement celles qui s'embarquèrent à Venise avec notre auteur, quoique jusqu'à présent il ne les ait pas nommées. Toulongeon, cette même année 1432, fut créé chevalier de la toison d'or; mais il ne reçut pas l'ordre, parce qu'il étoit pélerin et qu'il mourut en route.

Le

Le premier lieu par lequel nous passâmes est un village, jadis beaucoup plus considérable et maintenant habité par des chrétiens de la ceinture, qui cultivent des vignes. Le second est une ville appelée Saint-Abraham ; et située dans la vallée d'Hebron, où Notre Seigneur fourma premièrement Adam nostre premier père. Là sont inhumés ensemble Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, avec leurs femmes. Mais ce tombeau est aujourd'hui enfermé dans une mosquée de Sarrasins. Nous desirions fort d'y entrer, et nous avançâmes même jusqu'à la porte ; mais nos guides et notre trucheman nous dirent qu'ils n'oseroient nous y introduire de jour, à cause des risques qu'ils courroient, et que tout chrétien qui pénètre dans une mosquée est mis à mort, à moins qu'il ne renonce à sa foi.

Après la vallée d'Hébron nous en traversâmes une autre fort grande, près de laquelle on montre la montagne où saint Jean Baptiste fit sa pénitence. De là nous vînmes en pays désert loger dans une de ces maisons que la charité a fait bâtir pour les voyageurs, et qu'on appelle kan, et du kan nous nous rendîmes à Gaza.

Gaza, située dans un beau pays, près de la mer et à l'entrée du désert, est une forte ville, quoique sans fermeture aucune. On prétend quelle appartint jadis au fort Sanson. On y montre encore son palais, ainsi que les colonnes de celui qu'il abbattit ; mais je n'oserois garantir que ce sont les mêmes.

Souvent les pélerins y sont traités durement, et nous en aurions fait l'épreuve sans le seigneur (le gouverneur), homme d'environ soixante ans et né Chercais (Circassien), qui reçut nos plaintes et nous rendit justice. Trois fois nous fûmes obligés de paroître devant lui : l'une, à raison de nos épées que nous portions ; les deux autres pour des querelles que nous cherchoient les Moucres Sarrasins du pays.

Plusieurs de nous vouloient acheter des ânes, parce que le chameau a un branle très-dur qui fatigue extrêmement quand on n'y est pas accoutumé. Un âne à Gaza se vendoit deux ducats ; et les Moucres vouloient, non seulement nous empêcher d'en acheter, mais nous forcer d'en louer des leurs, et de les louer cinq ducats chacun jusqu'à Sainte Catherine. Le procès fut porté devant le seigneur. Pour moi, qui jusque-là n'avois point cessé de monter un chameau, et qui me proposois de ne point changer, je leur demandai de m'apprendre comment je pourrois monter un chameau et un âne tout à la fois. Le seigneur prononça en notre faveur, et il décida que nous ne serions obligés de louer des ânes aux Moucres qu'autant que cela nous conviendroit.

Nous achetâmes les nouvelles provisions qui nous étoient nécessaires pour continuer notre voyage ; mais, la veille de notre départ, quatre d'entre nous tombèrent malades, et ils retournèrent à Jérusalem. Moi, je partis avec les cinq autres, et nous vînmes à un village situé à l'entré du désert, et le seul qu'on trouve depuis Gaza jusqu' à Sainte Catherine. Là messire Sanson de Lalaing nous quitta et s'en retourna aussi ; de sorte que je restai dans la compagnie de messire André (de Toulongeon), Pierre de Vaudrei, Godefroi (de Toisi) et Jean de la Roc.

Nous voyageâmes ainsi deux journées dans le désert, sans y rien voir absolument qui mérite d'être raconté. Seulement un matin, avant le lever du soleil, j'aperçus courir un animal à quatre pates, long de trois pieds environ, et qui n'avoit guère en hauteur plus qu'une palme. A sa vue nos Arabes s'enfuirent, et la bête alla se cacher dans une broussaille qui se trouvoit là. Messire André et Pierre de Vaudrey mirent pied à terre et coururent à elle l'épée en main. Elle se mit à crier comme un chat qui voit approcher un chien. Pierre de Vaudrey la frappa sur le dos de la pointe de son épée ; mais il ne lui fit aucun mal, parce qu'elle est couverte de grosses écailles, comme un esturgeon. Elle s'élança sur messire André, qui d'un coup de la sienne lui coupa le cou en partie, la tourna sur le dos, les pieds en l'air, et la tua. Elle avoit la tête d'un fort lièvre, les pieds comme les mains d'un petit enfant, et une assez longue queue, semblable à celle des gros verderceaux (lézards verts.) Nos Arabes et notre trucheman nous dirent qu'elle étoit fort dangereuse*.

* D'après la description vague que donne ici la Brocquière, il paroit que l'animal dont il parle est le grand lézard appelé monitor, parce qu'on prétend qu'il avertit de l'approche du crocodile. Quant à la terreur qu'en avoient les Arabes, elle n'étoit point fondée.

A la fin de la seconde journée je fus saisi d'une fièvre ardente, si forte qu'il me fut impossible d'aller plus loin. Mes quatre compagnons, bien désolés de mon accident, me firent monter un âne, et me recommandèrent à un de nos Arabes, qu'ils chargèrent de me reconduire à Gaza, s'il étoit possible.

Cet homme eut beaucoup soin de moi; ce qui ne leur est point ordinaire vis-à-vis des chrétiens. Il me tint fidèle compagnie, et me mena le soir passer la nuit dans un de leurs camps, qui pouvoit avoir quatre-vingts et quelques tentes, rangées en forme de rues. Ces tentes sont faites avec deux fourches qu'on plante en terre par leux gros bout à une certaine distance l'une de l'autre. Sur les deux fourches est posée en travers une perche et sur la perche une grosse couverture en laine ou en gros poil.

Quand j'arrivai, quatre ou cinq Arabes de la connoissance du mien vinrent au devant de nous. Ils me decendirent de mon âne, me firent coucher sur un matelas que je portois, et là, me traitant à leur guise, ils me pétirent et me pincèrent tant avec les * mains que, de fatigue et de lassitude, je m'endormis et reposai six heures.

Pendant tout ce temps aucun d'eux ne me fit le moindre déplaisir, et ils ne me prirent rien. Ce leur étoit cependant chose bien aisée; et je devois d'ailleurs les tenter, puisque je portois sur moi deux cents ducats, et que j'avois deux chameaux chargés de provisions et de vin.

Je me remis en route avant le jour pour regagner Gaza: mais quand j'y arrivai je ne retrouvai plus ni mes quatre compagnons, ni même messire Sanson de Lalaing. Tous cinq étoient retournés à Jérusalem, et ils avoient emmené avec eux le trucheman. Heureusement je trouvai un Juif Sicilien de qui je pus me faire entendre. Il fit venir près de moi un vieux Samaritain qui, par un remède qu'il me donna, appaisa la grande ardeur que j'endurois.

Deux jours après, me sentant un peu mieux, je partis dans la compagnie d'un Maure. Il me mena par le chemin de la marine (de la côte.) Nous passâmes pres d'Esclavonie (Ascalon), et vînmes, à travers un pays toujours agréable et fertile, à Ramlé, d'où je repris le chemin de Jérusalem.

La première journée, je rencontrai sur ma route l'amiral (commandant) de cette ville. Il revenoit d'un pélerinage avec une troupe de cinquante cavaliers et de cent chameaux, montés presque tous par des femmes et des enfans qui l'avoient accompagné au lieu de sa dévotion. Je passai la nuit avec eux; et, le lendemain, de retour a Jérusalem, j'allai loger chez les cordeliers, à l'église du mont de Sion, où je retrouvai mes cinq camarades.

En arrivant je me mis au lit pour me faire traiter de ma maladie, et je ne fus guéri et en état de partir que le 19 d'Aôut. Mais pendant ma convalescence je me rappelai que plusieurs fois j'avois entendu différentes personnes dire qu'il étoit impossible à un chrétien de revenir par terre de Jérusalem en France. Je n'oserois pas même, aujourd'hui que j'ai fait le voyage, assurer qu'il est sûr. Cependant il me sembla qu'il n'y a rien qu'un homme ne puisse entreprendre quand il est assez bien constitué pour supporter la fatigue, et qu'il possède argent et santé. Au reste, ce n'est point par jactance que je dis cela; mais, avec l'aide de Dieu et de sa glorieuse mère, qui jamais ne manque d'assister ceux qui la prient de bon coeur, je résolus de tenter l'aventure.

Je me tus néanmoins pour le moment sur mon projet, et ne m'en ouvris pas même à mes compagnons. D'ailleurs je voulois, avant de l'entreprendre, faire encore quelques autres p lerinages, et spécialement ceux de Nazareth et du mont Thabor. J'allai donc prévenir de mon dessein Namchardin, grand trucheman du soudan à Jérusalem, et il me donna pour mon voyage un trucheman particulier. Je comptois commencer par celui du Thabor, et déja tout étoit arrangé; mais quand je fus au moment de partir, le gardien chez qui je logeois m'en détourna, et s'y opposa même de toutes ses forces. Le trucheman, de son côté, s'y refusa, et il m'annonça que je ne trouverois dans les circonstances personne pour m'accompagner, parce qu'il nous faudroit passer sur le territoire de villes qui étoient en guerre, et que tout récemment un Vénitien et son trucheman y avoient été assassinés.

* C'est ce que nous appelons masser. Cette méthode est employée dans beaucoup de contrées de l'Orient pour certaines maladies.

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Je me restreignis donc au second pélerinage, et messire Sanson de Lalaing voulut m'y accompagner, ainsi que Humbert. Nous laissâmes au mont de Sion messire Michel de Ligne, qui étoit malade. Son frère Guillaume resta près de lui avec un serviteur pour le garder. Nous autres nous partîmes le jour de la mi-août, et notre intention étoit de nous rendre à Jaffa par Ramlé, et de Jaffa à Nazareth ; mais avant de me mettre en route, j'allai au tombeau de Notre Dame implorer sa protection pour mon grand voyage. J'entendis aux cordeliers le service divin, et je vis là des gens qui se disent chrétiens, desquels il y en a de bien estranges, selon nostre manière.

Le gardien de Jérusalem nous fit l'amitié de nous accompagner jusqu'à Jaffa, avec un frère cordelier du couvent de Beaune. Là ils nous quittèrent, et nous prîmes une barque de Maures qui nous conduisit au port d'Acre.

Ce port est beau, profond et bien fermé. La ville elle-même paroît avoir été grande et forte ; mais il n'y subsiste plus maintenant que trois cent maisons situées à l'une de ses extrémités, et assez loin de la marine. Quant à notre pélerinage, nous ne pûmes l'accomplir. Des marchands Vénitiens que nous consultâmes nous en détournèrent, et nous prîmes le parti d'y renoncer. Ils nous apprirent en même temps qu'on attendoit à Barut une galère de Narbonne. Mes camarades voulurent en profiter pour retourner en France, et en conséquence nous prîmes le chemin de cette ville.

Nous vîmes en route Sur, ville fermée et qui a un bon port, puis Saïette (Séyde), autre port de mer assez * bon. Pour Barut, elle a été plus considérable qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui ; mais son port est beau encore, profond et sûr pour les vaisseaux. On voit à l'une de ses pointes les restes d'un château fort qu'elle avoit autrefois, et qui est détruit†.

Moi qui n'étois occupé que de mon grand voyage, j'employai mon séjour dans cette ville à prendre sur cet objet des renseignemens et je m'adressai pour cela à un marchand Génois nommé Jacques Pervézin. Il me conseilla d'aller à Damas ; m'assura que j'y trouverois des marchands Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins, Génois et autres, qui pourroient me guider par leurs conseils, et me donna même, pour un de ses compatriotes appelé Ottobon Escot, une lettre de recommendation.

Résolu de consulter Escot avant de rien entreprendre, je proposai à messire Sanson d'aller voir Damas, sans cependant lui rien dire de mon projet. Il accepta volontiers la proposition, et nous partîmes, conduits par un moucre. J'ai déja dit qu'en Syrie les moucres sont des gens dont le métier est de conduire les voyageurs et de leur louer des ânes et des mulets.

Au sortir de Barut nous eûmes à traverser de hautes montagnes jusqu'à une longue plaine appelée vallée de Noë, parce que Noë, dit-on, y bâtit son arche. La vallée a tout au plus une lieue de large ; mais elle est agréable et fertile, arrosée par deux rivières et peuplée d'Arabes.

Jusqu'à Damas on continue de voyager entre des montagnes au pied desquelles on trouve beaucoup de villages et de vignobles. Mais je préviens ceux qui, comme moi, auront à les traverser, de songer à se bien munir pour la nuit ; car de ma vie je n'ai eu aussi froid. Cette excessive froidure a pour cause la chute de la rosée ; et il en est ainsi par toute la Syrie. Plus la chaleur a été grande pendant le jour, plus la rosée est abondante et la nuit froide.

Il y a deux journées de Barut à Damas.

Par toute la Syrie les Mahométans ont établi pour les chrétiens une coutume particulière qui ne leur permet point d'aller à cheval dans les villes. Aucun d'eux, s'il est connu pour tel ne l'oseroit, et en conséquence notre moucre, avant d'entrer, nous fit mettre pied à terre, messire Sanson et moi.

A peine étions nous entrés qu'une douzaine de Sarrasins s'approcha pour nous regarder. Je portois un grand chapeau de feutre, qui n'est point d'usage dans le pays. Un d'eux vint le frapper par dessous d'un coup de bâton, et il me le jeta par terre. J'avoue que mon

* Sur est l'ancienne Tyr ; Saïette, l'ancienne Sidon ; Barut, l'ancienne Bérite.

† Les notions que nous donne ici la Brocquière sont intéressantes pour la géographie. Elles prouvent que tous ces ports de Syrie, jadis si commerçans et si fameux, aujourd'hui si dégradés et si complétement inutiles, étoient de son temps propres encore la plupart au commerce.

premier

premier mouvement fut de lever le poing sur lui. Mais le moucre, se jetant entre nous deux, me poussa en arrière, et ce fut pour moi un vrai bonheur ; car en un instant trente ou quarante autres personnes accoururent, et, si j'avois frappé, je ne sais ce que nous serions devenus.

Je dis ceci pour avertir que les habitans de cette ville sont gens méchans qui n'entendent pas trop raison, et que par conséquent il faut bien se garder d'avoir querelle avec eux. Il en est de même ailleurs. J'ai éprouvé par moi-même qu'il ne faut vis-à-vis d'eux ni faire le mauvais, ni se montrer peureux ; qu'il ne faut ni paroître pauvre, parce qu'ils vous mépriseroient ; ni riche, parce qu'ils sont très-avides, ainsi que l'expérimentent tous ceux qui débarquent à Jaffa.

Damas peut bien contenir, m'a-t-on dit, cent mille *ames. La ville est riche, marchande, et, après le Caire, la plus considérable de toutes celles que possède le soudan. Au levant, au septentrion et au midi, elle a une grande plaine ; au ponant, une montagne au pied de laquelle sont bâtis les faubourgs. Elle est traversée d'une rivière qui s'y divise en plusieurs canaux, et fermée dans son enceinte seulement de belles murailles ; car les faubourgs sont plus grands que la ville. Nulle part je n'ai vu d'aussi grands jardins, de meilleurs fruits, une plus grande abondance d'eau. Cette abondance est telle qu'il y a peu de maisons, m'a-t-on dit, qui n'aient leur fontaine.

Le seigneur (le gouverneur) n'a, dans toute la Syrie et l'Egypte, que le seul soudan qui lui soit supérieur en puissance. Mais comme en différens temps quelques-uns d'eux se sont revoltés, les soudans ont pris des précautions pour les contenir. Du côté de terre est un grand et fort château qui a des fossés larges et profonds. Ils y placent un capitaine à leur choix, et jamais ce capitaine n'y laisse entrer le gouverneur.

En 1400 Damas fut détruite et réduite en cendres par le Tambrulant (Tamerlan). On voit encore des vestiges de ce désastre ; et vers la porte qu'on appelle de Saint-Paul, il y a un quartier tout entier qui n'est pas rebâti.

Dans la ville est un kan destiné à servir de dépôt de sûreté aux négocians pour leurs marchandises. On l'appelle kan Berkot, et ce nom lui a été donné, parce qu'il fut originairement la maison d'un homme nommé ainsi. Pour moi, je crois que Berkot étoit Français ; et ce qui me le fait présumer, c'est que sur une pierre de sa maison sont sculptées des fleurs de lis qui paroissent aussi anciennes que les murs.

Quoi qu'il en soit de son origine, ce fut un très-vaillant homme, et qui jouit encore dans le pays d'une haute renommée. Jamais, pendant tout le temps qu'il vécut et qu'il eut de l'autorité, les Persiens et Tartres (Persans et Tatars) ne purent gagner en Syrie la plus petite portion de terrain. Dès qu'il apprenoit qu'une de leurs armées y portoit les armes, il marchoit contre elle jusqu'à une rivière au-delà d'Alep, laquelle *sépare la Syrie de la Perse*, et qu'à vue de pays je crois être celle qu'on *appelle Jéhon*, *et qui* vient tomber à Misses en Turcomanie. On est persuadé à Damas que, s'il eût vécu, Tamerlan n'auroit pas osé porter ses armes de ce côté-là. Au reste ce Tamerlan rendit honneur à sa mémoire quand il prit la ville. En ordonnant d'y tout mettre à feu, il ordonna de respecter la maison de Berkot ; il la fit garder pour la défendre de l'incendie, et elle subsiste encore.

Les chrétiens ne sont vus à Damas qu'avec haine. Chaque soir on enferme les marchands dans leurs maisons. Il y a des gens préposés pour cela, et le lendemain ils viennent rouvrir les portes quand bon leur semble.

J'y trouvai plusieurs marchands Génois, Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins et Français. Ces derniers étoient venus y acheter différentes choses, spécialement des épices, et ils comptoient aller à Barut s'embarquer sur la galère de Narbonne qu'on y attendoit. Parmi eux il y avoit un nommé Jacques Cœur, qui depuis a joué un grand rôle en France et a été argentier du

* Il y a dans le texte cent mille hommes. Si, par ce mot hommes, l'auteur entend les habitans mâles, alors, pour comprendre les femmes dans la population, il faudroit compter plus de deux cent mille individus au lieu de cent mille. S'il entend les personnes en état de porter les armes, son état de population est trop fort et ne peut être admis.

roi.

roi. Il nous dit que la galère étoit alors à Alexandrie, et que probablement messire André viendroit avec ses trois camarades la prendre à Barut.

Hors de Damas et près des murs on me montra le lieu où saint Paul, dans une vision, fut renversé de cheval et aveuglé. Il se fit aussitôt conduire à Damas pour y recevoir le baptême, et l'endroit où on le baptisa est aujourd'hui une mosquée.

Je vis aussi la pierre sur laquelle saint George monta à cheval quand il alla combattre le dragon. Elle a deux pieds en carré. On prétend qu'autrefois les Sarrasins avoient voulu l'enlever, et que jamais, quelques moyens qu'ils aient employés, ils n'ont pu y réussir.

Après avoir vu Damas nous revînmes à Barut, messire Sanson et moi: nous y trouvâmes messire André, Pierre de Vaudrey, Geoffroi de Thoisi et Jean de la Roe, qui déja s'y étoient rendus, comme me l'avoit annoncé Jacques Cœur. La galère y arriva d'Alexandrie trois ou quatre jours après; mais, pendant ce court intervalle, nous fûmes témoins d'une fête que les Maures célébrèrent à leur ancienne manière.

Elle commença le soir, au coucheur du soleil. Des troupes nombreuses, éparses çà et là, chantoient et poussoient de grands cris. Pendant ce temps on tiroit le canon du château, et les gens de la ville lançoient en l'air, bien hault et bien loing, une manière de feu plus gros que le plus gros fallot que je veisse oncques allumé. Ils me dirent qu'ils s'en servoient quelquefois à la mer pour brûler les voiles d'un vaisseau ennemi. Il me semble que, comme c'est chose bien aisée et de une petite despense, ou pourroit l'employer également, soit à consumer un camp ou un village couvert en paille, soit, dans un combat de cavalerie, à épouvanter les chevaux.

Curieux d'en connoître la composition, j'envoyai vers celui qui le faisoit le valet de mon hôte, et lui fis demander de me l'apprendre. Il me répondit qu'il n'oseroit, et que ce seroit pour lui une affaire trop dangereuse, si elle étoit sue; mais comme il n'est rien qu'un Maure ne fasse pour de l'argent, je donnai à celui-ci un ducat, et, pour l'amour du ducat, il m'apprit tout ce qu'il savoit, et me donna même des moules en bois et autres ingrédiens que j'ai apportés en France.

La veille de l'embarquement je pris à part messire André de Toulongeon, et après lui avoir fait promettre qu'il ne s'opposeroit en rien à ce que j'allois lui révéler, je lui fis part du projet que j'avois formé de retourner par terre. Conséquemment à sa parole donnée, il ne tenta point de m'en empêcher; mais il me représenta tout ce que j'allois courir de dangers, et celui sur-tout de me voir contraint à renier la foi de Jésus-Christ. Au reste j'avoue que ses représentations étoient fondées, et que de tous les périls dont il me menaçoit il n'en est point, excepté celui de renier, que je n'aie éprouvés. Il engagea également ses camarades à me parler; mais ils eurent beau faire, je les laissai partir et demeurai.

Après leur départ je visitai une mosquée qui jadis avoit été une très-belle église, bâtie, disoit-on, par sainte Barbe. On ajoute que quand les Sarrasins s'en furent emparés, et que leurs crieurs voulurent y monter pour annoncer la prière, selon leur usage, ils furent si battus que depuis ce jour aucun d'eux n'a osé y retourner.

Il y a aussi un autre bâtiment miraculeux qu'on a changé en église. C'étoit auparavant une maison de Juifs. Un jour que ces gens-là avoient trouvé une image de Notre Seigneur, ils se mirent à la lapider, comme leurs pères jadis l'avoient lapidé lui-même; mais l'image ayant versé du sang, ils furent tellement effrayés du miracle, qu'ils se sauvèrent, allèrent s'accuser à l'évêque, et donnèrent même leur maison en réparation du crime. On en a fait une église, qui aujourd'hui est desservie par des cordeliers.

Je logeai chez un marchand Vénitien nommé Paul Barberico; et comme je n'avois nullement renoncé à mes deux pélerinages de Nazareth et du Thabor, malgré les obstacles que j'y avois rencontrés et tout ce qu'on m'avoit dit pour m'en détourner, je le consultai sur ce double voyage. Il me procura un moucre qui se chargea de me conduire, et qui s'engagea même pardevant lui à me mener sain et sauf jusqu'à Damas, et à lui en rapporter un certificat signé par moi. Cet homme me fit habiller en Sarrasin; car les Francs, pour leur sûreté, quand ils voyagent, ont obtenu du soudan de prendre en route cet habillement.

Je partis donc de Barut avec mon moucre le lendemain du jour où la galère avoit mis à la voile,

voile, et nous prîmes le chemin de Saïette, entre la mer et les montagnes. Souvent ces montagnes s'avancent si près du rivage qu'on est obligé de marcher sur la grève, et quelquefois elles en sont éloignées de trois quarts de lieue.

Après une heure de marche je trouvai un petit bois de hauts sapins que les gens du pays conservent bien précieusement. Il est même sévèrement défendu d'en abattre aucun ; mais j'ignore la raison de ce règlement.

Plus loin étoit une rivière assez profonde. Mon moucre me dit que c'étoit celle qui vient de la vallée de Noë, mais qu'elle n'est pas bonne à boire. Elle a un pont de pierre, près duquel se trouve un kan où nous passâmes la nuit.

Le lendemain je vins à Séyde, ville située sur la marine (sur la mer), et fermée du côté de terre par des fossés peu profonds.

Sur, que les Maures nomment Four, est située de même. Il est abreuvé par une fontaine qu'on trouve à un quart de lieue vers le midi, et dont l'eau, très-bonne, vient, par-dessus des arches, se rendre dans la ville.

Je ne fis que la traverser, et elle me parut assez belle ; cependant elle n'est pas forte, non plus que Séyde, toutes deux ayant été détruites autrefois, ainsi qu'il paroît par leurs murailles, qui ne valent pas, à beaucoup près, celles de nos villes.

La montagne, vers Sur, s'arrondit en croissant, et s'avance par ses deux pointes jusqu'à la mer. L'espace vide entre l'une et l'autre n'a point de villages ; mais il y en a beaucoup le long de la montagne.

Une lieue au-delà on trouve une gorge qui vous oblige de passer sur une falaise au haut de laquelle est une tour. Les cavaliers qui vont de Sur à Acre n'ont point d'autre route que ce passage, et la tour a été construite pour le garder.

Depuis ce défilé jusqu'à Acre les montagnes sont peu élevées, et l'on y voit beaucoup d'habitations qui, pour la plupart, sont remplies d'Arabes. Près de la ville je rencontrai un grand seigneur du pays nommé Fancardin. Il campoit en plein champ, et portoit avec lui ses tentes.

Acre, entourée de trois côtés par des montagnes, quoique avec une plaine d'environ quatre lieues, l'est de l'autre par la mer. J'y fis connoissance d'un marchand de Venise nommé Aubert Franc, qui m'accueillit bien et qui me procura sur mes deux pélerinages des renseignemens utiles dont je profitai.

A l'aide de ses avis je me mis en route pour Nazareth, et, après avoir traversé une grande plaine, je vins à la fontaine dont Notre Seigneur changea l'eau en vin aux noces d'Archéticlin *; elle est près d'un village où l'on dit que naquit saint Pierre.

Nazareth n'est qu'un autre gros village bâti entre deux montagnes ; mais le lieu où l'ange Gabriel vint annoncer à la vierge Marie qu'elle seroit mère fait pitié à voir. L'église qu'on y avoit bâtie est entièrement détruite, et il n'en subsiste plus qu'une petite chose (case), là où Nostre-Dame estoit quand l'angèle lui apparu.

De Nazareth j'allai au Thabor, où fu faite la transfiguration de Notre Seigneur, et plusieurs autres miracles. Mais comme les pâturages y attirent beaucoup d'Arabes qui viennent y mener leurs bêtes, je fus obligé de prendre pour escorte quatre autres hommes, dont deux étoient Arabes eux-mêmes.

La montée est très-rude, parce qu'il n'y a point de chemin ; je la fis à dos de mulet, et j'y employai deux heures. La cime se termine par un plateau presque rond, qui peut avoir en longeur deux portées d'arc et une de large. Jadis il fut enceint d'une muraille dont on voit encore des restes avec des fossés, et dans le pourtour, en dedans du mur, étoient plusieurs églises, et spécialement une où l'on gagne encore, quoiqu'elle soit ruinée, plain pardon de paine et de coulpe.

Au levant du Thabor, et au pied de la montagne, on aperçoit Tabarie (Tibériade), au-

* Architriclinus est un mot Latin formé du Grec, par lequel l'Evangile désigne le maître d'hôtel ou majordôme qui présidoit aux noces de Cana. Nos ignares auteurs des bas siècles le prirent pour un nom d'homme, et cet homme ils en firent un saint, qu'ils appelèrent saint Architriclin. Dans la relation de la Brocquière, Architriclin est le marié de Cana.

delà

delà de laquelle coule le Jourdain; au couchant est une grande plaine fort agréable par ses jardins remplis de palmiers portant dattes, et par de petits bosquets d'arbres plantés comme des vignes, et sur lesquels croît le coton. Au lever du soleil ceux-ci présentent un aspect singulier. En voyant leurs feuilles vertes couvertes de coton, on diroit qu'il a neigé sur eux*.

Ce fut dans cette plaine que je descendis pour me reposer et dîner; car j'avois apporté des poulets crus et du vin. Mes guides me conduisirent dans une maison dont le maître, quand il vit mon vin, me prit pour un homme de distinction et m'accueillit bien. Il m'apporta une écuelle de lait, une de miel, et une branche chargée de dattes nouvelles. C'étoit la première fois de ma vie que j'en voyois. Je vis encore comment on travailloit le coton, et pour ce travail les ouvriers étoient des hommes et des femmes. Mais là aussi mes guides voulurent me rançonner, et, pour me reconduire à Nazareth où je les avois pris, ils exigèrent de moi un marché nouveau.

Je n'avois point d'épée, car j'avoue que je l'aurois tirée, et c'eût été folie à moi, comme c'en seroit une à ceux qui m'imiteroient. Le résultat de la querelle fut que, pour me débarrasser d'eux, il me fallut leur donner douze drachmes de leur monnoie, lesquelles valent un demi-ducat. Dès qu'ils les eurent reçues ils me quittèrent tous quatre; de sorte que je fus obligé de m'en revenir seul avec mon moucre.

Nous avions fait peu de chemin, quand nous vîmes venir à nous deux Arabes armés à leur manière et montés sur de superbes chevaux. Le moucre, en les voyant, eut grande peur. Heureusement ils passèrent sans nous rien dire; mais il m'avoua que, s'ils m'eussent soupçonné d'être chrétien, nous étions perdus, et qu'ils nous eussent tués tous deux sans rémission, ou pour le moins dépouillés en entier.

Chacun d'eux portoit une longue et mince perche ferrée par les deux bouts, dont l'un étoit tranchant, l'autre arrondi, mais garni de plusieurs taillans, et long d'un empan. Leur écu (bouclier) étoit rond, selon leur usage, convexe dans la partie du milieu, et garni au centre d'une grosse pointe de fer; mais depuis cette pointe jusqu'au bas il étoit orné de longues franges de soie. Ils avoient pour vêtement des robes dont les manches, larges de plus d'un pied et demi, dépassoient leurs bras, et pour toque un chapeau rond terminé en pointe, de laine cramoisie, et velu; mais ce chapeau, au lieu d'avoir sa toile tortillée tout autour, comme l'ont les autres Maures, l'avoit pendante fort bas des deux côtés, dans toute sa largeur.

Nous allâmes de là loger à Samarie, parce que je voulois visiter la mer de Tabarie (lac de Tibériade), où l'on dit que saint Pierre pêchoit ordinairement, et y a aucuns (quelques) pardons: c'étoient les quatre-temps de Septembre. Le moucre me laissa seul toute la journée. Samarie est située sur la pointe d'une montagne. Nous n'y entrâmes qu'à la chute du jour, et nous en sortîmes à minuit pour nous rendre au lac. Le moucre avoit préféré cette heure, afin d'esquiver le tribut que paient ceux qui s'y rendent; mais la nuit m'empêcha de voir le pays d'alentour.

J'allai ensuite au puits qu'on nomme puits de Jacob, parce que Jacob y fut jeté par ses frères. Il y a là une belle mosquée, dans laquelle j'entrai avec mon moucre, parce que je feignis d'être Sarrasin.

Plus loin est un pont de pierre sur lequel on passe le Jourdain, et qu'on appelle le pont de Jacob, à cause d'une maison qui s'y trouve, et qui fut, dit-on, celle de ce patriarche. Le fleuve sort d'un grand lac situé au pied d'une montagne vers le northuuest (nord-ouest), et sur la montagne est un beau château possédé par Namcardin.

Du lac je pris le chemin de Damas. Le pays est assez agréable, et quoiqu'on y marche toujours entre deux rangs de montagnes, il a constamment une ou deux lieues de large. Cependant on y trouve un endroit fort étrange. Là le chemin est réduit uniquement à ce qu'il faut pour le passage des chevaux; tout le reste, à droite et à gauche, dans une largeur et

* Il est probable qu'ici le voyageur s'est trompé. Le cotonnier a par ses feuilles quelque ressemblance avec celles de la vigne. Elles sont lobées de même; mais le coton naît dans des capsules, et non sur des feuilles. On connoît en botanique plusieurs arbres dont les feuilles sont couvertes à leur surface extérieure d'un duvet blanc; mais on n'en connoît aucune qui produise du coton.

une longueur d'une lieue environ, ne présente qu'un amas immense de cailloux pareils à ceux de rivière, et dont la plupart sont gros comme des queues de vin.

Au débouché de ce lieu est un très-beau kan, entouré de fontaines et de ruisseaux. A quatre ou cinq milles de Damas il y en a un autre, le plus magnifique que j'aie vu de ma vie. Celui-ci est près d'une petite rivière formée par des sources; et en général plus on approche de la ville et plus le pays est beau.

Là je trouvai un Maure tout noir qui venoit du Caire à course de chameau, et qui étoit venu en huit jours, quoiqu'il y eût, me dit-on, seize journées de marche. Son chameau lui avoit échappé: à l'aide de mon moucre je parvins à le lui faire reprendre. Ces coureurs ont une selle fort singulière, sur laquelle ils sont assis les jambes croisées; mais la rapidité des chameaux qui les conduisent est si grande que, pour résister à l'impression de l'air, ils se font serrer d'un bandage la tête et le corps.

Celui-ci étoit porteur d'un ordre du soudan. Une galère et deux galiotes du prince de Tarente avoient pris devant Tripoli de Syrie une griperie * de Maures: le soudan, par représailles, envoyoit saisir à Damas et dans toute la Syrie tous les Catalans et les Génois qui s'y trouvoient. Cette nouvelle, dont je fus instruit par mon moucre, ne m'effraya pas. J'entrai hardiment dans la ville avec les Sarrasins, parce que, habillé comme eux, je crus n'avoir rien à craindre. Mon voyage avoit duré sept jours.

Le lendemain de mon arrivée je vis la caravane qui revenoit de la Mecque. On la disoit composée de trois mille chameaux; et en effet elle employa pour entrer dans la ville près de deux jours et deux nuits. Cet événement fut, selon l'usage, une grande fête. Le seigneur de Damas, ainsi que les plus notables, allèrent au devant de la caravane, par respect pour l'Alkoran qu'elle avoit. Ce livre est la loi qu'a laissée aux siens Mahomet. Il étoit enveloppé d'une étoffe de soie peinte et chargée de lettres morisques, et un chameau le portoit, couvert lui-même également de soie.

En avant du chameau marchoient quatre ménestrels (musiciens) et une grande quantité de tambours et de nacquaires (timbales) qui faisoient ung hault bruit. Devant et autour de lui étoient une trentaine d'hommes dont les uns portoient des arbalètes, les autres des épées nues, d'autres de petits canons (arquebuses) qu'ils tiroient de temps en temps†. Par derrière suivoient huit vieillards, qui montoient chacun un chameau de course près duquel on menoit en lesse leur cheval, magnifiquement couvert et orné de riches selles, selon la mode du pays. Après eux enfin venoit une dame Turque, parente du grand-seigneur: elle étoit dans une litière que portoient deux chameaux richement parés et couverts. Il y avoit plusieurs de ces animaux couverts de drap d'or.

La caravane étoit composée de Maures, de Turcs, Barbes (Barbaresques), Tartres (Tatars), Persans et autres sectateurs du faux prophète Mahomet. Ces gens-là prétendent que, quand ils ont fait une fois le voyage de la Mecque, *ils ne* peuvent plus être damnés. C'est ce que m'assura un esclave renégat, Vulgaire (Bulgare) de naissance, lequel appartenoit à la dame dont je viens de parler. Il s'appeloit Hayauldoula, ce qui en Turc signifie serviteur de Dieu, et prétendoit avoir été trois fois à la Mecque. Je me liai avec lui, parce qu'il parloit un peu Italien, et souvent même il me tenoit compagnie la nuit ainsi que le jour.

Plusieurs fois, dans nos entretiens, je l'interrogeai sur Mahomet, et lui demandai où reposoit son corps. Il me répondit que c'étoit à la Mecque; que la fiertre (châsse) qui le renfermoit se trouvoit dans une chapelle ronde, ouverte par le haut; que c'étoit par cette ouverture que les pélerins alloient voir la fiertre, et que parmi eux il y en avoit qui, après l'avoir vue, se faisoient crever les yeux, parce qu'après cela le monde ne pouvoit rien offrir, disoient-ils, qui méritât leurs regards. Effectivement il y en avoit deux dans la troupe, l'un d'environ seize ans, l'autre de vingt-deux à vingt-trois, qui s'étoient fait aveugler ainsi.

Hayauldoula me dit encore que ce n'est point à la Mecque qu'on gagne les pardons, mais

* Griperie, grip, sorte de bâtiment pour aller en course, vaisseau corsaire.

† L'auteur ne dit pas si ces arquebuses étoient à fourchette, à mèche, à rouet; mais il est remarquable que nos armes à feu portatives, dont l'invention étoit encore assez récente en Europe, fussent dès-lors en usage chez les Mahométans d'Asie.

à Méline (Médine), ville où saint Abraham fist faire une maison qui y est encoires*. La maison est en forme de cloître, et les pélerins en font le tour.

Quant à la ville, elle est sur le bord de la mer. Les hommes de la terre du prêtre Jean (les Indiens) y apportent sur de gros vaisseaux les épices et autres marchandises que produit leur pays. C'est là que les Mahométans vont les acheter. Ils les chargent sur des chameaux ou sur d'autres bêtes de somme, et les portent au Caire, à Damas et autres lieux, ainsi qu'on sait. De la Mecque à Damas il y a quarante journées de marche à travers le désert; les chaleurs y sont excessives, et la caravane avoit eu plusieurs personnes étouffées.

Selon l'esclave renégat, celle de Médine doit annuellement être composée de sept cent mille personnes; et quand ce nombre n'est pas complet, Dieu, pour le remplir, y envoie des anges. Au grand jour du jugement Mahomet fera entrer en paradis autant de personnes qu'il voudra, et là ils auront à discrétion du miel, du lait et des femmes.

Comme sans cesse j'entendois parler de Mahomet, je voulus savoir sur lui quelque chose, et m'adressai pour cela à un prêtre qui dans Damas étoit attaché au consul des Vénitiens, qui disoit souvent la messe à l'hôtel, confessoit les marchands de cette nation, et, en cas de danger, régloit leurs affaires. Je me confessai à lui, je réglai les miennes, et lui demandai s'il connoissoit l'histoire de Mahomet. Il me dit que oui, et qu'il savoit tout son Alkoran. Alors je le suppliai le mieux qu'il me fut possible de rédiger par écrit ce qu'il en connoissoit, afin que je pusse le présenter à monseigneur le duc†. Il le fit avec plaisir, et j'ai apporté avec moi son travail.

Mon projet étoit de me rendre à Bourse. On m'aboucha en conséquence avec un Maure qui s'engagea de m'y conduire en suivant la caravane. Il me demandoit trente ducats et sa dépense; mais on m'avertit de me défier des Maures comme gens de mauvaise foi, sujets à fausser leur promesse, et je m'abstins de conclure. Je dis ceci pour l'instruction des personnes qui auroient affaire à eux; car je les crois tels qu'on me les a peints. Hayauldoula me procura de son côté la connoissance de certains marchands du pays de Karman (de Caramanie). Enfin je pris un autre moyen.

Le grand-Turc a pour les pélerins qui vont à la Mecque un usage qui lui est particulier, au moins j'ignore si les autres puissances Mahométanes l'observent aussi: c'est que, quand ceux de ses états partent, il leur donne à son choix un chef auquel ils sont tenus d'obéir ainsi qu'à lui. Celui de la caravane s'appeloit Hoyarbarach; il étoit de Bourse, et c'étoit un des principaux habitans.

Je me fis présenter à lui par mon hôte et par une autre personne, comme un homme qui vouloit aller voir dans cette ville un frère qu'il y avoit, et ils le prièrent de me recevoir dans sa troupe et de m'y accorder sûreté. Il demanda si je savois l'Arabe, le Turc, l'Hébreu, la langue vulgaire, le Grec; et comme je répondis que non: Eh bien, que veut-il donc devenir? reprit-il.

Cependant, sur la répresentation qu'on lui fit que je n'osois, à cause de la guerre, aller par mer, et que s'il daignoit m'admettre je ferois comme je pourrois, il y consentit, et après s'être mis les deux mains sur sa tête et avoir touché sa barbe, il dit en Turc que je pouvois me joindre à ses esclaves; mais il exigea que je fusse vêtu comme eux.

D'après cela j'allai aussitôt, avec un de mes deux conducteurs, au marché qu'on appelle bathsar (bazar). J'y achetai deux longues robes blanches qui me descendoient jusqu'au talon, une toque accomplie (turban complet), une ceinture de toile, une braie (caleçon) de futaine pour y mettre le bas de ma robe, deux petits sacs ou besaces, l'un pour mon usage, l'autre pour suspendre à la tête de mon cheval quand je lui ferois manger son orge et sa paille; une cuiller et une salière de cuir, un tapis pour coucher; enfin un paletot (sorte de pour-point) de panne blanche que je fis couvrir de toile, et qui me servit beaucoup la nuit.

* Notre voyageur a confondu: c'est à Médine, et non à la Mecque, qu'est le tombeau de Mahomet; c'est à la Mecque, et non à Médine, qu'est la prétendue maison d'Abraham, que les pélerins gagnent les pardons et que se fait le grand commerce.

† Le duc de Bourgogne, auquel étoit attaché la Brocquière. Par tout ce que dit ici le voyageur on voit combien peu étoit connu en Europe le fondateur de l'Islamisme et l'auteur du Koran.

J'achetai aussi un tarquais blanc et garni (sorte de carquois), auquel pendoient une épée et des couteaux: mais pour le tarquais et l'épée je ne pus en faire l'acquisition que secrètement; car, si ceux qui ont l'administration de la justice l'avoient su, le vendeur et moi nous eussions couru de grands risques.

Les épées de Damas sont les plus belles et les meilleures de toute la Syrie; mais c'est une chose curieuse de voir comment ils les brunissent. Cette opération se fait avant la trempe. Ils ont pour cela une petite pièce de bois dans laquelle est enté un fer; ils la passent sur la lame et enlèvent ainsi ses inégalités de même qu'avec un rabot on enlève celles du bois; ensuite ils la trempent, puis la polissent. Ce poli est tel que quand quelqu'un veut arranger son turban, il se sert de son épée comme d'un miroir. Quant à la trempe, elle est si parfaite que nulle part encore je n'ai vu d'épée trancher aussi bien.

On fait aussi à Damas et dans le pays des miroirs d'acier qui grossissent les objets comme un miroir ardent. J'en ai vu qui, quand on les exposoit au soleil, perçoient, à quinze ou seize pieds de distance, une planche et y mettoient le feu.

J'achetai un petit cheval, qui se trouva très-bon. Avant de partir je le fis ferrer à Damas; et de là jusqu'à Bourse, quoiqu'il y ait près de cinquante journées, je n'eus rien à faire à ses pieds, excepté à l'un de ceux de devant, où il prit une enclouure qui trois semaines après le fit boiter. Voici comme ils ferrent leurs chevaux.

Les sont légers, très-minces, allongés sur les talons, et plus amincis encore là que vers la pince. Ils n'ont point de retour* et ne portent que quatre trous, deux de chaque côté. Les clous sont carrés, avec une grosse et lourde tête. Faut-il appliquer le fer: s'il est besoin qu'on le retravaille pour l'ajuster, on le bat à froid sans le mettre au feu, et on le peut à cause de son peu d'épaisseur. Pour parer le pied du cheval on se sert d'une serpette pareille à celle qui est d'usage en-de-çà de la mer pour tailler la vigne.

Les chevaux de ce pays n'ont que le pas et le galop. Quand on en achète, on choisit ceux qui ont le plus grand pas: comme en Europe on prend de préférence ceux qui trottent le mieux. Ils ont les narines très-fendues, courent très-bien, sont excellens, et d'ailleurs coûtent très-peu, puisqu'ils ne mangent que la nuit, et qu'on ne leur donne qu'un peu d'orge avec de la paille picquade (hachée). Jamais ile ne boivent que l'après-midi, et toujours, même à l'écurie, on leur laisse la bride en bouche, comme aux mules. Là ils sont attachés par les pieds de derrière et confondus tous ensemble, chevaux et jumens. Tous sont hongres, excepté quelques-uns qu'on garde comme étalons. Si vous avez affaire à un homme riche, et que vous alliez le trouver chez lui, il vous menera, pour vous parler, dans son écurie: aussi sont-elles tenues très-fraîches et très-nettes.

Nous autres, nous aimons un cheval entier, de bonne race; les Maures n'estiment que les jumens. Chez eux, un grand n'a point honte de monter une jument que son poulain suit par derrière†. J'en ai vu d'une grande beauté, *et qui se vendoient* jusqu'à deux et trois cents ducats. Au reste, leur coutume est de tenir leurs chevaux sur le maigre (de ne point les laisser engraisser).

Chez eux, les gens de bien (gens riches, qui ont du bien) portent tous, quand ils sont à cheval, un tabolcan (petit tambour), dont ils se servent dans les batailles et les escarmouches pour se rassembler et se rallier; ils l'attachent à l'arçon de leur selle, et le frappent avec une baguette de cuir plat. J'en achetai un aussi, avec des éperons et des bottes vermeilles, qui montoient jusqu'aux genoux, selon la coutume du pays.

Pour témoigner ma reconnoissance à Hoyarborach j'allai lui offrir un pot de gingembre vert. Il le refusa, et ce ne fut qu'à force d'instances et de prières que je vins à bout de le lui faire accepter. Je n'eus de lui d'autre parole et d'autre assurance que celle dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Cependant je ne trouvai en lui que franchise et loyauté, et plus peut-être que j'en aurois éprouvé de beaucoup de chrétiens.

* Je crois que par retour la Brocquière a entendu ce crochet nommé crampon qui est aux nôtres, et qu'il a voulu dire que ceux de Damas étoient plats.

† Ce trait fait allusion aux préjugés alors en usage chez les chevaliers d'Europe. Comme ils avoient besoin, pour les tournois et les combats, de chevaux très-forts, ils ne se servoient que de chevaux entiers, et se seroient crus déshonorés de monter une jument.

Dieu,

Dieu, qui me favorisoit en tout dans l'accomplissement de mon voyage, me procura la connoissance d'un Juif de Caffa qui parloit Tartare et Italien ; je le priai de m'aider à mettre en écrit dans ces deux langues toutes les choses dont je pouvois avoir le plus de besoin en route pour moi et pour mon cheval. Dès notre première journée, arrivé à Ballec, je tirai mon papier pour savoir comment on appeloit l'orge et la paille hachée que je voulois faire donner à mon cheval. Dix ou douze Turcs qui étoient autour de moi se mirent à rire en me voyant. Ils s'approchèrent pour regarder mon papier, et parurent aussi étonnés de mon écriture que nous le sommes de la leur ; néanmoins ils me prirent en amitié, et firent tous leurs efforts pour m'apprendre à parler. Ils ne se laissoient point de me répéter plusieurs fois la même chose, et la redisoient si souvent et de tant de manières, qu'il falloit bien que je la retinsse ; aussi, quand nous nous séparâmes, savois-je déja demander pour moi et pour mon cheval tout ce qui m'étoit nécessaire.

Pendant le séjour que fit à Damas la caravane, j'allai visiter un lieu de pélerinage qui est à seize milles environ vers le nord, et qu'on nomme Notre-Dame de Serdenay. Il faut, pour y arriver, traverser une montagne qui peut bien avoir un quart de lieue, et jusqu'à laquelle s'étendent les jardins de Damas ; on descend ensuite dans une vallée charmante, remplie de vignes et de jardins, et qui a une belle fontaine dont l'eau est bonne. Là est une roche sur laquelle on a construit un petit château avec une église de callogero (de caloyers), où se trouve une image de la Vierge, peinte sur bois : sa tête, dit-on, est portée par miracle ; quant à la manière, je l'ignore. On ajoute qu'elle sue toujours, et que cette sueur est une huile*. Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que quand j'y allai on me montra, au bout de l'église, derrière le grand autel, une niche pratiquée dans le mur, et que là je vis l'image, qui est une chose plate, et qui peut avoir un pied et demi de haut sur un de large. Je ne puis dire si elle est de bois ou de pierre, parce qu'elle étoit couverte entièrement de drapeaux. Le devant étoit fermé par un treillis de fer, et au-dessous il y avoit un vase qui contenoit de l'huile. Une femme qui étoit là vint à moi ; elle remua les drapeaux avec une cuillère d'argent, et voulut me faire le signe de la croix au front, aux tempes et sur la poitrine. Il me sembla que tout cela étoit une pratique pour avoir argent ; cependant je ne veux point dire par-là que Notre-Dame n'ait plus de pouvoir encore que cette image.

Je revins à Damas, et, la veille du départ, je réglai mes affaires et disposai ma conscience, comme si j'eusse dû mourir ; mais tout-à-coup je me vis dans l'embarras.

J'ai parlé du courier qu'avoit envoyé le soudan pour faire arrêter les marchands Génois et Catalans qui se trouvoient dans ses Etats. En vertu de cet ordre, on prit mon hôte, qui étoit Génois ; ses effets furent saisis, et l'on plaça chez lui un Maure pour les garder. Moi, je cherchai à lui sauver tout ce que je pourrois, et afin que le Maure ne s'en aperçût pas, je l'enivrai. Je fus arrêté à mon tour, et conduit devant un des cadis, gens qu'ils regardent comme nous nos évêques, et qui sont chargés d'administrer la justice.

Le cadi me renvoya vers un autre, qui me fit conduire en prison avec les marchands. Il savoit bien pourtant que je ne l'étois pas ; mais cette affaire m'étoit suscitée par un trucheman qui vouloit me rançonner, comme il l'avoit déja tenté à mon premier voyage. Sans Antoine Mourrouzin, consul de Venise, il m'eût fallu payer ; mais je restai en prison, et pendant ce temps la caravane partit.

Pour obtenir ma liberté, le consul et quelques autres personnes furent obligés de faire des démarches auprès du roi (gouverneur) de Damas, alléguant qu'on m'avoit arrêté à tort et sans cause, et que le trucheman le savoit bien. Le seigneur me fit venir devant lui avec un Génois nommé Gentil Impérial, qui étoit un marchand de par le soudan, pour aller acheter des esclaves à Caffa. Il me demanda qui j'étois, et ce que je venois faire à Damas ;

* Plusieurs de nos auteurs du treizième siècle font mention de cette vierge de Serdenay, devenue fameuse pendant les croisades, et ils parlent de sa sueur huileuse, qui passoit pour faire beaucoup de miracles. Ces fables d'exsudations miraculeuses étoient communes en Asie. On y vantoit entre autres celle qui découloit du tombeau de l'evêque Nicolas, l'un de ces saints dont l'existence est plus que douteuse. Cette liqueur prétendue de Nicolas étoit même un objet de culte ; et nous lisons qu'en 1651 un curé de Paris en ayant reçu une phiole, il demanda et obtint de l'archevêque la permission de l'exposer à la vénération des fidèles. (Hist. de la ville et du diocèse de Paris, par Lebeuf, t. I, part. 2, p. 557.)

et,

et, sur ma réponse que j'étois Français, venu en pélerinage à Jérusalem, il dit qu'on avoit tort de me retenir, et que je pouvois partir quand il me plairoit.

Je partis donc, le lendemain 6 Octobre, accompagné d'un moucre, que je chargeai d'abord de transporter hors de la ville mes habillemens Turcs, parce qu'il n'est point permis à un chrétien d'y paroître avec la toque blanche.

A peu de distance est une montagne où l'on montre une maison qu'on dit avoir été celle de Caïn; et, pendant la première journée, nous n'eûmes que des montagnes, quoique le chemin soit bon; mais à la seconde nous trouvâmes un beau pays, et il continua d'être agréable jusqu'à Balbec.

C'est là que mon moucre me quitta, et que je trouvai la caravane. Elle étoit campée près d'une rivière, à cause de la chaleur qui règne dans le pays; et cependant les nuits y sont très-froides (ce qu'on aura peine à croire), et les rosées très-abondantes. J'allai trouver Hoyarbarach, qui me confirma la permission qu'il m'avoit donnée de venir avec lui, et qui me recommanda de ne point quitter la troupe.

Le lendemain matin, à onze heures, je fis boire mon cheval, et lui donnai la paille et l'avoine, selon l'usage de nos contrées. Pour cette fois les Turcs ne me dirent rien; mais le soir, à six heures, quand, après l'avoir fait boire, je lui attachai sa besace pour qu'il mangeât, ils s'y opposèrent et détachèrent le sac. Telle est leur coutume; leurs chevaux ne mangent qu'à huit, et jamais ils n'en laissent manger un avant les autres, à moins que ce ne soit pour paître l'herbe.

Le chef avoit avec lui un mamelus (mamelouck) du soudan, qui étoit Cerquais (Circassien), et qui alloit dans le pays de Karman chercher un de ses frères. Cet homme, quand il me vit seul, et ne sachant point la langue du pays, voulut charitablement me servir de compagnon, et il me prit avec lui. Cependant, comme il n'avoit point de tente, nous fûmes souvent obligés de passer la nuit dans des jardins sous des arbres.

Ce fut alors qu'il me fallut apprendre à coucher sur la dure, à ne boire que de l'eau, à m'asseoir à terre, les jambes croisées. Cette posture me coûta d'abord beaucoup; mais ce à quoi j'eus plus de peine encore à m'accoutumer, fut d'être à cheval avec des étriers courts. Dans les commencemens je souffrois si fort, que, quand j'étois descendu, je ne pouvois remonter sans aide, tant les jarrets me faisoient mal; mais lorsque j'y fus accoutumé, cette manière me parut plus commode que la nôtre.

Dès le jour même je soupai avec mon mamelouck, et nous n'eûmes que du pain, du fromage et du lait. J'avois, pour manger, une nappe, à la mode des gens riches du pays. Elles ont quatre pieds de diamètre, et sont rondes, avec des coulisses tout autour; de sorte qu'on peut les fermer comme une bourse. Veulent-ils manger, ils les étendent; ont-ils mangé, ils les resserrent, et y renferment tout ce qui reste, sans vouloir rien perdre, ni une miette de pain, ni un grain de raisin. Mais ce que j'ai remarqué, c'est qu'après leur repas, soit qu'il fût bon, soit qu'il fût mauvais, jamais ils ne manquoient de remercier Dieu tout haut.

Balbec est une bonne ville, bien fermée de murs, et assez marchande. Au centre étoit un château, fait de très-grosses pierres. Maintenant il renferme une mosquée dans laquelle est, dit-on, une tête humaine qui a des yeux si énormes, qu'un homme passeroit aisément la sienne à travers leur ouverture. Je ne puis assurer le fait, attendu que pour entrer dans la mosquée il faut être Sarrasin.

De Balbec nous allâmes à Hamos, et campâmes sur une rivière. Ce fut là que je vis comment ils campent et tendent leurs pavillons. Les tentes ne sont ni très-hautes ni très-grandes; de sorte qu'il ne faut qu'un homme pour les dresser, et que six à huit personnes peuvent s'y tenir à l'aise pendant les chaleurs du jour. Dans le cours de la journée ils en ôtent le bas, afin de donner passage à l'air. La nuit, ils le remettent pour avoir plus chaud. Un seul chameau en porte sept ou huit avec leurs mâts. Il y en a de très-belles.

Mon compagnon, le mamelouck et moi, qui n'en avions point, nous allâmes nous établir dans un jardin. Il y vint aussi deux Turquemans (Turcomans) de Satalie, qui revenoient de la Mecque, et qui soupèrent avec nous. Mais quand ces deux hommes me virent bien vêtu,

vêtu, ayant bon cheval, belle épée, bon tarquais, ils proposèrent au mamelouck, ainsi que lui-même me l'avoua par la suite lorsque nous nous séparâmes, de se défaire de moi, vu que j'étois chrétien et indigne d'être dans leur compagnie. Il répondit que, puisque j'avois mangé avec eux le pain et le sel, ce seroit un crime ; que leur loi le leur défendoit, et qu'après tout Dieu faisoit les chrétiens comme les Sarrasins.

Néanmoins ils persistèrent dans leur projet ; et comme je témoignois le desir de voir Halep, la ville la plus considérable de Syrie après Damas, ils me pressèrent de me joindre à eux. Moi qui ne savois rien de leur dessein, j'acceptai ; et je suis convaincu aujourd'hui qu'ils ne vouloient que me couper la gorge. Mais le mamelouck leur défendit de venir davantage avec nous, et par-là il me sauva la vie.

Nous étions partis de Balbec deux heures avant le jour, et notre caravane étoit composée de quatre à cinq cents personnes, et de six ou sept cents chameaux et mulets, parce qu'elle portoit beaucoup d'épices. Voici leur manière de se mettre en marche.

Il y a dans la troupe une très-grande nacquaire (très-grosse timbale). Au moment où le chef veut qu'on parte, il fait frapper trois coups. Aussitôt tout le monde s'apprête, et à mesure que chacun est prêt, il se met à la file sans dire un seul mot : Et feront plus de bruit dix d'entre nous que mil de ceux-là. On marche ainsi en silence, à moins que ce ne soit la nuit, et que quelqu'un ne veuille chanter une chanson de gestes*. Au point du jour, deux ou trois d'entre eux, fort éloignés les uns des autres, crient et se répondent, comme on le fait sur les mosquées aux heures d'usage. Enfin, peu après, et avant le lever du soleil, les gens dévots font leurs prières et ablutions ordinaires.

Pour ces ablutions, s'ils sont auprès d'un ruisseau, ils descendent de cheval, se mettent les pieds nus, et se lavent les mains, les pieds, le visage et tous les conduits du corps. S'ils n'ont pas de ruisseau, ils passent la main sur ces parties. Le dernier d'entre eux se lave la bouche et l'ouverture opposée, après quoi il se tourne vers le midi. Tous alors lèvent deux doigts en l'air ; ils se prosternent et baisent la terre trois fois, puis ils se relèvent et font leurs prières. Ces ablutions leur ont été ordonnées en lieu de confession. Les gens de distinction, pour n'y point manquer, portent toujours en voyage des bouteilles de cuir pleines d'eau : on les attache sous le ventre des chameaux et des chevaux, et ordinairement elles sont très-belles.

Ces peuples s'accroupissent, pour uriner, comme les femmes ; après quoi ils se frottent le canal contre une pierre, contre un mur ou quelque autre chose. Quant à l'autre besoin, jamais après l'avoir satisfait ils ne s'essuient.

Hamos (Hems), bonne ville, bien fermée de murailles avec des fossés glacés (en glacis), est située dans une plaine sur une petite rivière. Là vient aboutir la plaine de Noë, qui s'étend, dit-on, jusqu'en Perse. C'est par elle que débouche ce Tamerlan qui prit et détruisit tant de villes. A l'extrémité de la ville est un beau château, construit sur une hauteur, et tout en glacis jusqu'au pied du mur.

De Hamos nous vînmes à Hamant (Hama). Le pays est beau ; mais je n'y vis que peu d'habitans, excepté les Arabes qui rebâtissoient quelques-uns des villages détruits. Je trouvai dans Hamant un marchand de Venise nommé Laurent Sonranze. Il m'accueillit, me logea chez lui, et me fit voir la ville et le château. Elle est garnie de bonnes tours, close de fortes et épaisses murailles, et construite, comme le château de Provins, sur une roche, dans laquelle on a creusé au ciseau des fossés fort profonds. A l'une des extrémités se voit le château, beau et fort, tout en glacis jusqu'au pied du mur, et construit sur une élévation. Il est entouré d'une citadelle qu'il domine, et baigné par une rivière qu'on dit être l'une des quatre qui sortent du paradis terrestre. Si le fait est vrai, je l'ignore. Tout ce que je sais, c'est qu'elle descend entre le levant et le midi, plus près du premier que du second, (est-sud-est), et qu'elle va se perdre à Antioche.

Là est la roue la plus haute et la plus grande que j'aie vue de ma vie. Elle est mise en mouvement par la rivière, et fournit à la consommation des habitans, quoique leur nombre soit considérable, la quantité d'eau qui leur est nécessaire. Cette eau tombe en une auge

* On appeloit en France chansons de gestes celles qui célébroient les gestes et belles actions des anciens héros.

creusée

creusée dans la roche du château ; de là elle se porte vers la ville et en parcourt les rues dans un canal formé par de grands piliers carrés qui ont douze pieds de haut sur deux de large.

Il me manquoit encore différentes choses pour être en tout comme mes compagnons de voyage. Le mamelouck m'en avoit averti, et mon hôte Laurent me mena lui-même au bazar pour en faire l'acquisition. C'étoient de petites coiffes de soie à la mode des Turcomans, un bonnet pour mettre sous la coiffe, des cuillères Turques, des couteaux avec leur fusil, un peigne avec son étui, et un gobelet de cuir. Tout cela s'attache et se suspend à l'épée.

J'achetai aussi des pouçons* pour tirer de l'arc, un tarquais nouveau tout garni, pour épargner le mien, qui étoit très-beau, et que je voulois conserver ; enfin un capinat : c'est une robe de feutre, blanche, très-fine, et impénétrable à la pluie.

En route je m'étois lié avec quelques-uns de mes compagnons de caravane. Ceux-ci, quand ils surent que j'étois logé chez un Franc, vinrent me trouver pour me demander de leur procurer du vin. Le vin leur est défendu par leur loi, et ils n'auroient osé en boire devant les leurs ; mais ils espéroient le faire sans risque chez un Franc, et cependant ils revenoient de la Mecque. J'en parlai à mon hôte Laurent, qui me dit qu'il ne l'oseroit, parce que, si la chose étoit sue, il courroit les plus grands dangers. J'allai leur rendre cette réponse ; mais ils en avoient déja cherché ailleurs, et venoient d'en trouver chez un Grec. Ils me proposèrent donc, soit par pure amitié, soit pour être autorisé auprès du Grec à boire, d'aller avec eux chez lui, et je les y accompagnai.

Cet homme nous conduisit dans une petite galerie, où nous nous assîmes par terre, en cercle, tous les six. Il posa d'abord au milieu de nous un grand et beau plat de terre, qui eût pu contenir au moins huit lots (seize pintes) ; ensuite il apporta pour chacun de nous un pot plein de vin, le versa dans le vase, et y mit deux écuelles de terre qui devoient nous servir de gobelets.

Un de la troupe commença le premier, et il but à son compagnon, selon l'usage du pays. Celui-ci en fit de même pour son suivant, et ainsi des autres. Nous bûmes de cette manière, et sans manger, pendant fort long-temps. Enfin, quand je m'aperçus que je ne pouvois pas continuer davantage sans m'incommoder, je les suppliai à mains jointes de m'en dispenser ; mais ils se fâchèrent beaucoup, et se plaignirent, comme si j'avois résolu d'interrompre leurs plaisirs et de leur faire tort.

Heureusement il y en avoit un parmi eux qui étoit plus lié avec moi, et qui m'aimoit tant qu'il m'appeloit kardays, c'est-à-dire frère. Celui-ci s'offrit à prendre ma place, et à boire pour moi quand ce seroit mon tour. Cette offre les satisfit ; ils l'acceptèrent, et la partie continua jusqu'au soir, où il nous fallut retourner au kan.

Le chef étoit en ce moment assis sur un siége de pierre, et il avoit devant lui un fallot allumé. Il ne lui fut pas difficile de deviner d'où nous venions : aussi y eut-il quatre de mes camarades qui s'esquivèrent ; il n'en resta qu'un avec moi. Je dis tout ceci, afin de prévenir les personnes qui, demain ou un jour quelconque, voyageroient, ainsi que moi, dans leur pays, qu'elles se gardent bien de boire avec eux, à moins qu'elles ne veuillent être obligées d'en prendre jusqu'à ce qu'elles tombent à terre.

Le mamelouck ne savoit rien de ma débauche. Pendant ce temps il avoit acheté une oie pour nous deux. Il venoit de la faire bouillir, et, au défaut de verjus, il l'avoit accommodée avec des feuilles vertes de porreaux. J'en mangeai avec lui, et elle nous dura trois jours.

J'aurois bien desiré voir Alep ; mais la caravane n'y allant point et se rendant directement à Antioche, il fallut y renoncer. Cependant, comme elle ne devoit se mettre en marche que deux jours après, le mamelouck fut d'avis que nous prissions tous deux les devants, afin de trouver plus aisément à nous loger. Quatre autres camarades, marchands Turcs, demandèrent à être des nôtres, et nous partîmes tous six ensemble.

A une demi-lieue de Hama, nous trouvâmes la rivière et nous la passâmes sur un pont. Elle étoit débordée, quoiqu'il n'eût point plu. Moi, je voulus y faire boire mon cheval ; mais la rive étoit escarpée et l'eau profonde, et infailliblement je m'y serois noyé si le mamelouck n'étoit venu à mon secours.

* Sorte de doigtier qu'on mettoit au pouce, afin de le garantir et de le défendre de l'impression de la corde.

Au

Au delà du fleuve est une longue et vaste plaine qui dure toute une journée. Nous y rencontrâmes six à huit Turcomans accompagnés d'une femme. Elle portoit le tarquais ainsi qu'eux ; et, à ce sujet, on me dit que celles de cette nation sont braves et qu'en guerre elles combattent comme les hommes. On ajouta même, et ceci m'étonna bien davantage, qu'il y en a environ trente mille qui portent ainsi le tarquais et qui sont soumises à un seigneur nommé Turcgadiroly, lequel habite les montagnes d'Arménie, sur les frontières de la Perse.

La seconde journée fut à travers un pays de montagnes. Il est assez beau quoique peu arrosé ; mais par-tout on ne voyoit que des habitations détruites. Tout en le traversant, mon mamelouck m'apprit à tirer de l'arc, et il me fit acheter des pouçons et des anneaux pour tirer. Enfin nous arrivâmes à un village riche en bois, en vignobles, en terres à blé, mais qui n'avoit d'autres eaux que celles de citernes. Ce canton paroissoit avoir été habité autrefois par des chrétiens, et j'avoue qu'on me fit un grand plaisir quand on me dit que tout cela avoit été aux Francs, et qu'on me montra pour preuve des églises abattues.

Nous y logeâmes ; et ce fut la première fois que je vis des habitations de Turcomans, et des femmes de cette nation à visage découvert. Ordinairement elles le cachent sous un morceau d'étamine noire, et celles qui sont riches y portent attachées des pièces de monnoie et des pierres précieuses. Les hommes sont bons archers. J'en vis plusieurs tirer de l'arc. Ils tirent assis et à but court : ce peu d'espace donne à leurs flèches une grande rapidité.

Au sortir de la Syrie on entre dans la Turcomanie, que nous appellons Arménie. La capitale est une très-grande ville qu'ils nomment Antéquayé, et nous Antioche. Elle fut jadis très-florissante et a encore de beaux murs bien entiers, qui renferment un très-grand espace et même des montagnes. Mais on n'y compte point à présent plus de trois cents maisons. Au midi elle est bornée par une montagne, au nord par un grand lac, au-delà duquel on trouve un beau pays bien ouvert. Le long des murs coule la rivière qui vient de Hama. Presque tous les habitans sont Turcomans ou Arabes, et leur état est d'élever des troupeaux, tels que chameaux, chèvres, vaches et brebis.

Ces chèvres, les plus belles que j'aie jamais vues, sont la plupart blanches; elles n'ont point comme celles de Syrie, les oreilles pendantes, et portent une laine longue, douce et crépue. Les moutons ont de grosses et larges queues. On y nourrit aussi des ânes sauvages qu'on apprivoise et qui, avec un poil, des oreilles et une tête pareils à ceux du cerf, ont comme lui le pied fendu. J'ignore s'ils ont son cri, car je ne les ai point entendus crier. Ils sont beaux, fort grands, et vont avec les autres bêtes ; mais je n'ai point vu qu'on les montât*.

Pour le transport de leurs marchandises, les habitans se servent de bœufs et de buffles, comme nous nous servons de chevaux. Ils les emploient aussi en montures; et j'en ai vu des troupes dans lesquelles les uns étoient chargés de marchandises, et les autres étoient montés.

Le seigneur de ce pays étoit Ramedang, prince riche, brave et puissant. Pendant longtemps il se rendit si redoutable que le soudan le craignoit et n'osoit l'irriter. Mais le soudan voulut le détruire, et dans ce dessein il s'entendit avec le karman, qui pouvoit mieux que personne tromper Ramedang, puisqu'il lui avoit donné sa sœur en mariage. En effet, un jour qu'ils mangeoient ensemble, il l'arrêta et le livra au soudan, qui le fit mourir et s'empara de la Turcomanie, dont cependant il donna une portion au karman.

Au sortir d'Antioche, je repris ma route avec mon mamelouck ; et d'abord nous eûmes à passer une montagne nommée Nègre, sur laquelle on me montra trois ou quatre beaux châteaux ruinés, qui jadis avoient appartenu à des chrétiens. Le chemin est beau et sans cesse on y est parfumé par les lauriers nombreux qu'elle produit ; mais la descente en est une fois plus rapide que la montée. Elle aboutit au golfe qu'on nomme d'Asacs, et que nous autres nous appellons Layaste, parce qu'en effet c'est la ville d'Ayas qui lui donne son

* Cet animal ne peut être un âne, puisqu'il a le pied fendu et que l'âne ne l'a point. C'est probablement une espèce de gazelle, ou plutôt un bubale.

nom. Il s'étend entre deux montagnes, et s'avance dans les terres l'espace d'environ quinze milles. Sa largeur à l'occident m'a paru être de douze; mais sur cet article je m'en rapporte à la carte marine.

Au pied de la montagne, près du chemin et sur le bord de la mer, sont les restes d'un château fort, qui du côté de la terre étoit défendu par un marécage; de sorte qu'on ne pouvoit y aborder que par mer, ou par une chaussée étroite qui traversoit le marais. Il étoit inhabité, mais en avant s'étoient établis des Turcomans. Ils occupoient cent vingt pavillons, les uns de feutre, les autre de coton bleu et blanc, tous très-beaux, tous assez grands pour loger à l'aise quinze ou seize personnes. Ce sont leurs maisons, et, comme nous dans les nôtres, ils y font tout leur ménage, à l'exception du feu.

Nous nous arrêtames chez eux. Ils vinrent placer devant nous une de ces nappes à coulisses dont j'ai parlé, et dans laquelle il y avoit encore des miettes de pain, des fragmens de fromage et des grains de raisin. Après quoi ils nous apportèrent une douzaine de pains plats avec un grand quartier de lait caillé, qu'ils appellent yogort. Ces pains, larges d'un pied, sont ronds et plus minces que des oublies. On les plie en cornet, comme une oublie à pointes, et on les mange avec le caillé.

Une lieue au-delà étoit un petit karvasséra (caravanserai) où nous logeâmes. Ces établissemens consistent en maisons, comme les kans de Syrie.

En route, dans le cours de la journée j'avois rencontré un Ermin (Arménien) qui parloit un peu Italien. S'étant aperçu que j'étois chrétien, il se lia de conversation avec moi, et me conta beaucoup de détails, tant sur le pays et les habitans, que sur le soudan et ce Ramedang, seigneur de Turcomanie, dont je viens de faire mention. Il me dit que ce dernier étoit un homme de haute taille, très-brave, et le plus habile de tous les Turcs à manier la masse et l'épée. Sa mère étoit une chrétienne, qui l'avoit fait baptiser à la *loi Grégoise* (selon le rit des Grecs) " pour lui oster le flair et la senteur que ont ceulx qui ne sont point baptisiez*." Mais il n'étoit ni bon chrétien ni bon Sarrasin; et quand on lui parloit des deux prophètes Jésus et Mahomet, il disoit: Moi, je suis pour les prophètes vivans, ils me seront plus utiles que ceux qui sont morts.

Ses Etats touchoient d'un côté à ceux du karman, dont il avoit épousé la sœur; de l'autre à la Syrie, qui appartenoit au soudan. Toutes les fois que par son pays passoit un des sujets de celui-ci, il en exigeoit des péages. Mais enfin le soudan obtint du karman, comme je l'ai dit, qu'il le lui livreroit; et aujourd'hui il possède toute la Turcomanie jusqu'à Tharse et même une journée par-de-là.

Ce jour-là nous logeâmes de nouveau chez des Turcomans, où l'on nous servit encore du lait; et l'Arménien nous y accompagna. Ce fut là que je vis faire par des femmes ces pains minces et plats dont j'ai parlé. Voici comment elles s'y prennent. Elles ont une petite table ronde, bien unie, y jettent un peu de farine qu'elles détrempent avec de l'eau et en font une pâte plus molle que celle du pain. Cette pâte, elles la partagent en plusieurs morceaux ronds, qu'elles aplatissent autant qu'il leur est possible avec un rouleau en bois, d'un diamètre un peu moindre que celui d'un œuf, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient amincis au point que j'ai dit. Pendant ce temps elles ont une plaque de fer convexe, qui est posée sur un trépied et échauffée en dessous par un feu doux. Elles y étendent la feuille de pâte et la retournent tout aussitôt, de sorte qu'elles ont plus-tôt fait deux de leurs pains qu'un oublieur chez nous n'a fait une oublie.

J'employai deux jours à traverser le pays qui est autour du golfe. Il est fort beau, et avoit autrefois beaucoup de châteaux qui appartenoient aux chrétiens, et qui maintenant sont détruits. Tel est celui qu'on voit en avant d'Ayas, vers le levant.

Il n'y a dans la contrée que des Turcomans. Ce sont de beaux hommes, excellens archers et vivant de peu. Leurs habitations sont rondes comme des pavillons et couvertes de feutre. Ils demeurent toujours en plein champ, et ont un chef auquel ils obéissent; mais ils changent souvent

* Les chrétiens d'Asie croyoient de bonne foi que les infidèles avoient une mauvaise odeur qui leur étoit particulière, et qu'ils perdoient par le baptême. Il sera encore parlé plus bas de cette superstition. Ce baptême étoit, selon la loi Grégoise, par immersion.

souvent de place, et alors ils emportent avec eux leurs maisons. Leur coutume dans ce cas est de se soumettre au seigneur sur les terres duquel ils s'établissent, et même de le servir de leurs armes s'il a guerre. Mais s'ils quittent ses domaines et qu'ils passent sur ceux de son ennemi, ils serviront celui-ci à son tour contre l'autre, et on ne leur en sait pas mauvais gré, parce que telle est leur coutume et qu'ils sont errans.

Sur ma route je rencontrai un de leurs chefs qui voloit (chassoit au vol) avec des faucons et prenoit des oies privées. On me dit qu'il pouvoit bien avoir sous ses ordres dix mille Turcomans. Le pays est favorable pour la chasse, et coupé par beaucoup de petites rivières qui descendent des montagnes et se jettent dans le golfe. On y trouve sur-tout beaucoup de sangliers.

Vers le milieu du golfe, sur le chemin de terre, est un défilé formé par une roche sur laquelle on passe, et qui se trouve à deux portées d'arc de la mer. Jadis ce passage étoit défendu par un château qui le rendoit très-fort. Aujourd'hui il est abandonné.

Au sortir de cette gorge on entre dans une belle et grande plaine, peuplée de Turcomans. Mais l'Arménien mon compagnon me montra sur une montagne un château où il n'y avoit, disoit-il, que des gens de sa nation, et dont les murs sont arrosés par une rivière nommée Jehon. Nous côtoyâmes la rivière jusqu'à une ville qu'on nomme Misse-sur-Jehon, parce qu'elle la traverse.

Misse, située à quatre journées d'Antioche, appartint à des chrétiens et fut une cité importante. On y voit encore plusieurs églises à moitié détruites et dont il ne reste plus d'entier que le chœur de la grande, qu'on a converti en mosquée. Le pont est en bois, parce que le premier a été détruit aussi. Enfin, des deux moitiés de la ville, l'une est totalement en ruines; l'autre a conservé ses murs et environ trois cents maisons qui sont remplies par des Turcomans.

De Misse à Adève (Adène) le pays continue d'être uni et beau; et ce sont encore des Turcomans qui l'habitent. Adène est à deux journées de Misse, et je me proposois d'y attendre la caravane.

Elle arriva. J'allai avec le mamelouck et quelques autres personnes, dont plusieurs étoient de gros marchands, loger près du pont, entre la rivière et les murs; et ce fut là que je vis comment les Turcs font leurs prières et leurs sacrifices; car non seulement ils ne se cachoient point de moi, mais ils paroissoient même contens quand "je disoie mes patrenostre, qui leur sambloit merveilles. Je leur ouys dire acunes fois leus heures en chantant, à l'entrée de la nuit, et se assiéent à la reonde (en rond) et branlent le corps et la teste, et chantent bien sauvaigement."

Un jour ils me menèrent avec eux aux étuves et aux bains de la ville; et comme je refusai de me baigner, parce qu'il eût fallu me déshabiller et que je craignois de montrer mon argent, ils me donnèrent leurs robes à garder. Depuis ce moment nous fûmes très-liés ensemble.

La maison du bain est fort élevée et se termine par un dôme, dans lequel a été pratiquée une ouverture circulaire qui éclaire tout l'interieur. Les étuves et les bains sont beaux et très-propres. Quand ceux qui se baignent sortent de l'eau, ils viennent s'asseoir sur de petites claies d'osier fin, où ils s'essuient et peignent leur barbe.

C'est dans Adène que je vis pour la première fois les deux jeunes gens qui à la Mecque s'étoient fait crever les yeux après avoir vu la sépulture de Mahomet.

Les Turcs sont gens de fatigue, d'une vie dure, et à quil ne coûte rien, ainsi que je l'ai vu tout le long de la route, de dormir sur la terre commes les animaux. Mais ils sont d'humeur gaie et joyeuse, et chantent volontiers chansons de gestes. Aussi quelqu'un qui veut vivre avec eux ne doit être ni triste ni réveur, mais avoir toujours le visage riant. Du reste, ils sont gens de bonne foi et charitables les uns envers les autres. "J'ay veu bien souvent, quant nous mengions, que s'il passoit ung povre homme auprès d'eulx, ils le faisoient venir mengier avec nous: ce que nous, ne fésiesmes point."

Dans beaucoup d'endroits j'ai trouvé qu'ils ne cuisent point leur pain la moitié de ce que

l'est le nôtre. Il est mou, et à moins d'y être accoutumé, on a bien de la peine à le mâcher. Pour leur viande, ils la mangent crue, séchée au soleil. Cependant quand une de leurs bêtes, cheval ou chameau, est en danger de mort ou sans espoir, ils l'égorgent et la mangent non crue, un peu cuite. Ils sont très-propres dans l'apprêt de leurs viandes; mais ils mangent très-salement. Ils tiennent de même fort proprement leur barbe; mais jamais ils ne se lavent les mains que quand ils se baignent, qu'ils veulent faire leur prière, ou qu'ils se lavent la barbe ou le derrière.

Adène est une assez bonne ville marchande, bien fermée de murailles, située en bon pays et assez voisine de la mer. Sur ses murs passe une grosse rivière qui vient des hautes montagnes d'Arménie et qu'on nomme Adena. Elle a un pont fort long et le plus large que j'aie jamais vu. Ses habitans et son amiral (son seigneur, son prince) sont Turcomans: cet amiral est le frère de ce brave Ramedang que le soudan fit mourir ainsi que je l'ai raconté. On m'a dit même que le soudan a entre les mains son fils, et qu'il n'ose le laisser retourner en Turcomanie.

D'Adène j'allai à Therso que nous appellons Tharse. Le pays, fort beau encore, quoique voisin des montagnes, est habité par des Turcomans, dont les uns logent dans des villages et les autres sous des pavillons. Le canton où est bâtie Tharse abonde en blé, vins, bois et eaux. Elle fut une ville fameuse, et l'on y voit encore de très-anciens édifices. Je crois que c'est celle qu'assiégea Baudoin, frère de Godefroi de Bouillon. Aujourd'hui elle a un amiral nommé par le soudan, et il y demeure plusieurs Maures. Elle est défendue par un château, par des fossés à glacis et par une double enceinte de murailles, qui en certains endroits est triple. Une petite rivière la traverse, et à peu de distance il en coule une autre.

J'y trouvai un marchand de Cypre, nommé Antoine, qui depuis long-temps demeuroit dans le pays et en savoit bien la langue. Il m'en parla pertinemment; mais il me fit un autre plaisir, celui de me donner de bon vin, car depuis plusieurs jours je n'en avois point bu.

Tharse n'est qu'à soixante milles du Korkène (Curco), château construit sur la mer, et qui appartient au roi de Cypre.

Dans tout ce pays on parle Turc, et on commence même à le parler dès Antioche, qui est, comme je l'ai dit, la capitale de Turcomanie. " C'est un très-beau langaige, et brief, et bien aisié pour aprendre."

Comme nous avions à traverser les hautes montagnes d'Arménie, Hoyarbarach, le chef de notre caravane, voulut qu'elle fût toute réunie; et dans ce dessein il attendit quelques jours. Enfin nous partîmes la veille de la Toussaint. Le mamelouck m'avoit conseillé de m'approvisioner pour quatre journées. En conséquence j'achetai pour moi une provision de pain et de fromage, et pour mon cheval une autre d'orge et de paille.

Au sortir de Tharse je fis encore trois lieues Françaises à travers un beau pays de plaines, peuplé de Turcomans; mais enfin j'entrai dans les montagnes, montagnes les plus hautes que j'aie encore vues. Elles enveloppent par trois côtés tout le pays que j'avois parcouru depuis Antioche. L'autre partie est fermée au midi par la mer.

D'abord on a des bois à traverser. Ce chemin dure tout un jour, et il n'est pas malaisé. Nous logeâmes le soir dans un passage étroit où il me parut que jadis il y avoit eu un château. La seconde journée n'eut point de mauvaise route encore, et nous vînmes passer la nuit dans un caravanserai. La troisième, nous côtoyâmes constamment une petite rivière, et vîmes dans les montagnes une multitude immense de perdrix griaches. Notre halte du soir fut dans une plaine d'environ une lieue de longueur sur un quart de large.

Là se rencontrent quatre grandes combes (vallées). L'une est celle par laquelle nous étions venus; l'autre, qui perce au nord, tire vers le pays du seigneur, qu'on appelle Turcgadirony, et vers la Perse; la troisième s'étend au Levant, et j'ignore si elle conduit de même à la Perse; la dernière enfin est au couchant, et c'est celle que j'ai prise, et qui m'a conduit au pays du karman. Chacune des quatre a une rivière, et les quatre rivières se rendent dans ce dernier pays.

Il neigea beaucoup pendant la nuit. Pour garantir mon cheval, je le couvris avec mon capinat, cette robe de feutre qui me servoit de manteau. Mais moi j'eus froid, et il me prit une maladie qui est malhonnête (le dévoiement); j'eusse même été en danger, sans mon mamelouck, qui me secourut et qui me fit sortir bien vite de ce lieu.

Nous partîmes donc de grand matin tous deux, et entrâmes dans les hautes montagnes. Il y a là un château nommé Cublech, le plus élevé que je connoisse. On le voit à une distance de deux journées. Quelquefois cependant on lui tourne le dos, à cause des détours qu'occasionnent les montagnes; quelquefois aussi on cesse de le voir, parce qu'il est caché par des hauteurs: mais on ne peut pénétrer au pays du karman qu'en passant au pied de celle où il est bâti. Le passage est étroit. Il a fallu même en quelques parties l'ouvrir au ciseau; mais par-tout il est dominé par le Cublech. Ce château, le dernier* de ceux qu'ont perdus les Arméniens, appartient aujourd'hui au karman, qui l'a eu en partage à la mort de Ramedang.

Ces montagnes sont couvertes de neige en tout temps, et il n'y a qu'un passage pour les chevaux, quoiqu'on y trouve de temps en temps de jolies petites plaines. Elles sont dangereuses, par les Turcomans qui y sont répandus; mais pendant les quatre jours de marche que j'y ai faite, je n'y ai pas vu une seule habitation.

Quand on quitte les montagnes d'Arménie pour entrer dans le pays du karman, on en trouve d'autres qu'il faut traverser encore. Sur l'une de celles-ci est une gorge avec un château nommé Lève, où l'on paie au karman un droit de passage. Ce péage étoit affermé à un Grec, qui, en me voyant, me reconnut à mes traits pour chrétien, et m'arrêta. Si j'avois été obligé de retourner, j'étois un homme mort, et on me l'a dit depuis: avant d'avoir fait une demi-lieue j'eusse été égorgé; car la caravane étoit encore fort loin. Heureusement mon mamelouk gagna le Grec, et, moyennant deux ducats que je lui donnai, il me livra passage.

Plus loin est le château d'Asers, et par-de-là le château une ville nommée Araclie (Erégli).

En débouchant des montagnes on entre dans un pays aussi uni que la mer; cependant on y voit encore vers la trémontane (le nord) quelques hauteurs qui, semées d'espace en espace, semblent des îles au milieu des flots. C'est dans cette plaine qu'est Erégli, ville autrefois fermée, et aujourd'hui dans un grand délabrement. J'y trouvai au moins des vivres; car, dans mes quatre jours de marche depuis Tharse, la route ne m'avoit offert que de l'eau. Les environs de la ville sont couverts de villages habités en très-grande partie par des Turcomans.

Au sortir d'Erégli nous trouvâmes deux gentilshommes du pays qui paroissoient gens de distinction; ils firent beaucoup d'amitié au mamelouck, et le menèrent, pour le régaler, à un village voisin dont les habitations sont toutes creusées dans le roc. Nous y passâmes la nuit; mais moi je fus obligé de passer dans une caverne le reste du jour, pour y garder nos chevaux. Quand le mamelouck revint, il me dit que ces deux hommes lui avoient demandé qui j'étois, et qu'il leur avoit répondu, en leur donnant le change, que j'étois un Circassien qui ne savoit point parler Arabe.

D'Erégli à Larande, où nous allâmes, il y a deux journées. Cette ville-ci, quoique non close, est grande, marchande et bien située. Il y avoit autrefois au centre un grand et fort château dont on voit encore les portes, qui sont en fer et très-belles; mais les murs sont abattus. D'une ville à l'autre on a, comme je l'ai dit, un beau pays plat; et depuis Lève je n'ai pas vu un seul arbre qui fût en rase campagne.

Il y avoit à Larande deux gentilshommes de Cypre, dont l'un s'appeloit Lyachin Castrico; l'autre, Léon Maschero, et qui tous deux parloient assez bien Français†. Ils me demandèrent

* Ce mot dernier signifie probablement ici le plus reculé, le plus éloigné à la frontière.

† Les Lusignan, devenus rois de Cypre sur la fin du douzième siècle, avoient introduit dans cette île la langue Française. C'est en Cypre, au passage de saint Louis pour sa croisade d'Egypte que fut fait et publié ce code qu'on appela Assises de Jérusalem, et qui devint le code des Cypriots. La langue Française continua d'être celle de la cour et des gens bien élevés.

quelle

quelle étoit ma patrie, et comment je me trouvais là. Je leur répondis que j'étois serviteur de monseigneur de Bourgogne, que je venois de Jéruzalem et de Damas, et que j'avois suivi la caravane. Ils me parurent très-emerveillés de ce que j'avois pu passer: mais quand ils m'eurent demandé où j'allois, et que j'ajoutai que je retournois par terre en France vers mondit seigneur, ils me dirent que c'étoit chose impossible, et que, quand j'aurois mille vies, je les perdrois toutes. En conséquence ils me proposèrent de retourner en Cypre avec eux. Il y avoit dans l'île deux galères qui étoient venues y chercher la sœur du roi, accordée en mariage au fils de monseigneur de Savoie*, et ils ne doutoient point que le roi, par amour et honneur pour monseigneur de Bourgogne, ne m'y accordât passage. Je leur répondis que puisque Dieu m'avoit fait la grace d'arriver jusqu'à Larande, il me feroit probablement celle d'aller plus loin, et qu'au reste j'étois résolu d'achever mon voyage ou d'y mourir.

A mon tour je leur demandai où ils alloient. Ils me dirent que leur roi venoit de mourir; que pendant sa vie il avoit toujours entretenu trêve avec le grand karman, et que le jeune roi et son conseil les envoyoit vers lui pour renouveller l'alliance. Moi, qui étois curieux de connoître ce grand prince que sa nation considère comme nous notre roi, je les priai de permettre que je les accompagnasse; et ils y consentirent.

Je trouvai à Larande un autre Cypriot. Celui-ci, nommé Perrin Passerot, et marchand, demeuroit depuis quelque temps dans le pays. Il étoit de Famagouste, et en avoit été banni, parce qu'avec un de ses frères il avoit tenté de remettre dans les mains du roi cette ville, qui étoit dans celles des Génois.

Mon mamelouck venoit de rencontrer aussi cinq ou six de ses compatriotes. C'étoient de jeunes esclaves Circassiens que l'on conduisoit au soudan. Il voulut à leur passage les régaler; et comme il avoit appris qu'il se trouvoit à Larande des chrétiens, et qu'il soupçonnoit qu'ils auroient du vin, il me pria de lui en procurer. Je cherchai tant que, moyennant la moitié d'un ducat, je trouvai à en acheter demi-peau de chèvre (une demi-outre), et je la lui donnai.

Il montra en la recevant une joie extrême, et alla aussitôt trouver ses camarades, avec lesquelles il passa la nuit tout entière à boire. Pour lui, il en prit tant que le lendemain, dans la route, il manqua d'en mourir; mais il se guérit par une méthode qui leur est propre: dans ces cas-là, ils ont une très-grande bouteille pleine d'eau, et à mesure que leur estomac se vide et se débarrasse, ils boivent de l'eau tant qu'ils peuvent en avaler, comme s'ils vouloient rincer une bouteille, puis ils la rendent et en avalent d'autre. Il employa ainsi à se laver tout le temps de la route jusqu'à midi, et il fut gueri entièrement.

De Larande nous allâmes à Qulongue, appelée par les Grecs Quhonguopoly†. Il y a d'un lieu à l'autre deux journées. Le pays est beau et bien garni de villages; mais il manque d'eau, et n'a, ni d'autres arbres que ceux qu'on a plantés près des habitations pour avoir du fruit, ni d'autre rivière que celle qui coule près de la ville.

Cette ville, grande, marchande, défendue par des fossés en glacis et par de bonnes murailles garnies de tours, est la meilleure qu'ait le karman. Il lui reste un petit château. Jadis elle en avoit un très-fort, qui étoit construit au centre. On l'a jeté bas pour y bâtir le palais du roi‡.

Je restai là quatre jours, afin de donner le temps à l'ambassadeur de Cypre et à la caravane d'arriver. Il arriva, ainsi qu'elle. Alors j'allai demander à l'ambassadeur que, quand il iroit saluer le karman, il me permît de me joindre à sa suite, et il me le promit. Cependant il avoit parmi ses esclaves quatre Grecs de Cypre renégats, dont l'un étoit son huissier d'armes, et qui tous quatre firent auprès de lui des efforts pour l'en détourner; mais il leur répondit qu'il n'y voyoit point d'inconvénient: d'ailleurs j'en avois témoigné tant d'envie qu'il se fit un plaisir de m'obliger.

* Louis, fils d'Amédée VIII, duc de Savoie. Il épousa en 1432 Anne de Lusignan fille de Jean II, roi de Cypre, mort au mois de Juin, et sœur de Jean III, qui alors étoit sur le trône.

† Plus bas le copiste a écrit Quohongue et Quhongue. J'écrirai désormais Couhongue.

‡ L'auteur, d'après ses préjugés Européens, emploie ici le mot *roi* pour désigner le prince, le souverain du pays.

On vint le prévenir de l'heure à laquelle il pourroit faire sa révérence au roi, lui exposer le sujet de son ambassade, et offrir ses présens; car c'est une coutume au-delà des mers qu'on ne paroît jamais devant un prince sans en apporter quelques-uns. Les siens étoient six pièces de camelot de Cypre, je ne sais combien d'aunes d'écarlate, une quarantaine de pains de sucre, un faucon pélerin et deux arbalètes, avec une douzaine de vires*.

On envoya chez lui des genets pour apporter les présens; et, pour sa monture ainsi que pour sa suite, les chevaux qu'avoient laissés à la porte du palais ceux des grands qui étoient venus faire cortége au roi pendant la cérémonie.

Il en monta un, et mit pied à terre à l'entrée du palais; après quoi, nous entrâmes dans une très-grande salle où il pouvoit y avoir environ trois cents personnes. Le roi occupoit la chambre suivante, autour de laquelle étoient rangés trente esclaves, tous debout. Pour lui, il étoit dans un coin, assis sur un tapis par terre, selon la coutume du pays, vêtu de drap d'or cramoisi, et le coude appuyé sur un carreau d'une autre sorte de drap d'or. Près de lui étoit son épée; en avant, son chancelier debout, et autour, à peu de distance, trois hommes assis.

D'abord on fit passer sous ses yeux les présens, qu'il parut à peine regarder; puis l'ambassadeur entra accompagné d'un trucheman, parce qu'il ne savoit point la langue Turque. Quand il eut fait sa révérence, le chancelier lui demanda la lettre dont il étoit porteur, et la lut tout haut. L'ambassadeur alors dit au roi, par son trucheman, que le roi de Cypre envoyoit le saluer, et qu'il le prioit de recevoir avec amitié les présens qu'il lui envoyoit.

Le roi ne lui répondit pas un mot. On le fit asseoir par terre, à leur manière, mais au-dessous des trois personnes assises, et assez loin du prince. Alors celui-ci demanda comment se portoit son frère le roi de Cypre, et il lui fut répondu qu'il avoit perdu son père, qu'il envoyoit renouveler l'alliance qui du vivant du mort, avoit subsisté entre les deux pays, et que pour lui *il la* desiroit fort. Je la souhaite également, dit le roi.

Celui-ci demanda encore à l'ambassadeur quand étoit mort le défunt, quel âge avoit son successeur, s'il étoit sage, si son pays lui obéissoit bien; et comme à ces deux dernières questions la réponse fut un oui, il témoigna en être bien-aise.

Après ces paroles on dit à l'ambassadeur de se lever. Il obéit, et prit congé du roi, qui ne se remua pas plus à son départ qu'il ne l'avoit fait à son arrivée. En sortant il trouva devant le palais les chevaux qui l'avoient amené. On lui en fit de nouveau monter un pour le reconduire à sa demeure; mais à peine y fut-il arrivé que les huissiers d'armes se présentèrent à lui. En pareilles cérémonies, c'est la coutume qu'on leur distribue de l'argent, et il en donna.

Il alla ensuite saluer le fils aîné du roi, et lui présenter ses présens et ses lettres. Ce prince étoit, comme son père, entouré de trois personnes assises. Mais quand l'ambassadeur lui fit la révérence, il se leva, se rassit, le fit asseoir à son tour au-dessus des trois personnages. Pour nous autres qui l'accompagnions, on nous plaça bien en arrière. Moi j'avois aperçu à l'écart un banc, sur lequel j'allai me mettre sans façon; mais on vint m'en tirer, et il me fallut plier le jarret et m'accroupir à terre avec les autres. De retour à l'hôtel, nous vîmes arriver un huissier d'armes du fils, comme nous avions vu du père. On lui donna aussi de l'argent, et au reste ces gens-là se contentent de peu.

A leur tour, le roi et son fils en envoyèrent à l'ambassadeur pour sa dépense; et c'est encore là une coutume. Le premier lui fit passer cinquante aspres, le second trente. L'aspre est la monnoie du pays: il en faut cinquante pour un ducat de Venise.

Je vis le roi traverser la ville en cavalcade. C'étoit un Vendredi, jour de fête pour eux, et il alloit faire sa prière. Sa garde étoit composée d'une cinquantaine de cavaliers, la plupart ses esclaves, et d'environ trente archers à pied qui l'entouroient. Il portoit une épée à sa ceinture et un tabolcan à l'arçon de sa selle, selon l'usage du pays. Lui et son fils ont été baptisés à la Grecque, pour ôter le flair (la mauvaise odeur), et l'on m'a dit même que

* Vires, grosses flèches qui se lançoient avec l'arbalète.

la

la mère de son fils étoit chrétienne. Il en est ainsi de tous les grands, ils se font baptiser afin qu'ils ne puent point.

Ses états sont considérables ; ils commencent à une journée en-de-çà de Tarse, et vont jusqu'au pays d'Amurat-Bey, cet autre karman dont j'ai parlé, et que nous appelons le grand-Turc. Dans ce sens, leur largeur est, dit-on, de vingt lieues au plus ; mais ils ont seize journées de long, et je le sais, moi qui les ai traversées. Au nord-est, ils s'étendent, m'a-t-on dit, jusqu'aux frontières de Perse.

Le karman possède aussi une côte maritime qu'on nomme les Farsats. Elle se prolonge depuis Tharse jusqu'à Courco, qui est au roi de Cypre, et à un port nommé Zabari. Ce canton produit les meilleurs marins que l'on connoisse ; mais ils se sont révoltés contre lui.

Le karman est un beau prince, âgé de trente-deux ans, et qui a épousé la sœur d'Amurat-Bey. Il est fort obéi dans ses états ; cependant j'ai entendu des gens qui disent de lui qu'il est très-cruel, et qu'il passe peu de jours sans faire couper des nés, des pieds, des mains, ou mourir quelqu'un. Un homme est-il riche, il le condamne à mort pour s'emparer de ses biens ; et j'ai ouï dire qu'il s'étoit ainsi défait des plus grands de son pays. Huit jours avant mon arrivée il en avoit fait étrangler un par des chiens. Deux jours après cette exécution il avoit fait mourir une de ses femmes, la mère même de son fils aîné, qui, quand je le vis, ne savoit rien encore de ce meurtre.

Les habitans de ce pays sont de mauvaises gens, voleurs, subtils et grands assassins. Ils se tuent les uns les autres, et la justice qu'il en fait ne les arrête point.

Je trouvai dans Cohongue Antoine Passerot, frère de ce Perrin Passerot qui j'avois vu à Larande, qui tous deux accusés d'avoir voulu remettre Famagouste sous la puissance du roi de Cypre, en avoient été bannis, ainsi que je l'ai dit ; et ils s'étoient retirés dans le pays du karman, l'un à Larande, l'autre à Couhongue. Mais Antoine venoit d'avoir une mauvaise aventure. Quelquefois péché aveugle les gens : on l'avoit trouvé avec une femme de la loi Mahométane ; et sur l'ordre du roi, il avoit été obligé, pour échapper à la mort, de renier la foi catholique, quoiqu'il m'ait paru encore bon chrétien.

Dans nos conversations, il me conta beaucoup de particularités sur le pays, sur le caractère et le gouvernement du seigneur, et principalement sur la manière dont il avoit pris et livré Ramedang.

Le karman, me dit-il, avoit un frère qu'il chassa du pays, et qui alla se réfugier et chercher asile près du soudan. Le soudan n'osoit lui déclarer la guerre ; mais il le fit prévenir que s'il ne lui livroit Ramedang, il enverroit son frère avec des troupes la lui faire. Le karman n'hésita point, et plutôt que d'avoir son frère à combattre, il fit envers son beau-frère une grande trahison. Antoine me dit aussi qu'il étoit lâche et sans courage, quoique son peuple soit le plus vaillant de la Turquie. Son vrai nom est Imbreymbas ; mais on l'appelle karman, à cause qu'il est seigneur de ce pays.

Quoiqu'il soit allié au grand-Turc, puisqu'il a épousé sa sœur, il le hait fort, parce que celui-ci lui a pris une partie du Karman. Cependant il n'ose l'attaquer, vu que l'autre est trop fort ; mais je suis persuadé qui s'il le voyoit entrepris avec succès de notre côté, lui, du sien, ne le laisseroit pas en paix.

En traversant ses états j'ai côtoyé une autre contrée qu'on nomme Gaserie. Celle-ci confine, d'une part au Karman, et de l'autre à la Turcomanie, par les hautes montagnes qui sont vers Tharse et vers la Perse. Son seigneur est un vaillant guerrier appelé Gadiroly, lequel a sous ces ordres trente mille hommes d'armes Turcomans, et environ cent mille femmes, aussi braves et aussi bonnes pour le combat que les hommes.

Il y a là quatre seigneurs qui se font continuellement la guerre : c'est Gadiroly, Quharaynich, Quaraychust et le fils de Tamerlan, qui, m'a-t-on dit, gouverne la Perse.

Antoine m'apprit qu'en débouchant des montagnes d'Arménie par de-là Erégli, j'avois passé à demi-journée d'une ville célèbre où repose le corps de saint Basile ; il m'en parla même de manière à me donner envie de la voir. Mais on me représenta si bien ce que je perdois

perdois d'avantages en me séparant de la caravane, et ce que j'allois courir de risques en m'exposant seul, que j'y renonçai.

Pour lui, il m'avoua que son dessein étoit de se rendre avec moi auprès de monseigneur le duc; qu'il ne se sentoit nulle envie d'être Sarrasin, et que s'il avoit pris quelque engagement à ce sujet, c'étoit uniquement pour éviter la mort. On vouloit le circoncire; il s'y attendoit chaque jour, et le craignoit fort. C'est un fort bel homme, âgé de trente-six ans.

Il me dit encore que les habitans font, dans leurs mosquées, des prières publiques, comme nous, dans les paroisses, nous en faisons tous les dimanches pour les princes chrétiens et pour autres objets dont nous demandons à Dieu l'accomplissement. Or une des choses qu'ils lui demandent, c'est de les préserver de la venue d'un homme tel que Godefroi de Bouillon.

Le chef de la caravane s'apprêtoit à repartir, et j'allai en conséquence prendre congé des ambassadeurs du roi de Cypre. Ils s'étoient flattés de m'emmener avec eux, et ils renouvelèrent leurs instances en m'assurant que jamais je n'acheverois mon voyage; mais je persistai. Ce fut à Couhongue que quittèrent la caravane ceux qui la composoient. Hoyarbarach n'amenoit avec lui que ses gens, sa femme, deux de ses enfans qu'il avoit conduits à la Mecque, une ou deux femmes étrangères, et moi.

Je dis adieu à mon mamelouck. Ce brave homme, qu'on appeloit Mahomet, m'avoit rendu des services sans nombre. Il étoit très-charitable, et faisoit toujours l'aumône quand on la lui demandoit au nom de Dieu. C'étoit par un motif de charité qu'il m'obligeoit, et j'avoue que sans lui je n'eusse pu achever mon voyage qu'avec de très-grandes peines, que souvent j'aurois été exposé au froid et à la faim, et fort embarrassé pour mon cheval.

En le quittant je cherchai à lui témoigner ma reconnoissance; mais il ne voulut rien accepter qu'un couvre-chef de nos toiles fines d'Europe, et cet objet parut lui faire grand plaisir. Il me raconta toutes les occasions venues à sa connoissance, où, sans lui, j'aurois couru risque d'être assassiné, et me prévint d'être bien circonspect dans les liaisons que je ferois avec les Sarrasins, parce qu'il s'en trouvoit parmi eux d'aussi mauvais que les Francs. J'écris ceci pour rappeler que celui qui, par amour de Dieu, m'a fait tant de bien, étoit "ung homme hors de nostre foy."

Le pays que nous eûmes à parcourir après être sortis de Couhongue est fort beau, et il a d'assez bons villages; mais les habitans sont mauvais: le chef me défendit même, dans un des villages où nous nous arrêtâmes, de sortir de mon logement, de peur d'être assassiné. Il y a près de ce lieu un bain renommé, où plusieurs malades accourent pour chercher guérison. On y voit des maisons qui jadis appartinrent aux hospitaliers de Jérusalem, et la croix de Jérusalem s'y trouve encore.

Après trois jours de marche nous arrivâmes à une petite ville nommée Achsaray, située au pied d'une haute montagne, qui la garantit du midi. Le pays est uni, mais mal-peuplé, et les habitans passent pour méchans: aussi me fut-il encore défendu de sortir la nuit hors de la maison.

Je voyageai la journée suivante entre deux montagnes dont les cimes sont couronnées d'un peu de bois. Le canton, assez bien peuplé, l'est en partie par des Turcomans; mais il y a beaucoup d'herbages et de marais.

Là je traversai une petite rivière qui sépare ce pays de Karman d'avec l'autre Karman que possède Amurat-Bey, nommé par nous le Grand-Turc. Cette portion ressemble à la première; elle offre comme elle un pays plat, parsemé çà et là de montagnes.

Sur notre route nous côtoyâmes une ville à château, qu'on nomme Achanay. Plus loin est un beau caravanserai où nous comptions passer la nuit; mais il y avoit vingt-cinq ânes. Notre chef ne voulut pas y entrer, et il préféra retourner une lieue en arrière sur ses pas, jusqu'à un gros village où nous logeâmes, et où nous trouvâmes du pain, du fromage et du lait.

De ce lieu je vins à Karassar en deux jours. Carassar, en langue Turque, signifie pierre noire. C'est la capitale de ce pays, dont s'est emparé de force Amurat-Bey. Quoiqu'elle ne soit point fermée, elle est marchande, et a un des plus beaux châteaux que j'aie vus, quoiqu'il

quoiqu'il n'ait que de l'eau de citerne. Il occupe la cime d'une haute roche, si bien arrondie qu'on la croiroit taillée au ciseau. Au bas est la ville, qui l'entoure de trois côtés ; mais elle est à son tour enveloppée, ainsi que lui, par une montagne en croissant, depuis grec jusqu'à mestre (depuis le nord-est jusqu'au nord-ouest). Dans le reste de la circonférence s'ouvre une plaine que traverse une rivière. Il y avoit peu de temps que les Grecs s'étoient emparés de ce lieu ; mais ils l'avoient perdu par leur lâcheté.

On y apprête les pieds de mouton avec une perfection et une propreté que je n'ai vues nulle part. Je m'en régalai d'autant plus volontiers que depuis Couhongue je n'avois pas mangé de viande cuite. On y fait aussi, avec des noix vertes, un mets particulier. Pour cela on les pèle, on les coupe en deux, on les enfile avec une ficelle, et on les arrose de vin cuit, qui se prend tout autour et y forme une gelée comme de la colle. C'est une nourriture assez agréable, sur-tout quand on a faim. Nous fûmes obligés d'y faire une provision de pain et de fromage pour deux jours ; et je conviens que j'étois dégoûté de chair crue.

Ces deux jours furent employés à venir de Carassar à Cotthay. Le pays est beau, bien arrosé et garni de montagnes peu élevées. Nous traversâmes un bout de forêt qui me parut remarquable en ce qu'elle est composée entièrement de chênes, et que ces arbres y sont plus gros, plus droits et plus hauts que ceux que j'avois été à portée de voir jusque-là. D'ailleurs ils n'ont, comme les sapins, de branches qu'à leurs cimes.

Nous vinmes loger dans un caravanserai qui étoit éloigné de toute habitation. Nous y trouvâmes de l'orge et de la paille, et il eût été d'autant plus aisé de nous en approvisionner, qu'il n'y avoit d'autre gardien qu'un seul valet. Mais on n'a rien de semblable à craindre dans ces lieux-là, et il n'est point d'homme assez hardi pour oser y prendre une poignée de marchandise sans payer.

Sur la route est une petite rivière renommée pour son eau. Hoyarbarach alla en boire avec ses femmes ; il voulut que j'en busse aussi, et lui-même m'en présenta dans son gobelet de cuir. C'étoit la première fois de toute la route qu'il me faisoit cette faveur.

Cotthay, quoique assez considérable, n'a point de murs ; mais elle a un beau et grand château composé de trois forteresses placées l'une au-dessus de l'autre sur le penchant d'une montagne, lequel a une double enceinte. C'est dans cette place qu'étoit le fils aîné du grand-Turc.

La ville possède un caravanserai où nous allâmes loger. Déjà il y avoit des Turcs, et nous fûmes obligés d'y mettre tous nos chevaux pêle-mêle, selon l'usage ; mais le lendemain matin, au moment où j'apprêtois le mien pour partir, je m'aperçus qu'on m'avoit pris l'une des courroies qui me servoit à attacher derrière ma selle le tapis et autres objets que je portois en trousse.

D'abord je criai et me fâchai beaucoup. Mais il y avoit là un esclave Turc, l'un de ceux du fils aîné, homme de poids et d'environ cinquante ans, qui, m'entendant et voyant que je ne parlois pas bien la langue, me prit par la main et me conduisit à la porte du caravanserai. Là il me demanda en Italien qui j'étois. Je fus stupéfait d'entendre ce langage dans sa bouche. Je répondis qui j'étois Franc. " D'où venez-vous ? ajouta-t-il.—De Damas, dans " la compagnie d'Hoyarbarach, et je vais à Bourse retrouver un de mes frères.—Eh bien, " vous êtes un espion, et vous venez chercher ici des renseignemens sur le pays. Si vous " ne l'étiez pas, n'auriez-vous pas dû prendre la mer pour retourner chez vous ?"

Cette inculpation à laquelle je ne m'attendois pas m'interdit ; je répondis cependant que les Vénitiens et les Génois se faisoient sur mer une guerre si acharnée que je n'osois m'y risquer. Il me demanda d'où j'étois. Du royaume de France, repartis-je. Etes-vous des environs de Paris ? reprit-il. Je dis que non, et je lui demandai à mon tour s'il connoissoit Paris. Il me répondit qu'il y avoit été autrefois avec un capitaine nommé Bernabo. " Croyez-moi, ajouta-t-il, allez dans le caravanserai chercher votre cheval, et amenez-le " moi ici ; car il y a là des esclaves Albaniens qui acheveroient de vous prendre ce qu'il porte " encore. Tandis que je le garderai, vous irez déjeuner, et vous ferez pour vous et pour " lui une provision de cinq jours, parce que vous serez cinq journées sans rien trouver."

Je profitai du conseil ; j'allai m'approvisionner, et je déjeunai avec d'autant plus de plaisir que

que depuis deux jours je n'avois goûté viande, et que je courois risque de n'en point tâter encore pendant cinq jours.

Sorti du caravanserai, je pris le chemin de Bourse, et laissai à gauche, entre l'occident et le midi, celui de Troie-la-Grant*. Il y a d'assez hautes montagnes, et j'en eus plusieurs à passer. J'eus aussi deux journées de forêts, après quoi je traversai une belle plaine dans laquelle il y a quelques villages assez bons pour le pays. A demi-journée de Bourse il en est un où nous trouvâmes de la viande et du raisin; ce raisin étoit aussi frais qu'au temps des vendanges: ils savent le garder ainsi toute l'année; c'est un secret qu'ils ont. Les Turcs m'y régalèrent de rôti; mais il n'étoit pas cuit à moitié. A mesure que la viande se rôtissoit, nous la coupions à la broche par tranches. Nous eûmes aussi du kaymac; c'est de la crême de buffle. Elle étoit si bonne et si douce, et j'en mangeai tant que je manquai d'en crever.

Avant d'entrer dans le village nous vîmes venir à nous un Turc de Bourse qui étoit envoyé à l'épouse de Hoyarbarach pour lui annoncer la mort de son père. Elle témoigna une grande douleur, et ce fut à cette occasion que s'étant découvert le visage, j'eus le plaisir de la voir; ce qui ne m'étoit pas encore arrivé de toute la route. C'étoit une fort belle femme.

Il y avoit dans le lieu un esclave Bulgare renégat, qui, par affectation de zèle et pour se montrer bon Sarrasin, reprocha aux Turcs de la caravane de me laisser aller dans leur compagnie, et dit que c'étoit un péché à eux qui revenoient du saint pélerinage de la Mecque: en conséquence ils me notifièrent qu'il falloit nous séparer, et je fus obligé de me rendre à Bourse.

Je partis donc le lendemain, une heure avant le jour, avec l'aide de Dieu qui jusque-là m'avoit conduit; il me guida encore si bien que dans la route je ne demandai mon chemin qu'une seule fois.

En entrant dans la ville je vis beaucoup de gens qui en sortoient pour aller au-devant de la caravane. Tel est l'usage: les plus notables s'en font un devoir; c'est une fête. Il y en eut même plusieurs qui, me croyant un des pélerins, me baisèrent les mains et la robe.

En y entrant je me vis embarrassé, parce que d'abord on trouve une place qui s'ouvre par quatre rues, et que je ne savois laquelle prendre. Dieu me fit encore choisir la bonne, laquelle me conduisit au bazar, où sont les marchandises et les marchands. Je m'adressai au premier chrétien que j'y vis, et ce chrétien se trouva heureusement un des espinolis de Gênes, celui-là même pour qui Parvésin de Baruth m'avoit donné des lettres. Il fut fort étonné de me voir, et me conduisit chez un Florentin où je logeai avec mon cheval. J'y restai dix jours, temps que j'employai à parcourir la ville, conduit par les marchands, qui se firent un plaisir de me mener par-tout eux-mêmes.

De toutes celles que possède le Turc, c'est la plus considérable; elle est grande, marchande, et située au pied et au nord du mont Olimpoa (Olympe), d'où descend une rivière qui la traverse et qui, se divisant en plusieurs bras, forme comme un amas de petites villes, et contribue à la faire paroître plus grande encore.

C'est à Burse que sont inhumés les seigneurs de Turquie (les sultans). On y voit de beaux édifices, et surtout un grand nombre d'hôpitaux, parmi lesquels il y en a quatre où l'on distribue souvent du pain, du vin et de la viande aux pauvres, qui veulent les prendre pour Dieu. A l'une des extrémités de la ville, vers le ponent, est un beau et vaste château bâti sur une hauteur, et qui peut bien renfermer mille maisons. Là est aussi le palais du seigneur, palais qu'on m'a dit être intérieurement un lieu très-agréable, et qui a un jardin avec un joli étang. Le prince avoit alors cinquante femmes, et souvent, dit-on, il va sur l'étang s'amuser en bateau avec quelqu'une d'elles.

Burse étoit aussi le séjour de Camusat Bayschat (pacha), seigneur, ou, comme nous autres nous dirions, gouverneur et lieutenant de la Turquie. C'est un très-vaillant homme, le

* L'auteur, en donnant ici à la fameuse Troie la dénomination de grande, ne fait que suivre l'usage de son siècle. Les historiens et les romanciers du temps la désignoient toujours ainsi, histoire de Troye-la-Grant, destruction de Troie-la-Grant, etc.

plus entreprenant qu'ait le Turc, et le plus habile à conduire sagement une entreprise. Aussi sont-ce principalement ces qualités qui lui ont fait donner ce gouvernement.

Je demandai s'il tenoit bien le pays et s'il savoit se faire obéir. On me dit qu'il y étoit obéi et respecté comme Amurat lui-même, qu'il avoit pour appointemens cinquante mille ducats par an, et que, quand le Turc entroit en guerre, il lui menoit à ses dépens vingt mille hommes; mais que lui, de son côté, il avoit également ses pensionnaires qui, dans ce cas, étoient tenus de lui fournir à leurs frais, l'un mille hommes, l'autre deux mille, l'autre trois, et ainsi des autres.

Il y a dans Burse deux bazars: l'un où l'on vend des étoffes de soie de toute espèce, de riches et belles pierreries, grande quantité de perles, et à bon marché, des toiles de coton, ainsi qu'une infinité d'autres marchandises dont l'énumération seroit trop longue; l'autre où l'on achète du coton et du savon blanc, qui fait là un gros objet de commerce.

Je vis aussi dans une halle un spectacle lamentable: c'étoient des chrétiens, hommes et femmes, que l'on vendoit. L'usage est de les faire asseoir sur des bancs. Celui qui veut les acheter ne voit d'eux que le visage et les mains, et un peu le bras des femmes. A Damas j'avois vu vendre une fille noire, de quinze à seize ans; on la menoit au long des rues toute nue, "fors que le ventre et le derrière, et ung pou au-desoubs."

C'est à Burse que, pour la première fois, je mangeai du caviaire* à l'huile d'olive. Cette nourriture n'est guère bonne que pour des Grecs, ou quand on n'a rien de mieux.

Quelques jours après qu'Hoyarbarach fut arrivé j'allai prendre congé de lui et le remercier des moyens qu'il m'avoit procurés de faire mon voyage. Je le trouvai au bazar, assis sur un haut siége de pierre avec plusieurs des plus notables de la ville. Les marchands s'étoient joints à moi dans cette visite.

Quelques-uns d'entre eux, Florentins de nation, s'intéressoient à un Espagnol qui, après avoir été esclave du soudan, avoit trouvé le moyen de s'échapper d'Egypte et d'arriver jusqu'à Burse. Ils me prièrent de l'emmener avec moi. Je le conduisis à mes frais jusqu'à Constantinople, où je le laissai; mais je suis persuadé que c'étoit un renégat. Je n'en ai point eu de nouvelles depuis.

Trois Génois avoient acheté des épices aux gens de la caravane, et ils se proposoient d'aller les vendre à Père (Péra), près de Constantinople, par-delà le détroit que nous appelons le Bras-de-Saint-George. Moi qui voulois profiter de leur compagnie, j'attendis leur départ, et c'est la raison qui me fit rester dans Burse; car, à moins d'être connu, l'on n'obtient point de passer le détroit. Dans cette vue ils me procurèrent une lettre du gouverneur. Je l'emportai avec moi; mais elle ne me servit point, parce que je trouvai moyen de passer avec eux. Nous partîmes ensemble. Cependant ils m'avoient fait acheter pour ma sûreté un chapeau rouge fort élevé, avec une huvette† en fil d'archal, que je portai jusqu'à Constantinople.

Au sortir de Burse nous traversâmes vers le nord une plaine qu'arrose une rivière profonde qui va se jeter, quatre lieues environ plus bas, dans le golfe, entre Constantinople et Galipoly. Nous eûmes une journée de montagnes, que des bois et un terrain argileux rendirent très-pénible. Là est un petit arbre qui porte un fruit un peu plus gros que nos plus fortes cerises, et qui a la forme et le goût de nos fraises, quoiqu'un peu aigrelet. Il est fort agréable à manger; mais si on en mange une certaine quantité, il porte à la tête et enivre. On le trouve en Novembre et Décembre‡.

Du haut de la montagne on voit le golfe de Galipoly. Quand on l'a descendue on entre dans une vallée terminée par un très-grand lac, autour duquel sont construites beaucoup de maisons. C'est là que j'ai vu pour la première fois faire des tapis de Turquie. Je passai la nuit dans la vallée. Elle produit beaucoup de riz.

* Caviaire, caviar, cavial, caviat, sorte de ragoût ou de mets composé d'œufs d'esturgeons qu'on a saupoudrés de sel et séchés au soleil. Les Grecs en font une grande consommation dans leurs différens carêmes.

† Huvette, sorte d'ornement qu'on mettoit au chapeau.

‡ La description de l'auteur annonce qu'il s'agit ici de l'arbousier.

Au-

Au-delà on trouve, tantôt un pays de montagnes et de vallées, tantôt un pays d'herbages, puis une haute forêt qu'il seroit impossible de traverser sans guide, et où les chevaux enfoncent si fort qu'ils ont grande peine à s'en tirer. Pour moi je crois que c'est celle dont il est parlé dans l'histoire de Godefroi de Bouillon, et qu'il eut tant de difficulté à traverser.

Je passai la nuit par-delà, dans un village qui est à quatre lieues en-deçà de Nicomède (Nicomédie). Nicomédie est une grande ville avec havre. Ce havre, appelé le Lenguo, part du golfe de Constantinople et s'étend jusqu'à la ville, où il a de largeur un trait d'arc. Tout ce pays est d'un passage très-difficultueux.

Par-delà Nicomédie, en tirant vers Constantinople, il devient très-beau et assez bon. Là on trouve plus de Grecs que de Turcs; mais ces Grecs ont pour les chrétiens (pour les Latins) plus d'aversion encore que les Turcs eux-mêmes.

Je côtoyai le golfe de Constantinople, et laissant le chemin de Nique (Nicée), ville située au nord, près de la mer Noire, je vins loger successivement dans un village en ruine, et qui n'a pour habitans que des Grecs; puis dans un autre près de Scutari; enfin à Scutari même, sur le détroit, vis-à-vis de Péra.

Là sont des Turcs auxquels il faut payer un droit, et qui gardent le passage. Il y a des roches qui le rendroient très-aisé à défendre si on vouloit le fortifier. Hommes et chevaux peuvent s'y embarquer et débarquer aisément. Nous passâmes, mes compagnons et moi, sur deux vaisseaux Grecs.

Ceux à qui appartenoit celui que je montois me prirent pour Turc, et me rendirent de grands honneurs. Mais quand ils m'eurent descendu à terre, et qu'ils me virent, en entrant dans Péra, laisser à la porte mon cheval en garde, et demander un marchand Génois nommé Christophe Parvesin, pour qui j'avois des lettres, ils se doutèrent que j'étois chrétien. Deux d'entre eux alors m'attendirent à la porte, et quand je vins y reprendre mon cheval ils me demandèrent plus que ce que j'étois convenu de leur donner pour mon passage, et voulurent me rançonner. Je crois même qu'ils m'auroient battu s'ils l'avoient osé; mais j'avois mon épée et mon bon tarquais: d'ailleurs un cordonnier Génois qui demeuroit près de là vint à mon aide, et ils furent obligés de se retirer.

J'écris ceci pour servir d'avertissement aux voyageurs qui, comme moi, auroient affaire à des Grecs. Tous ceux avec qui j'ai eu à traiter ne m'ont laissé que de la défiance. J'ai trouvé plus de loyauté en Turquie. Ce peuple n'aime point les chrétiens qui obéissent à l'église de Rome; la soumission qu'il a faite depuis à cette église étoit plus intéressée que sincère*. Aussi m'a-t-on dit que, peu avant mon passage, le pape, dans un concile général, les avoit déclarés schismatiques et maudits, en les dévouant à être esclaves de ceux qui étoient esclaves†.

Péra est une grande ville habitée par des Grecs, par des Juifs et par des Génois. Ceux-ci en sont les maîtres sous le duc de Milan, qui s'en dit le seigneur; ils y ont un podestat et d'autres officiers qui la gouvernent à leur manière. On y fait un grand commerce avec les Turcs; mais les Turcs y jouissent d'un droit de franchise singulier: c'est que si un de leurs esclaves s'échappe et vient y chercher un asile, on est obligé de le leur rendre. Le port est le plus beau de tous ceux que j'ai vus, et même de tous ceux, je crois, que possèdent les chrétiens, puisque les plus grosses caraques Génoises peuvent venir y mettre échelle à terre. Mais comme tout le monde sait cela, je m'abstiens d'en parler. Cependant il m'a

* En 1438, Jean Paléologue II vint en Italie pour réunir l'église Grecque avec la Latine, et la réunion eut lieu l'année suivante au concile de Florence. Mais cette démarche n'étoit de la part de l'empereur, ainsi que le remarque la Brocquière, qu'une opération politique dictée par l'intérêt, et qui n'eut aucune suite. Ses états se trouvoient dans une situation si déplorable, et il étoit tellement pressé par les Turcs, qu'il cherchoit à se procurer le secours des Latins; et c'est dans cet espoir qu'il étoit venu leurrer le pape. Cette époque de 1438 est remarquable pour notre voyage. Elle prouve que la Brocquière, puisqu'il la cite, le publia postérieurement à cette année-là.

† Fait faux. Le concile général qui eut lieu peu avant le passage de l'auteur par Constantinople est celui de Bâle en 1431. Or, loin d'y maudire et anathématiser les Grecs, on s'y occupa de leur réunion. Cette prétendue malédiction étoit sans doute un bruit que faisoient courir dans Constantinople ceux qui ne vouloient pas de rapprochement, et le voyageur le fait entendre par cette expression, l'on m'a dit.

semble

semblé que du côté de la terre, vers l'église qui est dans le voisinage de la porte, à l'extrémité du havre, il y a un endroit foible.

Je trouvai à Péra un ambassadeur du duc de Milan, qu'on appeloit messire Benedicto de Fourlino. Le duc, qui avoit besoin de l'appui de l'empereur Sigismond contre les Vénitiens, et qui voyoit Sigismond embarrassé à défendre des Turcs son royaume de Hongrie, envoyoit vers Amurat une ambassade pour négocier un accommodement entre les deux princes.

Messire Benedicto me fit, en l'honneur de monseigneur de Bourgogne, beaucoup d'accueil; il me conta même que, pour porter dommage aux Vénitiens, il avoit contribué à leur faire perdre Salonique, prise sur eux par les Turcs; et certes en cela il fit d'autant plus mal que depuis j'ai vu des habitans de cette ville renier Jésus-Christ pour embrasser la loi de Mahomet.

Il y avoit aussi à Péra un Napolitain nommé Piètre de Naples, avec qui je me liai. Celui-ci se disoit marié dans la terre du prêtre Jean, et il fit des efforts pour m'y emmener avec lui. Au reste, comme je le questionnai beaucoup sur ce pays, il m'en conta bien des choses que je vais écrire. J'ignore s'il me dit vérité ou non, mais je ne garantis rien.

Nota. La manière dont notre voyageur annonce ici la relation du Napolitain, annonce combien peu il y croyoit; et en cela le bon sens qu'il a montré jusqu'à présent ne se dément pas. Ce récit n'est en effet qu'un amas de fables absurdes et de merveilles révoltantes qui ne méritent pas d'être citées, quoiqu'on les trouve également dans certains auteurs du temps. Laissons l'auteur reprendre son discours.

Deux jours après mon *arrivée à Péra* je traversai le havre pour aller à Constantinople et visiter cette ville.

C'est une grande et spacieuse cité, qui a la forme d'un triangle. L'un des *côtés* regarde le détroit que nous appelons le Bras-de-Saint-George; l'autre a au midi un gouffre (golfe) assez large, qui se prolonge jusqu'à Galipoly. Au nord est le port.

Il existe sur la terre, dit-on, trois grandes villes dont chacune renferme sept montagnes; c'est Rome, Constantinople et Antioche. Selon moi, Rome est plus grande et plus arrondie que Constantinople. Pour Antioche, comme je ne l'ai vue qu'en passant, je ne puis rien dire sur sa grandeur; cependant ses montagnes m'ont paru plus hautes que celles des deux autres.

On donne à Constantinople, dans son triangle, dix-huit milles de tour, dont un tiers est situé du côté de terre, vers le couchant. Elle a une bonne enceinte de murailles, et surtout dans la partie qui regarde la terre. Cette portion, qu'on dit avoir six milles d'une pointe à l'autre, a en outre un fossé profond qui est en glacis, excepté dans un espace de deux cents pas, à l'une de ses extrémités, près du palais appelé la Blaquerne; on assure même que les Turcs ont failli prendre la ville par *cet endroit foible*. Quinze ou vingt pieds en avant du fossé est une *fausse braie d'un bon et haut mur*.

Aux deux extrémités de ce côté il y avoit autrefois deux beaux palais qui, si l'on en juge par les ruines et les restes qui en subsistent encore, étoient très-forts. On m'a conté qu'ils ont été abattus par un empereur dans une circonstance où, prisonnier du Turc, il courut risque de la vie. Celui-ci exigeoit qu'il lui livrât Constantinople, et, en cas de refus, il menaçoit de le faire mourir. L'autre répondit qu'il préféroit la mort à la honte d'affliger la chrétienté par un si grand malheur, et qu'après tout sa perte ne seroit rien en comparaison de celle de la ville. Quand le Turc vit qu'il n'avanceroit rien par cette voie, il lui proposa la liberté, à condition que la place qui est devant Sainte-Sophie seroit abattue, ainsi que les deux palais. Son projet étoit d'affoiblir ainsi la ville, afin d'avoir moins de peine à la prendre. L'empereur consentit à la proposition, et la preuve en existe encore aujourd'hui.

Constantinople est formée de diverses parties séparées; de sorte qu'il y a plus de vide que de plein. Les plus grosses caraques peuvent venir mouiller sous ses murs, comme à Péra; elle a en outre dans son intérieur un petit havre qui peut contenir trois ou quatre galères. Il est au midi, près d'une porte où l'on voit une butte composée d'os de chrétiens qui, après la conquête de Jérusalem et d'Acre, par Godefroi de Bouillon, revenoient par le détroit. A mesure que les Grecs les passoient, ils les conduisoient dans cette place, qui est

éloignée

éloignée et cachée, et les y égorgeoient. Tous, quoiqu'en très-grand nombre, auroient péri ainsi, sans un page qui, ayant trouvé moyen de repasser en Asie, les avertit du danger qui les menaçoit: ils se répandirent le long de la mer Noire, et c'est d'eux, à ce qu'on prétend, que descendent ces peuples gros chrestiens (d'un christianisme grossier) qui habitent là: Circassiens, Migrelins, (Mingreliens), Ziques, Gothlans et Anangats. Au reste, comme ce fait est ancien, je n'en sais rien que par ouï-dire.

Quoique la ville ait beaucoup de belles églises, la plus remarquable, ainsi que la principale, est celle de Sainte-Sophie, où le patriarche se tient, et autres gens comme chanoines (chanoines). Elle est de forme ronde, située près de la pointe orientale, et formée de trois parties diverses; l'une souterraine, l'autre hors de terre, la troisième supérieure à celle-ci. Jadis elle étoit entourée de cloîtres, et avoit, dit-on, trois milles de circuit; aujourd'hui elle est moins étendue, et n'a plus que trois cloîtres, qui tous trois sont pavés et revêtus en larges carreaux de marbre blanc, et ornés de grosses colonnes de diverses couleurs*. Les portes, remarquables par leur largeur et leur hauteur, sont d'airain.

Cette église possède, dit-on, l'une des robes de Notre-Seigneur, le fer de la lance qui le perça, l'éponge dont il fut abreuvé, et le roseau qu'on lui mit en main. Moi je dirai que derrière le chœur on m'a montré les grandes bandes du gril où fut rôti Saint-Laurent, et une large pierre en forme de lavoir, sur laquelle Abraham fit manger, dit-on, les trois anges qui alloient détruire Sodome et Gomorre.

J'étois curieux de savoir comment les Grecs célébroient le service divin, et en conséquence je me rendis à Sainte-Sophie un jour où le patriarche officioit. L'empereur y assistoit avec sa femme, sa mère et son frère, despote de Morée†. On y représenta un mystère, dont le sujet étoit les trois enfans que Nabuchodonosor fit jeter dans la fournaise‡.

L'impératrice, fille de l'empereur de Traséonde (Trébisonde), me parut une fort belle personne. Cependant, comme je ne pouvois la voir que de loin, je voulus la considérer de plus près: d'ailleurs j'étois curieux de savoir comment elle montoit à cheval; car elle étoit venue ainsi à l'église, accompagnée seulement de deux dames, de trois vieillards, ministres d'état, et de trois de ces hommes à qui les Turcs confient la garde de leurs femmes (trois eunuques). Au sortir de Sainte-Sophie elle entra dans un hôtel voisin pour y dîner; ce qui m'obligea d'attendre là qu'elle sortît, et par conséquent de passer toute la journée sans boire ni manger.

Elle parut enfin. On lui apporta un banc sur lequel elle monta. On fit approcher du banc son cheval, qui étoit superbe et couvert d'une selle magnifique. Alors un des vieillards prit le long manteau qu'elle portoit, et passa de l'autre côté du cheval, en le tenant étendu sur ses mains aussi haut qu'il pouvoit. Pendant ce temps elle mit le pied sur l'étrier, elle enfourcha le cheval comme le font les hommes, et dès qu'elle fut en selle le vieillard lui jeta le manteau sur les épaules; après quoi il lui donna un de ces chapeaux longs, à pointe, usités en Grèce, et vers l'extrémité duquel étoient trois plumes d'or qui lui séyoient très-bien.

J'étois si près d'elle qu'on me dit de m'éloigner: ainsi je pus la voir parfaitement. Elle avoit aux oreilles un fermail (anneau) large et plat, orné de plusieurs pierres précieuses, et particulièrement de rubis. Elle me parut jeune, blanche, et plus belle encore que dans l'église; en un mot, je n'y eusse trouvé rien à redire si son visage n'avoit été peint, et assurément elle n'en avoit pas besoin.

Les deux dames montèrent à cheval en même temps qu'elle; elles étoient belles aussi, et portoient comme elle manteau et chapeau. La troupe retourna au palais de la Blaquerne.

Au-devant de Sainte-Sophie est une belle et immense place, entourée de murs comme un

* Deux de ces galeries ou portiques, que l'auteur appelle cloîtres, subsistent encore aujourd'hui, ainsi que les colonnes. Celles-ci sont de matières différentes, porphyre, marbre, granit, etc.; et voilà pourquoi le voyageur, qui n'étoit pas naturaliste, les représente comme étant de couleurs diverses.

† Cet empereur étoit Jean Paléologue II; son frère, Démétrius, despote ou prince du Péloponnèse; sa mère, Irène, fille de Constantin Dragasès, souverain d'une petite contrée de la Macédoine; sa femme, Marie Comnène, fille d'Alexis, empereur de Trébisonde.

‡ Ces farces de vers étoient d'usage alors dans l'église Grecque, ainsi que dans la Latine. En France on les appeloit mystères, et c'est le nom que le voyageur donne à celle qu'il vit dans Sainte-Sophie.

palais,

palais, et où jadis on faisoit des jeux*. J'y vis le frère de l'empereur, despote de Morée, s'exercer avec une vingtaine d'autres cavaliers. Chacun d'eux avoit un arc : ils couroient à cheval le long de l'enceinte, jetoient leurs chapeaux en avant ; puis, quand ils l'avoient dépassé, ils tiroient par derrière, comme pour le percer, et celui d'entre eux dont la flèche atteignoit le chapeau de plus près étoit réputé le plus habile. C'est-là un exercice qu'ils ont adopté des Turcs, et c'est un de ceux auxquels ils cherchent à se rendre habiles.

De ce côté, près de la pointe de l'angle, est la belle église de Saint-George, qui a, en face de la Turquie†, une tour à l'endroit où le passage est le plus étroit.

De l'autre côté, à l'occident, se voit une très-haute colonne carrée portant des caractères tracés, et sur laquelle est une statue équestre de Constantin, en bronze. Il tient un sceptre de la main gauche, et a le bras droit et la main étendus vers la Turquie et le chemin de Jérusalem, comme pour marquer que tout ce pays étoit sous sa loi.

Près de cette colonne il y en a trois autres, placées sur une même ligne, et d'un seul morceau chacune. Celles-ci portoient trois chevaux dorés qui sont maintenant à Venise‡.

Dans la jolie église de Panthéacrator, occupée par des religieux caloyers, qui sont ce que nous appellerions en France moines de l'Observance, on montre une pierre ou table de diverses couleurs que Nicodème avoit fait tailler pour placer sur son tombeau, et qui lui servit à poser le corps de Notre-Seigneur quand il le descendit de la croix. Pendant ce temps la Vierge pleuroit sur le corps ; mais ses larmes, au lieu d'y rester, tombèrent toutes sur la pierre, et on les y voit toutes encore. D'abord je crus que c'étoient des gouttes de cire, et j'y portai la main pour les tâter ; je me baissai ensuite, afin de la regarder horizontalement et à contre-jour, et me sembla que c'estoient gouttes d'eau engellées. C'est là une chose que plusieurs personnes ont pu voir comme moi.

Dans la même église sont les tombeaux de Constantin et de sainte Hélène sa mère, placés chacun à la hauteur d'environ huit pieds, sur une colonne qui se termine comme un diamant pointu à quatre faces. On dit que les Vénitiens, pendant qu'ils eurent à Constantinople une grande puissance, tirèrent du tombeau de sainte Hélène son corps, qu'ils emportèrent à Venise, où il est encore tout entier. Ils tentèrent, dit-on, la même chose pour celui de Constantin, mais ils ne purent en venir à bout ; et le fait est assez vraisemblable, puisqu'on y voit encore deux gros morceaux brisés à l'endroit qu'on vouloit rompre. Les deux tombeaux sont couleur de jaspre sur le vermeil, comme une brique (de jaspe rouge).

On montre dans l'église de Sainte-Apostole un tronçon de la colonne à laquelle fut attaché Notre-Seigneur pour être battu de verges chez Pilate. Ce morceau, plus grand que la hauteur d'un homme, est de la même pierre que deux autres que j'ai vus, l'une à Rome, l'autre à Jérusalem ; mais ce dernier excède en grandeur les deux autres ensemble.

Il y a encore dans la même église, et dans des cercueils de bois, plusieurs corps saints qui sont entiers : les voit qui veut. L'un d'eux avoit eu la tête coupée ; on lui en a mis une d'un autre saint. Au reste les Grecs ne portent point à ces reliques le même respect que nous. Il en est de même pour la pierre de Nicodème et la colonne de Notre-Seigneur : celle-ci est seulement couverte d'une enveloppe en planches, et posée debout près d'un pilier, à main droite quand on entre dans l'église par la porte de devant.

Parmi les belles églises je citerai encore comme une des plus remarquables celle qu'on nomme la Blaquerne, parce qu'elle est près du palais impérial, et qui, quoique petite et mal couverte, a des peintures avec pavé et revêtemens en marbre. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'y en ait plusieurs autres également dignes d'être vantées ; mais je n'ai pu les visiter toutes. Les marchands (marchands Latins) en ont une où tous les jours on dit la messe à la romaine. Celle-ci est vis-à-vis le passage de Péra.

La ville a des marchands de plusieurs nations ; mais aucune n'y est aussi puissante que les Vénitiens. Ils y ont un baille (baile) qui connoît seul de toutes leurs affaires, et ne dé-

* L'hippodrome Grec, aujourd'hui l'atméidan des Turcs.

† Il s'agit ici de la Turquie d'Asie. On n'avoit point encore donné ce nom aux provinces que les Turcs possédoient en Europe.

‡ Ils sont maintenant à Paris, et il y en a quatre.

pend

pend ni de l'empereur ni de ses officiers. C'est-là un privilège qu'ils possèdent depuis long-temps* : on dit même que par deux fois ils ont, avec leurs galères, sauvé des Turcs la ville ; pour moi je croy que Dieu l'a plus gardée pour les saintes reliques qui sont dedans que pour autre chose.

Le Turc y entretient aussi un officier pour le commerce qu'y font ses sujets, et cet officier est, de même que le baile, indépendant de l'empereur ; ils y ont même le droit, quand un de leurs esclaves s'échappe et s'y réfugie, de le redemander, et l'empereur est obligé de le leur rendre.

Ce prince est dans une grande sujétion du Turc, puisque annuellement il lui paie, m'a-t-on dit, un tribut de dix mille ducats ; et cette somme est uniquement pour Constantinople : car au-delà de cette ville il ne possède rien qu'un château situé à trois lieues vers le nord, et en Grèce une petite cité nommée Salubrie.

J'étois logé chez un marchand Catalan. Cet homme ayant dit à l'un des gens du palais que j'étois à monseigneur de Bourgogne, l'empereur me fit demander s'il étoit vrai que le duc eût pris la pucelle, ce que les Grecs ne pouvoient croire†. Je leur en dys la vérité tout ainsi que la chose avoit esté ; de quoy ils furent bien esmerveilliés.

Le jour de la Chandeleur, les marchands me prévinrent que, l'après-dînée, il devoit y avoir au palais un office solennel pareil à celui que nous faisons ce jour-là ; et ils m'y conduisirent. L'empereur étoit à l'extrémité d'une salle, assis sur une couche (un coussin) : l'impératrice vit la cérémonie d'une pièce supérieure ; et sont les chappellains qui chantent l'office, estrangnement vestus et habilliés, et chantent par cuer, selon leurs dois.

Quelques jours après, on me mena voir également une fête qui avoit lieu pour le mariage d'un des parens de l'empereur. Il y eut une joute à la manière du pays, et cette joute me parut bien étrange. La voici :

Au milieu d'une place on avoit planté, en guise de quintaine, un grand pieu auquel étoit attachée une planche large de trois pieds, sur cinq de long. Une quarantaine de cavaliers arrivèrent sur le lieu sans aucune pièce quelconque d'armure, et sans autre arme qu'un petit bâton.

D'abord ils s'amusèrent à courir les uns après les autres, et cette manœuvre dura environ une demi-heure. On apporta ensuite soixante à quatre-vingts perches d'aune, telles et plus longues encore que celles dont nous nous servons pour les couvertures de nos toits en chaume. Le marié en prit une le premier, et il courut ventre à terre vers la planche, pour l'y briser. Elle plioit et branloit dans sa main ; aussi la rompit-il sans effort. Alors s'élevèrent des cris de joie, et les instrumens de musique, qui étoient des nacaires, comme chez les Turcs, se firent entendre. Chacun des autres cavaliers vint de même prendre sa perche et la rompre. Enfin le marié en fit lier ensemble deux, qui à la vérité n'étoient pas trop fortes, et il les brisa encore sans se blesser‡. Ainsi finit la fête, et chacun retourna chez soi sain et sauf. L'empereur et son épouse étoient à une fenêtre pour la voir.

Je m'étois proposé de partir avec ce messire Bénédict de Fourlino, qui, comme je l'ai dit, étoit envoyé en ambassade vers le Turc par le duc de Milan. Il avoit avec lui un gentilhomme du duc, nommé Jean Visconti, sept autres personnes, et dix chevaux de suite, parce que, quand on voyage en Grèce, il faut porter sans exception tout ce dont on peut avoir besoin.

* Depuis la conquête de l'empire d'Orient par les Latins, en 1204, conquête à laquelle les Vénitiens avoient contribué en grande partie.

† La pucelle d'Orléans, après avoir combattu avec gloire les Anglais et le duc de Bourgogne ligués contre la France, avoit été faite prisonnière en 1430, par un officier de Jean de Luxembourg, général des troupes du duc, puis vendue par Jean aux Anglais, qui la firent brûler vive l'année suivante. Cette vengeance atroce avoit retenti dans toute l'Europe. A Constantinople le bruit public l'attribuoit au duc ; mais les Grecs ne pouvoient croire qu'un prince chrétien eût été capable d'une pareille horreur, et leur sembloit, dit l'auteur, que c'estoit une chose impossible.

‡ La Brocquière devoit trouver ces joutes ridicules, parce qu'il étoit accoutumé aux tournois de France, où des chevaliers tout couverts de fer se battoient avec des épées, des lances, des masses, et où très-fréquemment il y avoit des hommes tués, blessés ou écrasés sous les pieds des chevaux. C'est ce qui lui fait dire par deux fois que dans la joute des perches il n'y eut personne de blessé.

Je sortis de Constantinople le 23 Janvier 1433, et traversai d'abord Rigory, passage jadis assez fort, et formé par une vallée dans laquelle s'avance un bras de mer qui peut bien avoir vingt milles de longueur. Il y avoit une tour que les Turcs ont abattue. Il y reste un pont, une chaussée et un village de Grecs. Pour arriver à Constantinople par terre on n'a que ce passage, et un autre un peu plus bas que celui-ci, plus fort encore, et sur une rivière qui vient là se jeter dans la mer.

De Rigory j'allai à Thiras, habité pareillement par des Grecs, jadis bonne ville, et passage aussi fort que le précédent, parce qu'il est formé de même par la mer. A chaque bout du pont étoit une grosse tour. La tour et la ville, tout a été détruit par les Turcs.

De Thiras je me rendis à Salubrie. Cette ville, située à deux journées de Constantinople, a un petit port sur le golfe, qui s'étend depuis ce dernier lieu jusqu'à Galipoly. Les Turcs n'ont pu la prendre, quoique du côté de la mer elle ne soit pas forte. Elle appartient à l'empereur, ainsi que le pays jusque-là; mais ce pays, tout ruiné, n'a que des villages pauvres.

De là je vins à Chourleu, jadis considérable, détruit par les Turcs et peuplé de Turcs et de Grecs;

De Chourleu à Mistério, petite place fermée: il n'y a que des Grecs, avec un seul Turc à qui son prince l'a donnée;

De Mistério à Pirgasy, où il ne demeure que des Turcs, et dont les murs sont abattus;

De Pirgasy à Zambry, également détruite;

De Zambry à Andrenopoly (Andrinople), grande ville marchande, bien peuplée, et située sur une très-grosse rivière qu'on nomme la Marisce, à six journées de Constantinople. C'est la plus forte de toutes celles que le Turc possède dans la Grèce, et c'est celle qu'il habite le plus volontiers. Le seigneur ou lieutenant de Grèce (le gouverneur) y fait aussi son séjour, et l'on y trouve plusieurs marchands Vénitiens, Catalans, Génois et Florentins. Depuis Constantinople jusque là, le pays est bon, bien arrosé, mais mal peuplé; il a des vallées fertiles, et produit de tout, excepté du bois.

Le Turc étoit à Lessère, grosse ville en Pyrrhe, près du lieu de Thessalie où se livra la bataille entre César et Pompée, et messire Benedicto prit cette route pour se rendre auprès de lui. Nous passâmes la Marisce en bateaux, et rencontrâmes, à peu de distance, cinquante de ses femmes, accompagnées d'environ seize eunuques, qui nous apprirent qu'ils les conduisoient à Andrinople, où lui-même se proposoit de venir bientôt.

J'allai à Dymodique, bonne ville, fermée d'une double enceinte de murailles. Elle est fortifiée d'un côté par une rivière, et de l'autre par un grand et fort château construit sur une hauteur presque ronde, et qui, dans son circuit, peut bien renfermer trois cents maisons. Le château a un donjon où le Turc, m'a-t-on dit, tient son trésor.

De Dymodique je me rendis à Ypsala, assez grande ville, mais *totalement détruite*, et où je passai la Marisce une seconde fois*. Elle est à deux journées d'Andrinople. Le pays, dans tout cet espace, est marécageux et difficile pour les chevaux.

Ayne, au-delà d'Ypsala, est sur la mer, à l'embouchure de la Marisce, qui a bien en cet endroit deux milles de large. Au tems de Troye-la-Grant, ce fut une puissante cité, qui avoit son roi: maintenant elle a pour seigneur le frère du seigneur de Matelin, qui est tributaire du Turc.

Sur une butte ronde on y voit un tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Polydore, le plus jeune des fils de Priam. Le père, pendant le siége de Troie, avoit envoyé son fils au roi d'Ayne, avec de grands trésors; mais, après la destruction de la ville, le roi, tant par crainte des Grecs que par convoitise des trésors, fit mourir le jeune prince.

A Ayne je passai la Marisca sur un gros bâtiment, et me rendis à Macry, autre ville maritime à l'occident de la première, et habitée de Turcs et de Grecs. Elle est près de l'île de Samandra, qui appartient au seigneur d'Ayne, et elle paroît avoir été autrefois très-considérable; maintenant tout y est en ruines, à l'exception d'une partie du château.

* Ici le copiste écrit la Maresce, plus haut il avoit mis Maresche, et plus haut encore Marisce. Ces variations d'orthographe sont infiniment communes dans nos manuscrits, et souvent d'une phrase à l'autre. J'en ai fait la remarque dans mon discours préliminaire.

Caumissin.

Caumissin, qu'on trouve ensuite après avoir traversé une montagne, a de bons murs, qui la rendent assez forte, quoique petite. Elle est sur un ruisseau, en beau et plat pays, fermé par d'autres montagnes à l'occident, et ce pays s'étend, dans un espace de cinq à six journées, jusqu'à Lessère.

Missy fut également forte et bien close; mais une partie de ses murs sont abattus; tout y a été détruit, et elle n'a point d'habitans.

Péritoq, ville ancienne et autrefois considérable, est sur un golfe qui s'avance dans les terres d'environ quarante milles, et qui part de Monte-Santo, où sont tant de caloyers. Elle a des Grecs pour habitans, et pour défense de bonnes murailles, qui cependant sont entamées par de grandes brèches. De là, pour aller à Lessère, le chemin est une grande plaine. C'est près de Lessère, dit-on, que se livra la grande bataille de Thessale (de Pharsale).

Je n'allai point jusq'à cette dernière ville. Instruits que le Turc étoit en route, nous l'attendîmes à Yamgbatsar, village construit par ses sujets. Il n'arriva que le troisième jour. Son escorte, quand il marchoit, étoit de quatre à cinq cents chevaux; mais comme il aimoit passionnément la chasse au vol, la plus grande partie de cette troupe étoit composée de fauconniers et d'ostriciers (autoursiers), gens dont il faisoit un grand cas, et dont il entretenoit, me dit-on, plus de deux mille. Avec ce goût il ne faisoit que de petites journées, et ses marches n'étoient pour lui qu'un objet d'amusement et de plaisir.

Il entra dans Yamgbatsar avec de la pluie, n'ayant pour cortége qu'une cinquantaine de cavaliers avec douze archers, ses esclaves, qui marchoient à pied devant lui. Son habillement étoit une robe de velours cramoisi, fourrée de martre zibeline, et sur la tête il portoit, comme les Turcs, un chapeau rouge; mais, pour se garantir de la pluie, par-dessus sa robe il en avoit mis une autre de velours, en guise de manteau, selon la mode du pays.

Il campa sous un pavillon qu'on avoit apporté; car nulle part on ne trouve à loger, nulle part on ne trouve de vivres que dans les grandes villes, et, en voyage, chacun est obligé de porter tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Pour lui, il avoit un grand train de chameaux et d'autres bêtes de somme.

L'après-dînée il sortit pour aller prendre un bain, et je le vis à mon aise. Il étoit à cheval, avec son même chapeau et sa robe cramoisie, accompagné de six personnes à pied; je l'entendis même parler à ses gens, et il me parut avoir la parole lourde. C'est un prince de vingt-huit à trente ans, qui déja devient très-gras.

L'ambassadeur lui fit demander par un des siens s'il pourroit avoir de lui une audience et lui offrir les présens qu'il apportoit. Il fit réponse qu'allant à ses plaisirs il ne vouloit point entendre parler d'affaires; que d'ailleurs ses bayschas (bachas) étoient absens, et que l'ambassadeur n'avoit qu'à les attendre ou aller l'attendre lui-même dans Andrinople.

Messire Bénédict prit ce dernier parti. En conséquence nous retournâmes à Caumissin, et de là, après avoir repassé la montagne dont j'ai parlé, nous vînmes gagner un passage formé par deux hautes roches entre lesquelles coule une rivière. Pour le garder on avoit construit sur l'une des roches un fort château nommé Coulony, qui maintenant est détruit presque en entier. La montagne est en partie couverte de bois, et habitée par des hommes méchans et assassins.

J'arrivai ainsi à Trajanopoly, ville bâtie par un empereur nommé Trajan, lequel fit beaucoup de choses dignes de mémoire. Il étoit fils de celui qui fonda Andrénopoly. Les Sarrasins disent qu'il avoit une oreille de mouton*.

Sa ville, qui étoit très-grande, est dans le voisinage de la mer et de la Marisce. On n'y voit plus que des ruines, avec quelques habitans. Elle a une montagne au levant et la mer au midi. L'un de ses bains porte le nom d'eau sainte.

* Trajanopoly ne fut point nommée ainsi pour avoir été construite par Trajan, mais parce qu'il y mourut. Elle existoit avant lui, et se nommoit Sélimunte.

Adrien ne fut pas le père de Trajan, mais au contraire son fils adoptif, et c'est par-là qu'il devint son successeur.

Andrinople n'a pas plus été fondée par Adrien que Trajanopoly par Trajan. Un tremblement de terre l'avoit ruinée; il la fit rebâtir et lui donna son nom. On doit excuser ces erreurs dans un auteur du quinzième siècle. Quant à l'oreille de mouton, il en parle comme d'une fable de Sarrasins.

Plus loin est Vyra, ancien château qu'on a démoli en plusieurs endroits. Un Grec m'a dit que l'église avoit trois cents chanoines. Le chœur en subsiste encore, et les Turcs en ont fait une mosquée. Ils ont aussi construit autour du château une grande ville, peuplée maintenant par eux et par des Grecs. Elle est sur une montagne près de la Marisce.

Au sortir de Vyra nous rencontrâmes le seigneur (gouverneur) de la Grèce, qui, mandé par le Turc, se rendoit auprès de lui avec une troupe de cent vingt chevaux. C'est un bel homme, natif de Bulgarie, et qui a été esclave de son maître; mais comme il a le talent de bien boire, le dit maître lui a donné le gouvernement de Grèce, avec cinquante mille ducats de revenu.

Dymodique, où je revins, me parut plus belle et plus grande encore qu'à mon premier passage; et s'il est vrai que le Turc y a déposé son trésor, assurément il a raison.

Nous fûmes obligés de l'attendre onze jours dans Andrinople. Enfin il arriva le premier de carême. Le grand calife (le mupht), qui est chez eux ce qu'est le pape chez nous, alla au-devant de lui avec tous les notables de la ville: ce qui formoit une troupe très-nombreuse. Il en étoit déja assez près lorsqu'ils le rencontrèrent, et néanmoins il s'arrêta pour boire et manger, envoya en avant une partie de ses gens, et n'y entra qu'à la nuit.

J'ai eu occasion de me lier, pendant mon séjour à Andrinople, avec plusieurs personnes qui avoient vécu à sa cour, et qui, à portée de le bien connoître, m'ont donné sur lui quelques détails; et d'abord, moi qui l'ai vu plusieurs fois, je dirai que c'est un petit homme, gros et trapu, à physionomie Tartare, visage large et brun, joues élevées, barbe ronde, nez grand et courbé, petits yeux; mais il est, m'a-t-on dit, doux, bon, libéral, distribuant volontiers seigneuries et argent.

Ses revenus sont de deux millions et demi de ducats, y compris vingt-cinq mille qu'il perçoit en tributs*. D'ailleurs, quand il leve une armée, non seulement elle ne lui coûte rien; mais il y gagne encore, parce que les troupes qu'on lui amène de Turquie en Grèce† paient à Gallipoly le comarch, qui est de trois aspres par homme et de cinq par cheval. Il en est de même au passage de la Dunoë (du Danube). D'ailleurs, quand ses soldats vont en course et qu'ils font des esclaves, il a le droit d'en prendre un sur cinq, à son choix.

Cependant il passe pour ne point aimer la guerre, et cette inculpation me paroît assez fondée. En effet il a jusqu'à présent éprouvé de la part de la chrétienté si peu de résistance que, s'il vouloit employer contre elle la puissance et les revenus dont il jouit, ce lui seroit chose facile d'en conquérir une très-grande partie§.

Un de ses goûts favoris est la chasse aux chiens et aux oiseaux. Il a, dit-on, plus de mille chiens et plus de deux mille oiseaux dressés, et de diverses espèces; j'en ai vu moi-même une très-grande partie.

Il aime beaucoup à boire, et aime ceux qui boivent bien. Pour lui, *il va sans peine jusqu'à dix ou douze grondils de vin: ce qui fait six ou sept quartes‡.* C'est quand il a bien bu qu'il devient *libéral et qu'il distribue ses grands dons*: aussi ses gens sont-ils très-aises de le voir demander du vin. L'année dernière il y eut un Maure qui s'avisa de venir le prêcher sur cet objet, et qui lui représenta que cette liqueur étant défendue par le prophète, ceux qui en buvoient n'étoient pas de bons Sarrasins: pour toute réponse il le fit mettre en prison, puis chasser de ses états, avec défense d'y jamais remettre les pieds.

* Il y a ici erreur de copiste sur ces vingt-cinq mille ducats de tributs; la somme est trop foible. On verra plus bas que le despote de Servie en payoit annuellement cinquante mille à lui seul.

† J'ai déja remarqué que l'auteur appelle Turquie les états que possédoient en Asie les Turcs, et qu'il désigne sous le nom de Grèce ceux qu'ils avoient en-deçà du détroit, et que nous nommons aujourd'hui Turquie d'Europe.

§ Le sultan dont la Brocquière fait ici mention, et qu'il a désigné ci-devant sous le nom d'Amourat-Bay, est Amurat II, l'un des princes Ottomans les plus célèbres. L'histoire cite de lui plusieurs conquêtes qui à la vérité sont la plupart postérieures au temps dont parle ici la relation. S'il n'en a point fait davantage, c'est qu'il eut en tête Hunniade et Scanderberg. D'ailleurs sa gloire fut éclipsée par celle de son fils, le fameux Mahomet II, la terreur des chrétiens, surnommé le grand par sa nation, et qui, vingt ans après, en 1453, prit Constantinople et détruisit le peu qui subsistoit encore de l'empire Grec.

‡ La quarte s'appeloit ainsi, parce qu'elle étoit le quart du chenet, qui contenoit quatre pots et une pinte. Le pot étoit de deux pintes, et par conséquent la quarte faisoit deux bouteilles, plus un demi-setier; et douze grondils, vingt-trois bouteilles.

Au

Au goût pour les femmes il joint celui des jeunes garçons. Il a trois cents des premières et une trentaine des autres; mais il se plaît davantage avec ceux-ci. Quand ils sont grands il les récompense par de riches dons et des seigneuries: il y en a un auquel il a donné en mariage l'une de ses sœurs, avec vingt-cinq mille ducats de revenu.

Certaines personnes font monter son trésor à un demi-million de ducats, d'autres à un million. Il en a en outre un second, qui consiste en esclaves, en vaisselle, et principalement en joyaux pour ses femmes. Ce dernier article est estimé seul un million d'or. Moi, je suis convaincu que s'il tenoit sa main fermée pendant un an, et qu'il s'abstînt de donner ainsi à l'aveugle, il épargneroit un million de ducats sans faire tort à personne.

De temps en temps il fait de grands exemples de justice bien remarquables; ce qui lui procure d'être parfaitement obéi tant dans son intérieur qu'au-dehors. D'ailleurs il sait maintenir son pays dans un excellent état de défense, et il n'emploie vis-à-vis de ses sujets Turcs ni taille ni aucun genre d'extorsion*.

Sa maison est composée de cinq mille personnes tant à pied qu'à cheval; mais à l'armée il n'augmente en rien leurs gages: de sorte qu'en guerre il ne dépense pas plus qu'en paix.

Ses principaux officiers sont trois baschas ou visiers-bachas (visirs-bachas.) Le visir est un conseiller; le bacha, une sorte de chef ou ordonnateur. Ces trois personnages sont chargés de tout ce qui concerne sa personne ou sa maison, et on ne peut lui parler que par leur entremise. Quand il est en Grèce, c'est le seigneur de Grèce (le gouverneur) qui a l'inspection sur les gens de guerre; quand il est en Turquie, c'est le seigneur de Turquie.

Il a donné de grandes seigneuries; mais il peut les retirer à son gré. D'ailleurs ceux auxquels il les accorde sont tenus de le servir en guerre avec un certain nombre de troupes à leurs frais. C'est ainsi que, tous les ans, ceux de Grèce lui fournissent trente mille hommes qu'il peut employer et conduire par-tout où bon lui semble; et ceux de Turquie dix mille, auxquels il n'a que des vivres à fournir. Veut-il former une armée plus considérable, la Grèce seule, m'a-t-on dit, peut alors lui donner cent vingt mille hommes; mais ceux-ci, il est obligé de les soudoyer. La paie est de cinq aspres pour un fantassin, de huit pour un cavalier.

Cependant j'ai entendu dire que sur ces cent vingt mille hommes il n'y en avoit que la moitié, c'est-à-dire les gens de cheval, qui fussent en bon état, bien armés de tarquais et d'épée; le reste est composé de gens de pied mal équippés. Celui d'entre eux qui a une épée n'a point d'arc, celui qui a un arc n'a ni épée ni arme quelconque, beaucoup même n'ont qu'un bâton. Et il en est ainsi des piétons que fournit la Turquie: la moitié n'est armée que de bâtons; cependant ces piétons Turcs sont plus estimés que les Grecs, et meilleurs soldats.

D'autres personnes dont je regarde le témoignage comme véritable m'ont dit depuis que les troupes qu'annuellement la Turquie est obligée de fournir quand le seigneur veut former son armée, montent à trente mille hommes, et celles de Grèce à vingt mille, sans compter deux ou trois mille esclaves qui sont à lui, et qu'il arme bien.

Parmi ces esclaves il y a beaucoup de chrétiens. Il y en a aussi beaucoup dans les troupes Grecques; les uns Albanieus, les autres Bulgares ou d'autres contrées. C'est ainsi que dans la dernière armée de Grèce il se trouva trois mille chevaux de Servie, que le despote de cette province envoya sous le commandement d'un de ses fils. C'est bien à regret que tous ces gens-là viennent le servir; mais ils n'oseroient refuser.

Les bachas arrivèrent à Andrinople trois jours après leur seigneur, et ils y amenoient avec eux une partie de ses gens et de son bagage. Ce bagage consiste en une centaine de chameaux et deux cent cinquante, tant mulets que sommiers, parce que la nation ne fait point usage de chariots.

* Ceci est une satire indirecte des gouvernemens d'Europe, où chaque jour les rois, et même les seigneurs particuliers, vexoient ce qu'ils appéloient leurs hommes ou leurs sujets par des tailles arbitraires et des milliers d'impôts dont les noms étoient aussi bizarres que l'assiette et la perception en étoient abusives.

Messire

Messire Bénédict, qui desiroit avoir de lui une audience, fit demander aux bachas s'il pouvoit les voir, et ils répondirent que non. La raison de ce refus étoit qu'ils avoient bu avec leur seigneur, et qu'ils étoient ivres ainsi que lui. Cependant ils envoyèrent le lendemain chez l'ambassadeur pour le prévenir qu'ils étoient visibles, et il se rendit aussitôt chez chacun d'eux avec des présens: telle est la coutume; on ne peut leur parler sans apporter quelque chose, et il en est de même pour les esclaves qui gardent leurs portes. Je l'accompagnai dans cette visite.

Le jour suivant, dans l'après-dînée, ils lui firent dire qu'il pouvoit venir au palais. Il monta aussitôt à cheval pour s'y rendre avec sa suite, et je me joignis à elle: mais nous étions tous à pied; lui seul avoit un cheval.

Devant la cour nous trouvâmes une grande quantité d'hommes et de chevaux. La porte étoit gardée par une trentaine d'esclaves sous le gouvernement d'un chef, et armés de bâtons. Si quelqu'un se présente pour entrer sans permission, ils lui disent de se retirer; s'il insiste, ils le chassent à coups de bâton.

Ce que nous appelons la cour du roi, les Turcs l'appellent porte du seigneur. Toutes les fois que le seigneur reçoit un message ou ambassade, ce qui lui arrive presque tous les jours, il fait porte. Faire porte est pour lui ce qu'est pour nos rois de France tenir état royal et cour ouverte, quoique cependant il y ait entre les deux cérémonies beaucoup de différence, comme je le dirai tout-à-l'heure.

Quand l'ambassadeur fut entré on le fit asseoir près de la porte avec beaucoup d'autres personnes qui attendoient que le maître sortît de sa chambre pour faire porte. D'abord les trois bachas entrèrent avec le gouverneur de Grèce et autres qu'ils appellent seigneurs. Sa chambre donnoit sur une très-grande cour. Le gouverneur alla l'y attendre. Il parut.

Son vêtement étoit, selon l'usage, une robe de satin cramoisi, par-dessus laquelle il en avoit, comme manteau, une autre de satin vert à figures, fourrée de martre zibeline. Ses jeunes garçons l'accompagnoient; mais ils ne le suivirent que jusqu'à l'entrée de la pièce, et rentrèrent. Il ne resta près de lui qu'un petit nain et deux jeunes gens qui faisoient les fous*.

Il traversa l'angle de la cour, et vint dans une galerie où l'on avoit préparé un siége pour lui. C'étoit une sorte de couche couverte en velours (un sopha), où il avoit quatre ou cinq degrés à monter. Il alla s'y asseoir à la manière Turque, comme nos tailleurs quand ils travaillent, et aussitôt les trois bachas vinrent prendre place à peu de distance de lui. Les autres officiers qui dans ces jours-là font partie de son cortége entrèrent également dans la galerie, et ils allèrent se ranger le long des murs, aussi loin de lui qu'ils le purent. En dehors, mais en face, étoient assis vingt gentilshommes Valaques, détenus à sa suite comme otages du pays. Dans l'intérieur de la salle on avoit placé une centaine de grands plats d'étain, qui chacun contenoient une pièce de mouton et du riz.

Quand tout le monde fut placé on fit entrer un seigneur du royaume de Bossène (Bosnie), lequel prétendoit que la couronne de ce pays lui appartenoit: en conséquence il étoit venu en faire hommage au Turc et lui demander du secours contre le roi. On le mena prendre place auprès des bachas; on introduisit ses gens, et l'on fit venir l'ambassadeur du duc de Milan.

Il partit suivi de ses présens, qu'on alla placer près des plats d'étain. Là, des gens préposés pour les recevoir, les prirent et les levèrent au-dessus de leurs têtes aussi haut qu'ils le purent, afin que le seigneur et sa cour pussent les voir. Pendant ce temps, messire Bénédict avançoit lentement vers la galerie. Un homme de distinction vint au-devant de lui pour l'y introduire. En entrant il fit une révérence sans ôter l'aumusse qu'il avoit sur la tête; arrivé près des degrés, il en fit une autre très-profonde.

Alors le seigneur se leva: il descendit deux marches pour s'approcher de l'ambassadeur,

* L'usage d'avoir des nains et des fous étoit très-ancien dans les cours d'Orient. Il avoit passé avec les croisades dans celles des princes chrétiens d'Europe, et dura en France, pour les fous, jusqu'à Louis XIV.

et

et le prit par la main. Celui-ci voulut lui baiser la sienne ; mais il s'y refusa, et demanda, par la voie d'un interprète Juif qui savoit le Turc et l'Italien, comment se portoit son bon frère et voisin le duc de Milan. L'ambassadeur répondit à cette question ; après quoi on le mena prendre place près du Bosnien, mais à reculons, selon l'usage, et toujours le visage tourné vers le prince.

Le seigneur attendit, pour se rasseoir, qu'il fût assis. Alors les diverses personnes de service qui étoient dans la salle se mirent par terre, et l'introducteur qui l'avoit fait entrer alla nous chercher, nous autres qui formions sa suite, et il nous plaça près des Bosniens.

Pendant ce temps on attachoit au seigneur une serviette en soie ; on plaçoit devant lui une pièce de cuir rouge, ronde et mince, parce que leur coutume est de ne manger que sur des nappes de cuir ; puis on lui apporta de la viande cuite, sur deux plats dorés. Lorsqu'il fut servi, les gens de service allèrent prendre les plats d'étain dont j'ai parlé, et ils les distribuèrent par la salle aux personnes qui s'y trouvoient : un plat pour quatre. Il y avoit dans chacun un morceau de mouton et du riz clair, mais point de pain et rien à boire. Cependant j'aperçus dans un coin de la cour un haut buffet à gradins qui portoit un peu de vaisselle, et au pied duquel étoit un grand vase d'argent en forme de calice. Je vis plusieurs gens y boire ; mais j'ignore si c'étoit de l'eau ou du vin.

Quant à la viande des plats, quelques-uns y goûtèrent ; d'autres, non : mais, avant qu'ils fussent tous servis, il fallut desservir, parce que le maître n'avoit point voulu manger. Jamais il ne prend rien en public, et il y a très-peu de personnes qui puissent se vanter de l'avoir entendu parler, ou vu manger ou boire.

Il sortit, et alors se firent entendre des ménestrels (musiciens) qui étoient dans la cour, près du buffet. Ils touchèrent des instrumens et chantèrent des chansons de gestes, dans lesquelles ils célébroient les grandes actions des guerriers Turcs. A mesure que ceux de la galerie entendoient quelque chose qui leur plaisoit, ils poussoient à leur manière des cris épouvantables. J'ignorois quels étoient les instrumens dont on jouoit : j'allai dans la cour, et je vis qu'ils étoient à cordes et fort grands. Les ménestrels vinrent dans la salle, où ils mangèrent ce qui s'y trouvoit. Enfin on desservit ; chacun se leva, et l'ambassadeur se retira sans avoir dit un mot de son ambassade : ce qui, pour la première audience, est de coutume.

Une autre coutume encore est que quand un ambassadeur a été présenté au seigneur, celui-ci, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait fait sa réponse, lui envoie de quoi fournir à sa dépense ; et cette somme est de deux cents aspres. Le lendemain donc un des gens du trésorier, celui-là même qui étoit venu prendre messire Bénédict pour le conduire à la cour, vint lui apporter la somme ; mais peu après les esclaves qui gardent la porte vinrent chercher ce qu'en pareil cas il est d'usage de leur donner, et au reste ils se contentent de peu.

Le troisième jour, les bachas lui firent savoir qu'ils étoient prêts à apprendre de lui le sujet qui l'amenoit. Il se rendit aussitôt à la cour, et je l'y accompagnai. Déjà le maître avoit tenu son audience ; il venoit de se retirer, et les bachas seuls étoient restés avec le béguelar ou seigneur de Grèce. Quand nous eûmes passé la porte nous les trouvâmes tous quatre assis en dehors de la galerie, sur une pièce de bois qui se trouvoit là. Ils envoyèrent dire à l'ambassadeur d'approcher. On mit par terre, devant eux, un tapis, et ils l'y firent asseoir comme un criminel qui est devant son juge. Cependant il y avoit dans le lieu une assez grande quantité de monde.

Il leur exposa le sujet de sa mission, qui consistoit, m'a-t-on dit, à prier leur maître, de la part du duc de Milan, de vouloir bien abandonner à l'empereur Romain Sigismond la Hongrie, la Valaquie, toute la Bulgarie jusqu'à Sophie, le royaume de Bosnie, et la partie qu'il possédoit d'Albanie dépendante d'Esclavonie. Ils répondirent qu'ils ne pouvoient pour le moment en instruire leur seigneur, parce qu'il étoit occupé ; mais que dans dix jours ils feroient connoître sa réponse, s'il la leur avoit donnée. C'est encore là une chose d'usage, que dès le moment où un ambassadeur est annoncé tel, il ne peut plus parler au prince ; et ce règlement a lieu depuis que le grand-père de celui-ci a péri de la main d'un ambassadeur de Servie. L'envoyé étoit venu solliciter auprès de lui quelque adoucissement en faveur de ses compatriotes,

compatriotes, que le prince vouloit réduire en servitude. Désespéré de ne pouvoir rien obtenir, il le tua, et fut lui-même massacré à l'instant*.

Le dixième jour, nous allâmes à la cour chercher réponse. Le seigneur étoit, comme la première fois, sur son siége ; mais il n'y avoit avec lui dans la galerie que ceux de ses gens qui lui servoient à manger. Je n'y vis ni buffet, ni ménestrels, ni le seigneur de Bosnie, ni les Valaques ; mais seulement Magnoly, frère du duc de Chifalonie (Céphalonie), qui se conduit envers le prince comme un serviteur bien respectueux. Les bachas eux-mêmes étoient en dehors, debout et fort loin, ainsi que la plupart des personnes que j'avois vues autrefois dans l'intérieur; encore leur nombre étoit-il beaucoup moindre.

On nous fit attendre en dehors. Pendant ce temps, le grand cadi, avec ses autres associés, rendoit justice à la porte extérieure de la cour, et j'y vis venir devant lui des chrétiens étrangers pour plaider leur cause. Mais quand le seigneur se leva, les juges levèrent aussi leur séance, et se retirèrent chez eux.

Pour lui, je le vis passer avec tout son cortége dans la grande cour ; ce que je n'avois pu voir la première fois. Il portoit un robe de drap d'or, verte et peu riche, et il me parut avoir la démarche vive.

Dès qu'il fut rentré dans sa chambre, les bachas, assis, comme la fois précédente, sur la pièce de bois, firent venir l'ambassadeur. Leur réponse fut que leur maître le chargeoit de saluer pour lui son frère le duc de Milan ; qu'il desireroit faire beaucoup en sa faveur, mais que sa demande en ce moment n'étoit point raisonnable ; que, par égard pour lui, leur dit seigneur s'étoit souvent abstenu de faire dans le royaume de Hongrie de grandes conquêtes, qui d'ailleurs lui eussent peu coûté, et que ce sacrifice devoit suffire ; que ce seroit pour lui chose fort dure de rendre ce qu'il avoit gagné par l'épée ; que, dans les circonstances présentes, lui et ses soldats n'avoient, pour occuper leur courage, que les possessions de l'empereur, et qu'ils y renonçoient d'autant moins que jusqu'alors ils ne s'étoient jamais trouvés en présence sans l'avoir battu ou vu fuir, comme tout le monde le savoit.

En effet, l'ambassadeur étoit instruit de ces détails. A la dernière défaite qu'éprouva Sigismond devant Couloubath, il avoit été témoin de son désastre ; il avoit même, la veille de la bataille, quitté son camp pour se rendre auprès du Turc. Dans nos entretiens il me conta sur tout cela beaucoup de particularités. Je vis également deux arbalétriers Génois qui s'étoient trouvés à ce combat, et qui me racontèrent comment l'empereur et son armée repassèrent le Danube sur ces galères.

Après avoir reçu la réponse des bachas, l'ambassadeur revint chez lui ; mais à peine y étoit-il arrivé qu'il reçut, de la part du seigneur, cinq mille aspres avec une robe de camocas cramoisi, doublée de boccassin jaune. Trente-six aspres valent un ducat de Venise; mais sur les cinq mille le trésorier qui les délivra en retint dix *par cent pour droits* de sa charge.

Je vis aussi pendant mon séjour à Andrinople un présent d'un autre genre, fait également par le seigneur à une mariée, le jour de ses noces. Cette mariée étoit la fille du béguelarbay, gouverneur de la Grèce, et c'étoit la fille d'un des bachas qui, accompagnée de trente et quelques autres femmes, avoit été chargée de le présenter. Son vêtement étoit un tissu

* Le grand-père d'Amurath II est Bajazet Ier, qui mourut prisonnier de Tamerlan, soit qu'il ait été traité avec égards par son rainqueur, comme le veulent certains écrivains, soit qu'il ait péri dans une cage de fer, comme le prétendent d'autres: ainsi l'historiette de l'ambassadeur de Servie ne peut le regarder. Mais on lit dans la vie d'Amurath Ier, père de Bajazet, et par conséquent bisaïeul d'Amurath II, un fait qui a pu donner lieu à la fable de l'assassinat. Ce prince, en 1389, venoit de remporter sur le despote de Servie une victoire signalée dans laquelle il l'avoit fait prisonnier, et il parcouroit le champ de bataille quand, passant auprès d'un soldat Trébalien blessé à mort, celui-ci le reconnoît, ranime ses forces et le poignarde.

Selon d'autres auteurs, le despote, qui se nommoit Lazare ou Eléazar Bulcowitz, se voit attaqué par une puissante armée d'Amurath. Hors d'état de résister, il emploie la trahison: il gagne un des grands seigneurs de sa cour, qui feint de passer dans le parti du sultan, et l'assassine. (Ducange, Familiæ Bisant. p. 334.)

Enfin, selon une autre relation, Amurath fut tué dans le combat; mais Lazare, fait prisonnier par les Turcs, est par eux coupé en morceaux sur le cadavre sanglant de leur maître.

Il paroît, d'après le récit de la Brocquière, que la version de l'assassinat du sultan par le Servien est la véritable. C'est au moins ce que paroissent prouver les précautions prises à la cour Ottomane contre les ambassadeurs étrangers. Aujourd'hui encore, quand ils paroissent devant le souverain, on les tient par la manche.

d'or

d'or cramoisi, et elle avoit le visage couvert, selon l'usage de la nation, d'un voile très-riche et orné de pierreries. Les dames portoient de même de magnifiques voiles, et pour habillement les unes avoient des robes de velours cramoisi, les autres des robes de drap d'or sans fourrures. Toutes étoient à cheval, jambe de-çà, jambe de-là, comme des hommes, et plusieurs avoient de superbes selles.

En avant et à la tête de la troupe marchoient treize ou quatorze cavaliers et deux ménestrels, également à cheval, ainsi que quelques autres musiciens qui portoient une trompette, un très-grand tambour et environ huit paires de timbales. Tout cela faisoit un bruit affreux. Après les musiciens venoit le présent, et après le présent, les dames.

Ce présent consistoit en soixante-dix grands plateaux d'étain chargés de différentes sortes de confitures et de compotes, et vingt-huit autres dont chacun portoit un mouton écorché. Les moutons étoient peints en blanc et en rouge, et tous avoient un anneau d'argent suspendu au nez et deux autres aux oreilles.

J'eus occasion de voir aussi dans Andrinople des chaînes de chrétiens qu'on amenoit vendre. Ils demandoient l'aumône dans les rues. Mais le cœur saigne quand on songe à tout ce qu'ils souffrent de maux.

Nous quittâmes la ville le 12 de Mars, sous la conduite d'un esclave que le seigneur avoit donné à l'ambassadeur pour l'accompagner. Cet homme nous fut en route d'une grande utilité, sur-tout pour les logemens ; car par-tout où il demandoit quelque chose pour nous, à l'instant on s'empressoit de nous l'accorder.

Notre première journée fut à travers un beau pays, en remontant le long de la Marisce, que nous passâmes à un bac. La seconde, quoiqu'avec bons chemins, fut employée à traverser des bois. Enfin nous entrâmes dans le pays de Macédoine. Là je trouvai une grande plaine entre deux montagnes, laquelle peut bien avoir quarante milles de large, et qui est arrosée par la Marisce. J'y rencontrai quinze hommes et dix femmes enchaînés par le cou. C'étoient des habitans du royaume de Bosnie que des Turcs venoient d'enlever dans une course qu'ils avoient faite. Deux d'entre eux les menoient vendre dans Andrinople.

Peu après j'arrivai à Phéropoly*, capitale de la Macédoine, et bâtie par le roi Philippe. Elle est sur la Marisce, dans une grande plaine et un excellent pays, où l'on trouve toutes sortes de vivres et à bon compte. Ce fut jadis une ville considérable, et elle l'est encore. Elle renferme trois montagnes, dont deux sont à une extrémité vers le midi, et l'autre au centre. Sur celle-ci étoit construit un grand château en forme de croissant allongé ; mais il a été détruit. On me montra l'emplacement du palais du roi Philippe, qu'on a de même démoli, et dont les murs subsistent encore. Philippopoli est peuplée en grande partie de Bulgares qui tiennent la loi Grégoise (qui suivent la religion Grecque).

Pour en sortir je passai la Marisce sur un pont, et chevauchai pendant une journée toute entière à travers cette plaine dont j'ai parlé ; elle aboutit à une montagne longue de seize à vingt milles, et couverte de bois. Ce lieu étoit autrefois infesté de voleurs, et très-dangereux à passer. Le Turc a ordonné que quiconque y habiteroit fût Franc, et en conséquence il s'y est élevé deux villages peuplés de Bulgares, et dont l'un est sur les confins de Bulgarie et de Macédoine. Je passai la nuit dans le premier.

Après avoir traversé la montagne, on trouve une plaine de six milles de long sur deux de large ; puis une forêt qui peut bien en avoir seize de longueur ; puis une autre grande plaine totalement close de montagnes, bien peuplée de Bulgares, et où l'on a une rivière à traverser. Enfin j'arrivai en trois jours à une ville nommée Sophie, qui fut autrefois très-considérable, ainsi qu'on le voit par les débris de ses murs rasés jusqu'à terre, et qui aujourd'hui encore est la meilleure de la Bulgarie. Elle a un petit château, et se trouve assez près d'une montagne au midi, mais située au commencement d'une grande plaine d'environ soixante milles de long sur dix de large. Ses habitans sont pour la plupart des Bulgares, et il en est

* C'est une erreur de copiste : lui-même, quelques lignes plus bas, a écrit Philippopoly, et en effet c'est de Philippopoli qu'il est mention.

de même des villages. Les Turcs n'y forment que le très-petit nombre; ce qui donne aux autres un grand desir de se tirer de servitude, s'ils pouvoient trouver qui les aidât.

J'y vis arriver des Turcs qui venoient de faire une course en Hongrie. Un Génois qui se trouvoit dans la ville, et qu'on nomme Nicolas Ciba, me raconta qu'il avoit vu revenir également ceux qui repassèrent le Danube, et qui sur dix il n'y en avoit pas un qui eût à la fois un arc et une épée. Pour moi, je dirai que parmi ceux-ci j'en trouvai beaucoup plus n'ayant ou qu'un arc ou qu'une épée seulement, que de ceux qui eussent les deux armes ensemble. Les mieux fournis portoient une petite targe (bouclier) en bois. En *vérité*, c'est pour la chrétienté une grande honte, il faut en convenir, qu'elle se laisse subjuguer par de telles gens. Ils sont bien au-dessous de ce qu'on les croit.

En sortant de Sophie je traversai pendant cinquante milles cette plaine dont j'ai fait mention. Le pays est bien peuplé, et les habitans sont des Bulgares de religion Grecque. J'eus ensuite un pays de montagnes, qui cependant est assez bon pour le cheval; puis je trouvai en plaine une très-petite ville nommée Pirotte, située sur la Nissave. Elle n'est point fermée; mais elle a un petit château qui, d'une part est défendu par la rivière, et de l'autre par un marais. Au nord est une montagne. Il n'y a d'habitans que quelques Turcs.

Au-delà de Pirotte on retrouve un pays montagneux; après quoi l'on revient sur ces pas pour se rapprocher de la Nissave, qui traverse une belle vallée entre deux assez hautes montagnes. Au pied d'une des deux étoit la ville d'Ysvourière, aujourd'hui totalement *détruite*, ainsi que ses murs. On côtoie ensuite la rivière, en suivant la vallée; on trouve une autre montagne dont le passage est difficile, quoiqu'il y passe chars et charrettes. Enfin on arrive dans une vallée agréable qu'arrose encore la Nissave; et après avoir traversé la rivière sur un pont, on entre dans Nisce (Nissa).

Cette ville, qui avoit un beau château, appartenoit au despote de Servie. Le Turc l'a prise de force il y a cinq ans, et il l'a entièrement détruite; elle est dans un canton charmant qui produit beaucoup de riz. Je continuai par-delà Nissa de côtoyer la rivière; et le pays, toujours également beau, est bien garni de villages. Enfin je la passai à un bac, où je l'abandonnai. Alors commencèrent des montagnes. J'eus à traverser une longue forêt fangeuse, et, après dix journées de marche depuis Andrinople, j'arrivai à Corsebech, petite ville à un mille de la Morane (Morave.)

La Morave est une grosse rivière qui vient de Bosnie. Elle sépare la Bulgarie d'avec la Rascie ou Servie, province qui porte également ces deux noms, et que le Turc a conquise depuis six ans.

Pour Corsebech, il avoit un petit château qu'on a détruit. Il a encore une double enceinte de murs; mais on en a démoli la partie supérieure jusqu'au-dessous des créneaux.

J'y trouvai Cénamin-Bay, capitaine (commandant) de ce *vaste pays frontière, qui s'étend* depuis la Valaquie jusqu'en Esclavonie. *Il passe dans la ville* une partie de l'année. On m'a dit qu'il étoit né Grec, qu'il ne boit point de vin, comme les autres Turcs, et que c'est un homme sage et vaillant, qui s'est fait craindre et obéir. Le Turc lui a confié le commandement de cette contrée, et il en possède en seigneurie la plus grande partie. Il ne laisse passer la rivière qu'à ceux qu'il connoît, à moins qu'ils ne soient porteurs d'une lettre du maître, ou, en son absence, du seigneur de la Grèce.

Nous vîmes là une belle personne, genti-femme du royaume de Hongrie, dont la situation nous inspira bien de la pitié. Un renégat Hongrois, homme du plus bas état, l'avoit enlevée dans une course, et il en usoit comme de sa femme. Quand elle nous aperçut elle fondit en larmes; car elle n'avoit pas encore renoncé à sa religion.

Au sortir de Corsebech, je traversai la Morave à un bac, et j'entrai sur les terres du despote de Rassie ou de Servie, pays beau et peuplé. Ce qui est en-deçà de la rivière lui appartient, ce qui se trouve au-delà est au Turc; mais le despote lui paie annuellement cinquante mille ducats de tribut.

Celui-ci possède sur la rivière et aux confins communs de Bulgarie, d'Esclavonie, d'Albanie et de Bosnie, une ville nommée Nyeuberge, qui a une mine portant or et argent tout à la fois.

fois. Chaque année elle lui donne plus de deux cent mille ducats, m'ont dit gens qui sont bien instruits: sans cela il ne seroit pas long-temps à être chassé de son pays.

Sur ma route je passai près du château d'Escalache, qui lui appartenoit. C'étoit une forte place, sur la pointe d'une montagne au pied de laquelle la Nissane se jette dans la Morave. On y voit encore une partie de murs avec une tour en forme de donjon; mais c'est tout ce qui en reste.

A cette embouchure des deux rivières le Turc tient habituellement quatre-vingts ou cent fustes, galiottes et gripperies, pour passer, en temps de guerre, sa cavalerie et son armée. Je n'ai pu les voir, parce qu'on ne permet point aux chrétiens d'en approcher; mais un homme digne de foi m'a dit qu'il y a toujours, pour les garder, un corps de trois cents hommes, et que ce corps est renouvelé de deux en deux mois.

D'Escalache au Danube il y a bien cent milles, et néanmoins, dans toute la longueur de cet espace, il n'existe d'autre forteresse ou lieu de quelque défense qu'un village et une maison que Cénaym-Bay a fait construire sur le penchant d'une montagne, avec une mosquée.

Je suivis le cours de la Morave; et, à l'exception d'un passage très-boueux qui dure près d'un mille, et que forme le resserrement de la rivière par une montagne, j'eus beau chemin et pays agréable et bien peuplé. Il n'en fut pas de même à la seconde journée: j'eus des bois, des montagnes, beaucoup de fange; néanmoins le pays continua d'être aussi beau que peut l'être un pays de montagnes. Il est bien garni de villages, et par-tout on y trouve tout ce dont on a besoin.

Depuis que nous avions mis le pied en Macédoine, en Bulgarie et en Rassie, sans cesse sur notre passage j'avois trouvé que le Turc faisoit crier son ost, c'est-à-dire qu'il faisoit annoncer que quiconque est tenu de se rendre à l'armée, se tînt prêt à marcher. On nous dit que ceux qui, pour satisfaire à ce devoir, nourrissent un cheval sont exempts du comarch; que ceux des chrétiens qui veulent être dispensés de service paient cinquante aspres par tête, et que d'autres y marchent forcés; mais qu'on les prend pour augmenter le nombre.

L'on me dit aussi, à la cour du despote, que le Turc a partagé entre trois capitaines la garde et défense de ces provinces frontières. L'un, nommé Dysem-Bay, a depuis les confins de la Valaquie jusqu'à la mer Noire; Cénaym-Bay, depuis la Valaquie jusqu'aux confins de Bosnie; et Ysaac-Bay, depuis ces confins jusqu'à l'Esclavonie, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui est par-delà la Morave.

Pour reprendre le récit de ma route, je dirai que je vins à une ville, ou plutôt à une maison de campagne nommée Nichodem. C'est là que le despote a fixé son séjour, parce que le terroir en est bon, et qu'il y trouve bois, rivières et tout ce qu'il lui faut pour les plaisirs de la chasse et du vol, qu'il aime beaucoup.

Il étoit aux champs et alloit voler sur la rivière, accompagné d'une cinquantaine de chevaux, de trois de ses enfans et d'un Turc qui, de la part du maître, étoit venu le sommer d'envoyer à l'armée un de ses fils avec son contingent. Indépendamment du tribut qu'il paie, c'est-là une des conditions qui lui sont imposées. Toutes les fois que le seigneur lui fait passer ses ordres, il est obligé de lui envoyer mille ou huit cents chevaux sous le commandement de son second fils.

Il a donné à ce maître une de ses filles en mariage, et cependant il n'y a point de jour qu'il ne craigne de se voir enlever par lui ses Etats; j'ai même entendu dire qu'on en avoit voulu inspirer de l'envie à celui-ci, et qu'il avoit répondu: "J'en tire plus que si je les possédois. Dans ce cas je serois obligé de les donner à l'un de mes esclaves, et je n'en aurois rien."

Les troupes qu'il levoit étoient destinées contre l'Albanie, disoit-on. Déja il en avoit fait passer dans ce pays dix mille; et voilà pourquoi il avoit près de lui si peu de monde à Lessère quand je l'y vis: mais cette première armée avoit été détruite*.

* C'est en effet dans cette même année 1433 que le célèbre Scanderberg, après être rentré par ruse en possession de l'Albanie, dont ses ancêtres étoient souverains, commença contre Amurath cette guerre savante qui le couvrit de gloire et qui ternit les dernières années du sultan.

Le seigneur despote est un grand et bel homme de cinquante-huit à soixante ans; il a cinq enfans, trois garçons et deux filles. Des garçons, l'un a vingt ans, l'autre seize, l'autre quatorze, et tous trois sont, comme leur père, d'un extérieur très-agréable. Quant aux filles, l'une est mariée au Turc, l'autre au comte de Seil; mais je ne les ai point vues, et ne puis rien en dire*.

Lorsque nous le rencontrâmes aux champs, ainsi que je l'ai dit, l'ambassadeur et moi nous lui prîmes la main et je la lui baisai, parce que tel est l'usage. Le lendemain nous allâmes le saluer chez lui. Sa cour, assez nombreuse, étoit composée de très-beaux hommes qui portent longs cheveux et longue barbe, vu qu'ils sont de la religion Grecque. Il y avoit dans la ville un évêque et un maître (docteur) en théologie, qui se rendoient à Constantinople, et qui étoient envoyés en ambassade vers l'empereur par le saint concile de Bâle†.

De Coursebech j'avois mis deux jours pour venir à Nicodem; de Nicodem à Belgrado j'en mis un demi. Ce ne sont jusqu'à cette dernière ville que grands bois, montagnes et vallées; mais ces vallées foisonnent de villages dans lesquels on trouve beaucoup de vivres, et spécialement de bons vins.

Belgrade est en Rascie, et elle appartenoit au despote; mais depuis quatre ans il l'a cédée au roi de Hongrie, parce qu'on a craint qu'il ne la laissât prendre au Turc, comme il a laissé prendre Coulumbach. Cette perte fut un grand malheur pour la chrétienté. L'autre en seroit un plus grand encore, parce que la place est plus forte, et qu'elle peut loger jusqu'à cinq à six mille chevaux‡.

Le long de ses murs, d'un côté, coule une grosse rivière qui vient de Bosnie, et qu'on nomme la Sanne; de l'autre elle a un château près duquel passe le Danube, et là, dans ce Danube, se jette la Sanne. C'est sur la pointe formée par les deux rivières qu'est bâtie la ville.

Dans le pourtour de son enceinte son terrain a une certaine hauteur, excepté du côté de terre, où il est tellement uni qu'on peut par là venir de plain pied jusqu'au bord du fossé. De ce côté encore il y a un village qui, s'étendant depuis la Sanne jusqu'au Danube, enveloppe la ville à la distance d'un trait d'arc.

Ce village est habité par des Rasciens. Le jour de Pâques j'y entendis la messe en langue Sclavonne. Il est dans l'obédience de l'église Romaine, et leurs cérémonies ne diffèrent en rien des nôtres.

La place, forte par sa situation et par ses fossés, tous en glacis, a une enceinte de doubles murs bien entretenus, et qui suivent très-exactement les contours du terrain. Elle est composée de cinq forteresses, dont trois sur le terrain élevé dont je viens de parler, et deux sur la rivière. De ces deux-ci, l'une est fortifiée contre l'autre; mais toutes deux sont commandées par les trois premières.

Il y a aussi un petit port qui peut contenir quinze à vingt galères, et qui est défendu par une tour construite à chacune de ses extrémités. On le ferme avec une chaîne qui va d'une tour à l'autre. Au moins c'est ce qu'on m'a dit; car les deux rives sont si éloignées que moi je n'ai pu la voir.

Je vis sur la Sanne six galères et cinq galiottes. Elles étoient près l'une des cinq forteresses, la moins forte de toutes. Dans cette forteresse sont beaucoup de Rasciens; mais on ne leur permet point d'entrer dans les quatre autres.

* Le despote dont il s'agit se nommoit George Brancovitz ou Wkovitz. On trouve dans Ducange (Familiæ Byzant. p. 336) quelques détails sur lui et sa famille.

† Ce saint concile, qui finit par citer à son tribunal et déposer le pape, tandis que le pape lui ordonnoit de se dissoudre et en convoquoit un autre à Ferrare, puis à Florence, avoit entrepris de réunir l'église Grecque à la Latine; et c'est dans ce dessein qu'il députoit vers l'empereur. Celui-ci se rendit effectivement en Italie, et il signa dans Florence cette réunion politique et simulée dont il a été parlé plus haut.

‡ On sera étonné de voir l'auteur, en parlant de la garnison d'une place de guerre, ne faire mention que de chevaux. Ci-dessus, lorsqu'il a spécifié le contingent que le despote étoit obligé de fournir à l'armée Turque, il n'a parlé que de chevaux. Sans cesse il parle de chevaux. C'est qu'alors en Europe on ne faisoit cas que de la gendarmerie, et que l'infanterie ou piétaille, presque toujours mal composée et mal armée, étoit comptée pour très-peu.

Toutes

Toutes cinq sont bien garnies d'artillerie. J'y ai remarqué sur-tout trois bombardes de métail (canons de bronze) dont deux étoient de deux pièces*, et l'une d'une telle grosseur que jamais je n'en ai vu de pareille : elle avoit quarante-deux pouces de large dedens où la pierre entre (sa bouche avoit quarante-deux pouces de diamètre) ; mais elle me parut courte pour sa grosseur†.

Le capitaine (commandant) de la place étoit messire Mathico, chevalier de Aragouse (d'Arragon), et il avoit pour lieutenant un sien frère, qu'on appeloit le seigneur frère.

Sur le Danube, deux journées au-dessous de Belgrade, le Turc possède ce château de Coulombach, qu'il a pris au despote. C'est encore une forte place, dit-on, quoique cependant il soit aisé de l'attaquer avec de l'artillerie et de lui fermer tout secours ; ce qui est un grand désavantage. Il y entretient cent fustes pour passer en Hongrie quand il lui plaît. Le capitaine du lieu est ce Ceynam-Bay dont j'ai parlé ci-devant.

Sur le Danube encore, mais à l'opposite de Belgrade, et dans la Hongrie, le despote possède également un ville avec château. Elle lui a été donnée par l'empereur‡, avec plusieurs autres, qui lui font un revenu de cinquante mille ducats, et c'étoit à condition qu'il deviendroit son homme§ ; mais il obéit plus au Turc qu'à l'empereur.

Deux jours après mon arrivée dans Belgrade j'y vis entrer vingt-cinq hommes armés à la manière du pays, que le gouverneur comte Mathico y faisoit venir pour demeurer en garnison. On me dit que c'étoient des Allemands pour garder la place, tandis qu'on avoit si près des Hongrois et des Serviens. On me répondit que les Serviens, étant sujets et tributaires du Turc, on se gardoit bien de la leur confier ; et que quant aux Hongrois, ils le redoutoient tant que s'il paroissoit, ils n'oseroient la défendre contre lui, quelque forte qu'elle fût. Il falloit donc y appeler des étrangers ; et cette mesure devenoit d'autant plus nécessaire que c'étoit la seule place que l'empereur possédât pour passer sur l'autre rive du Danube, ou pour le repasser en cas de besoin.

Ce discours m'étonna beaucoup ; il me fit faire des réflexions sur l'étrange sujettion où le Turc tient la Macédoine et la Bulgarie, l'empereur de Constantinople et les Grecs, le despote de Rascie et ses sujets. Cette dépendance me parut chose lamentable pour la chrétienté. Et comme j'ai vécu avec les Turcs, que je connois leur manière de vivre et de combattre, que j'ai hanté des gens notables qui les ont vus de près dans leurs grandes entreprises, je me suis enhardi à écrire, selon mes lumières, quelque chose sur eux, et à montrer, sauf correction de la part de ceux qui sont plus instruits que moi, comment il est possible de reprendre les états dont ils se sont emparés, et de les battre sur un champ de bataille.

Et d'abord, pour commencer par leur personnel, je dirai que ce sont d'assez beaux hommes, portant tous de longues barbes, mais de moyenne taille et de force médiocre. Je sais bien que, dans le langage ordinaire, on dit fort comme un Turc ; cependant j'ai vu une infinité de chrétiens qui, dans les choses où il faut de la force, l'emportoient sur eux ; et moi-même, qui ne suis pas des plus robustes, j'en ai trouvé, lorsque les circonstances exigeoient quelque travail, de plus foibles que moi encore.

* La remarque que l'auteur fait ici sur ces trois canons sembleroit annoncer que ceux de bronze étoient rares encore, et qu'on les regardoit comme une sorte de merveille. Louis XI en fit fondre une douzaine, auxquels il donna le nom des douze pairs. (Daniel, Mil. Franc. t. I, p. 325.)

† La mode alors étoit de faire des pièces d'artillerie d'une grosseur énorme. Peu de temps après l'époque où écrivoit notre auteur, Mahomet II, assiégeant Constantinople, en employa qui avoient été fondues sur les lieux, et qui portoient, dit-on, deux cents livres de balle. La Chronique scandaleuse et Monstrelet parlent d'une sorte d'obus que Louis XI fit fondre à Tours, puis conduire à Paris, et qui portoit des balles de cinq cents livres. En 1717, le prince Eugène, après sa victoire sur les Turcs, trouva dans Belgrade un canon long de près de vingt-cinq pieds, qui tiroit des boulets de cent dix livres, et dont le charge étoit de cinquante-deux livres de poudre (Ibid. p. 323.) C'étoit encore un usage ordinaire de faire les boulets en grès ou en pierre, arrondis et taillés de calibre pour la pièce. Et voilà pourquoi la Brocquière, parlant de l'embouchure du canon, emploie cette expression, "dedens où LA PIERRE entre".

‡ Sigismond, roi de Bohême et de Hongrie. On prétend que Sigismond ne les donna qu'en échange de Belgrade.

§ Deviendroit son homme. Cette expression de la féodalité du temps indique l'obligation du service militaire et de la fidélité que le vassal devoit à son suzerain.

Ils

Ils sont gens diligens, se lèvent matin volontiers, et vivent de peu en campagne; se contentant de pain mal cuit, de chair crue séchée au soleil, de lait soit caillé soit non caillé, de miel, fromage, raisins, fruits, herbages, et même d'une poignée de farine avec laquelle ils feront un brouet qui leur suffira pour un jour à six ou huit. Ont-ils un cheval ou un chameau malade sans espoir de guérison, ils lui coupent la gorge et le mangent. J'en ai été témoin maintes fois. Pour dormir ils ne sont point embarassés, et couchent par terre.

Leur habillement consiste en deux ou trois robes de coton l'une sur l'autre, et qui descendent jusqu'aux pieds. Par-dessus celles-là ils en portent, en guise de manteau, une autre de feutre qu'on nomme capinat. Le capinat, quoique léger, résiste à la pluie, et il y en a de très-beaux et de très-fins. Ils ont des bottes qui montent jusqu'aux genoux, et de grandes braies (caleçons), qui pour les uns sont de velours cramoisi, pour d'autres de soie, de futaine, d'étoffes communes. En guerre ou en route, pour n'être point embarrassés de leurs robes, ils les relèvent et les enferment dans leurs caleçons; ce qui leur permet d'agir librement.

Leurs chevaux sont bons, coûtent peu à nourrir, courent bien et longtemps; mais ils les tiennent très-maigres et ne les laissent manger que la nuit, encore ne leur donnent-ils alors que cinq ou six jointées d'orge et le double de paille picade (hachée): le tout mis dans une besace qu'ils leur pendent aux oreilles. Au point du jour, ils les bridents, les nettoient, les étrillent; mais ils ne les font boire qu'à midi, puis l'après-dîner, toutes les fois qu'ils trouvent de l'eau, et le soir quand ils logent ou campent; car ils campent toujours de bonne heure, et près d'une rivière, s'ils le peuvent. Dans cette dernière circonstance ils les laissent bridés encore pendant une heure, comme les mules. Enfin vient un moment où chacun fait manger le sien.

Pendant la nuit ils les couvrent de feutre ou d'autres étoffes, et j'ai vu de ces couvertures qui étoient très-belles; ils en ont même pour leurs lévriers*, espèce dont ils sont très-curieux, et qui chez eux est belle et forte, quoiqu'elle ait de longues oreilles pendantes et de longues queues feuillées (touffues), que cependant elle porte bien.

Tous leurs chevaux sont Hongres: ils n'en gardent d'entiers que quelques-uns pour servir d'étalons, mais en si petit nombre que je n'en ai pas vu un seul. Du reste ils les sellent et bridents à la jennette†. Leurs selles, ordinairement fort riches, sont très-creuses. Elles n'ont qu'un arçon devant, un autre derrière, avec de courtes étrivières et de larges étriers.

Quant à leurs habillemens de guerre, j'ai été deux fois dans le cas de les voir, à l'occasion des Grecs renégats qui renonçoient à leur religion pour embrasser le Mahométisme: alors les Turcs font une grande fête; ils prennent leurs plus belles armes et parcourent la ville en cavalcade aussi nombreuse qu'il leur est possible. Or dans ces circonstances, je les ai vus porter d'assez belles brigandines (cottes d'armes) pareilles aux nôtres, à l'exception que les écailles en étoient plus petites. Leurs garde-bras (brassarts) étoient de même. En un mot ils ressemblent à ces peintures où l'on nous représente les temps de Jules César. La brigandine descend presqu'à mi-cuisse; mais à son extrémité est attachée circulairement une étoffe de soie qui vient jusqu'à mi-jambe.

Sur la tête ils portent un harnois blanc qui est rond comme elle, et qui, haut de plus d'un demi-pied, se termine en pointe‡. On le garnit de quatre clinques (lames), l'une devant, l'autre derrière, les deux autres sur les côtés, afin de garantir du coup d'épée la face, le cou et les joues. Elles sont pareilles à celles qu'ont en France nos salades§.

Outre cette garniture de tête ils en ont assez communément une autre qu'ils mettent par-

* Le mot lévrier n'avoit pas alors l'acception exclusive qu'il a aujourd'hui; il se prenoit pour le chien de chasse ordinaire.

† Les mors et les selles à la genette avoient été adoptés en France, et jusqu'au dernier siècle ils furent d'usage dans nos manèges. On disoit monter à la genette quand les jambes étoient si courtes que l'éperon portoit vis-à-vis les flancs du cheval. Le mors à la genette étoit celui qui avoit sa gourmette d'une seule pièce et de la forme d'un grand anneau, mis et arrêté au haut de la liberté de la langue.

‡ Harnois, dans la langue du temps, étoit un terme général qui signifioit à la fois habillement et armure: ici il désigne une sorte de bonnet devenu arme défensive.

§ Salades, sorte de casque léger alors en usage, et qui, n'ayant ni visière ni gorgerin, avoit besoin de cette bande de fer en saillie pour défendre le visage.

dessus

dessus leurs chapeaux ou leurs toques : c'est une coiffe de fil d'archal. Il y a de ces coiffes qui sont si riches et si belles qu'elles coûtent jusqu'à quarante et cinquante ducats, tandis que d'autres n'en coûtent qu'un ou deux. Quoique celles-ci soient moins fortes que les autres, elles peuvent résister au coup de taille d'une épée.

J'ai parlé de leurs selles : ils y sont assis comme dans un fauteuil, bien enfoncés, les genoux fort hauts et les étriers courts ; position dans laquelle ils ne pourroient pas supporter le moindre coup de lance sans être jetés bas.

L'arme de ceux qui ont quelque fortune est un arc, un tarquais, une épée et une forte masse à manche court, dont le gros bout est taillé à plusieurs carnes. Ce bâton a du danger quand on l'assène sur des épaules ou des bras dégarnis. Je suis même convaincu qu'un coup bien appuyé sur une tête armée de salade étourdiroit l'homme.

Plusieurs portent de petits pavois (boucliers) en bois, et ils savent très-bien s'en couvrir à cheval quand ils tirent de l'arc. C'est ce que m'ont assuré gens qui les ont long-temps pratiqués, et ce que j'ai vu par moi-même.

Leur obéissance aux ordres de leur seigneur est sans bornes. Pas un seul n'oseroit les transgresser quand il s'agiroit de la vie, et c'est principalement à cette soumission constante qu'il doit les grandes choses qu'il a exécutées et ces vastes conquêtes qui l'ont rendu maître d'une étendue de pays beaucoup plus considérable que n'est la France.

On m'a certifié que quand les puissances chrétiennes ont pris les armes contre eux, ils ont toujours été avertis à temps. Dans ce cas, le seigneur fait épier leur marche par des hommes qui sont propres à cette fonction, et il va les attendre avec son armée à deux ou trois journées du lieu où il se propose de les combattre. Croit-il l'occasion favorable, il fond sur eux tout-à-coup, et ils ont pour ces circonstances une sorte de marche qui leur est propre. Le signal est donné par un gros tambour. Alors ceux qui doivent être en tête partent les premiers et sans bruit; les autres suivent de même en silence, sans que la file soit jamais interrompue, parce que les chevaux et les hommes sont dressés à cet exercice. Dix mille Turcs, en pareil cas, font moins de tapage que ne feroient cent hommes d'armes chrétiens. Dans leurs marches ordinaires, ils ne vont jamais qu'au pas; mais dans celles-ci ils emploient le galop, et comme d'ailleurs ils sont armés légèrement, ils font du soir au matin autant de chemin qu'en trois de leurs journées communes; et voilà pourquoi ils ne pourroient porter d'armures complètes, ainsi que les Français et les Italiens : aussi ne veulent-ils en chevaux que ceux qui ont un grand pas ou qui galopent long-temps, tandis que nous il nous les faut trottant bien et aisés.

C'est par ces marches forcées qu'ils ont réussi, dans leurs différentes guerres, à surprendre les chrétiens et à les battre si complétement; c'est ainsi qu'ils ont vaincu le duc Jean, à qui Dieu veuille pardonner*, et l'empereur Sigismond, et tout récemment encore cet empereur devant Coulumbach, où périt messire Advis, chevalier de Poulaine (Pologne).

Leur manière de combattre varie selon les circonstances. Voient-ils un lieu et une occasion favorables pour attaquer, ils se divisent en plusieurs pelotons, selon la force de leur troupe, et viennent ainsi assaillir par différens côtés. Ce moyen est surtout celui qu'ils emploient en pays de bois et de montagnes, parce qu'ils ont l'art de se réunir sans peine.

D'autres fois ils se mettent en embuscade et envoient à la découverte quelques gens bien montés. Si le rapport est que l'ennemi n'est point sur ses gardes, ils savent prendre leur parti sur-le-champ et tirer avantage des circonstances. Le trouvent-ils en bonne ordonnance, ils voltigent autour de l'armée à la portée du trait, caracollent ainsi en tirant sans cesse aux hommes et aux chevaux, et le font si long-temps qu'enfin ils la mettent en dé-

* Jean, comte de Nevers, surnommé Sans-peur, et fils de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne. Sigismond ayant formé une ligue pour arrêter les conquêtes de Bajazet, notre roi Charles VI lui envoya un corps de troupes dans lequel il y avoit deux mille gentilshommes, et qui étoit conduit par le comte Jean. L'armée chrétienne fut défaite à Nicopolis en 1396, et nos Français tués ou faits prisonniers. On sait qu'avant la bataille, pour se débarrasser de captifs Turcs qu'ils avoient reçus à rançon, ils eurent l'indignité de les égorger, et qu'après la victoire le sultan n'ayant accordé la vie qu'aux principaux d'entre eux, il fit par représailles massacrer devant eux leurs camarades. Jean, devenu duc de Bourgogne, fit lâchement assassiner dans Paris le duc d'Orléans, frère du roi. Il fut tué à son tour par Tanneguy du Châtel, ancien officier du duc. On voit par ces faits que la Brocquière avoit grande raison, en parlant de Jean, de demander que Dieu lui pardonnât.

sordre.

sordre. Si l'on veut les poursuivre et les chasser, il fuient, et se dispersent chacun de leur côté, quand même on ne leur opposeroit que le quart de ce qu'ils sont; mais c'est dans leur fuite qu'ils sont redoutables, et c'est presque toujours ainsi qu'ils ont déconfi les chrétiens. Tout en fuyant ils ont l'art de tirer de l'arc si adroitement qu'ils ne manquent jamais d'atteindre le cavalier ou le cheval.

D'ailleurs chacun d'eux porte attaché à l'arçon de sa selle un tabolcan. Si le chef ou quelqu'un des officiers s'aperçoit que l'ennemi qui poursuit est en désordre, il frappe trois coups sur son instrument; chacun de son côté et de loin en loin en fait autant: en un instant tous se rassemblent autour du chef, " comme pourceaux au cry l'un de l'autre," et, selon les circonstances, ils reçoivent en bon ordre les assaillans ou fondent sur eux par pelotons, en les attaquant de toutes parts.

Dans les batailles rangées ils emploient quelquefois une autre sorte de stratagème, qui consiste à jeter des feux à travers les chevaux de la cavalerie pour les épouvanter; souvent encore ils mettent en tête de leur ligne un grand nombre de chameaux ou de dromadaires forts et hardis; ils les chassent en avant sur les chevaux, et y jettent le désordre.

Telles sont les manières de combattre que les Turcs ont jusqu'à présent mises en usage vis-à-vis des chrétiens. Assurément je ne veux point en dire du mal ni les déprécier; j'avouerai au contraire que, dans le commerce de la vie, je les ai trouvés francs et loyaux, et que dans les occasions où il falloit du courage ils se sont bien montrés: mais cependant je n'en suis pas moins convaincu que, pour des troupes bien montées et bien commandées, ce seroit chose peu difficile de les battre; et quant à moi je déclare qu'avec moitié moins de monde qu'eux je n'hésiterois pas à les attaquer.

Leurs armées, je le sais, sont ordinairement de cent à deux cent mille hommes; mais la plupart sont à pied, et la plupart manquent, comme je l'ai dit, de tarquais, de coiffe, de masse ou d'épée; fort peu ont une armure complète.

D'ailleurs ils ont parmi eux un très-grand nombre de chrétiens qui servent forcément: Grecs, Bulgares, Macédoniens, Albanois, Esclavons, Valaques, Rasciens et autres sujets du despote de Rascie. Tous ces gens-là détestent le Turc, parce qu'il les tient dans une dure servitude; et s'ils voyoient marcher en forces contre lui les chrétiens, et sur-tout les Français, je ne doute nullement qu'ils ne lui tournassent le dos et ne le grevassent beaucoup.

Les Turcs ne sont donc ni aussi terribles, ni aussi formidables que je l'ai entendu dire. J'avoue pourtant qu'il faudroit contre eux un général bien obéi, et qui voulût spécialement prendre et suivre les avis de ceux qui connoissent leur manière de faire la guerre. C'est la faute que fit à Coulumbach, m'a-t-on dit, l'empereur Sigismond lorsqu'il fut battu par eux. S'il avoit voulu écouter les conseils qu'on lui donna, il n'eût point été obligé de lever honteusement le siége, puisqu'il y avoit vingt-cinq à trente mille Hongrois. Ne vit-on pas deux cents arbalétriers Lombards et Génois arrêter seuls l'effort des ennemis, les contenir, et favoriser sa retraite pendant qu'il s'embarquoit dans les galères qu'il avoit sur le Danube; tandis que six mille Valaques, qui, avec le chevalier Polonois dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus, s'étoient mis à l'écart sur une petite hauteur, furent tous taillés en pièces?

Je ne dis rien sur tout ceci que je n'aie vu ou entendu. Ainsi donc, dans le cas où quelque prince ou général chrétien voudroit entreprendre la conquête de la Grèce ou même pénétrer plus avant, je crois que je puis lui donner des renseignemens utiles. Au reste je vais parler selon mes facultés; et s'il m'échappoit chose qui déplût à quelqu'un, je prie qu'on m'excuse et qu'on la regarde comme nulle.

Le souverain qui formeroit un pareil projet devroit d'abord se proposer pour but, non la gloire et la renommée, mais Dieu, la religion, et le salut de tant d'âmes qui sont dans la voie de perdition. Il faudroit qu'il fût bien assuré d'avance du paiement de ses troupes, et qu'il n'eût que des corps bien famés, de bonne volonté, et sur-tout point pillards. Quant aux moyens de solde, ce seroit, je crois, à notre saint-père le pape qu'il conviendroit de les assurer; mais jusqu'au moment où l'on entreroit sur les terres des Turcs on devroit se faire une loi de ne rien prendre sans payer. Personne n'aime à se voir dérober ce qui lui appartient, et j'ai entendu dire que ceux qui l'ont fait s'en sont souvent mal trouvés. Au reste

je

je m'en rapporte sur tous ces détails aux princes et à messeigneurs de leur conseil; moi je ne m'arrête qu'à l'espèce de troupes qui me paroît la plus propre à l'entreprise, et avec laquelle je desirerois être, si j'avois à choisir.

Je voudrois donc, 1°. de France, gens d'armes, gens de trait, archers et arbalétriers, en aussi grand nombre qu'il seroit possible, et composés comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus; 2°. d'Angleterre, mille hommes d'armes et dix mille archers; 3°. d'Allemagne, le plus qu'on pourroit de gentilshommes et de leurs crennequiniers à pied et à cheval*. Assemblez en gens de trait, archers et crennequiniers quinze à vingt mille hommes de ces trois nations, bien unis; joignez-y deux à trois cents ribaudequins†, et je demanderai à Dieu la grace de marcher avec eux; et je réponds bien qu'on pourra les mener sans peine de Belgrade à Constantinople.

Il leur suffiroit, ainsi que je l'ai remarqué, d'une armure légère, attendu que le trait Turc n'a point de force. De près, leurs archers tirent juste et vite; mais ils ne tirent point à beaucoup près aussi loin que les nôtres. Leurs arcs sont gros, mais courts, et leurs traits courts et minces. Le fer y est enfoncé dans le bois, et ne peut ni supporter un grand coup, ni faire plaie que quand il trouve une partie découverte. D'après ceci, on voit qu'il suffiroit à nos troupes d'avoir une armure légère, c'est-à-dire un léger harnois de jambes‡, une légère brigandine ou blanc-harnois, et une salade avec bavière et visière un peu large§. Le trait d'un arc Turc pourroit fausser un haubergeon‖; mais il s'émoussera contre une brigandine ou blanc-harnois.

J'ajouterai qu'en cas de besoin nos archers pourroient se servir des traits des Turcs, et que les leurs ne pourroient se servir des nôtres, parce que la coche n'est pas assez large, et que les cordes de leurs arcs étant de nerfs, sont beaucoup trop grosses.

Selon moi, ceux de nos gens d'armes qui voudroient être à cheval devroient avoir une lance légère à fer tranchant, avec une forte épée bien affilée. Peut-être aussi leur seroit-il avantageux d'avoir une petite hache à main. Ceux d'entre eux qui seroient à pied porteroient guisarme¶, ou bon épieu tranchant**; mais les unes et les autres auroient les mains armées de gantelets. Quant à ces gantelets, j'avoue que pour moi j'en connois en Allemagne qui sont de cuir bouilli, dont je ferois autant de cas que de ceux qui sont en fer.

Lorsqu'on trouvera une plaine rase et un lieu pour combattre avec avantage, on en profitera; mais alors on ne fera qu'un seul corps de bataille. L'avant-garde et l'arrière-garde seront employées à former les deux ailes. On entremêlera par-ci par-là tout ce qu'on aura de gens d'armes, à moins qu'on ne préférât de les placer en dehors pour escarmoucher; mais on se gardera bien de placer ainsi les hommes d'armes. En avant de l'armée et sur ses ailes seront épars et semés çà et là les ribaudequins; mais il sera défendu à qui que ce soit, sous peine de la vie, de poursuivre les fuyards.

Les Turcs ont la politique d'avoir toujours des armées deux fois plus nombreuses que celles des chrétiens. Cette supériorité de nombre augmente leur courage, et elle leur permet en même temps de former différens corps pour attaquer par divers côtés à la fois. S'ils parviennent à percer, ils se précipitent en foule innombrable par l'ouverture, et alors c'est un grand miracle si tout n'est pas perdu.

Pour empêcher ce malheur on placera la plus grande quantité de ribaudequins vers les angles du corps de bataille, et l'on tâchera de se tenir serré de manière à ne point se laisser entamer. Au reste, cette ordonnance me paroît d'autant plus facile à garder qu'ils ne sont

* Cranequiniers, c'étoit le nom qu'en Autriche et dans une partie de l'Allemagne on donnoit aux archers.

† Ribaudequins, sortes de troupes légères qui serviroient aux escarmouches et représentoient nos tirailleurs d'aujourd'hui.

‡ Harnois de jambes, sorte d'armure défensive en fer qui emboîtoit la jambe, et qu'on nommoit jambards ou grèves.

§ J'ai déja dit que la salade étoit un casque beaucoup moins lourd que le heaume. Il y en avoit qui laissoient le visage totalement découvert; d'autres qui, pour le garantir, portoient en avant une lame de fer; d'autres qui, comme le heaume, le couvroient en entier, haut et bas: ce qu'on appeloit visière et bavière.

‖ Haubergeon, cotte de mailles plus légère que le haubert. Etant en mailles, elle pouvoit être faussée plus aisément que la brigandine, qui étoit de fer plein ou en écailles de fer.

¶ Guisarme, hache à deux têtes. ** Epieu, lance beaucoup plus forte que la lance ordinaire.

point assez bien armés pour former une colonne capable par son poids d'une forte impulsion. Leurs lances ne valent rien. Ce qu'ils ont de mieux ce sont leurs archers, et ces archers ne tirent ni aussi loin ni aussi fort que les nôtres.

Ils ont aussi une cavalerie beaucoup plus nombreuse; et leurs chevaux, quoique inférieurs en force aux nôtres, quoique moins capables de porter de lourds fardeaux, courent mieux, escarmouchent plus long-temps et ont plus d'haleine. C'est une raison de plus pour se tenir toujours bien serré, toujours bien en ordre.

Si l'on suit constamment cette méthode ils seront forcés, ou de combattre avec désavantage, et par conséquent de tout risquer, ou de faire retraite devant l'armée. Dans le cas où ils prendroient ce dernier parti, on mettra de la cavalerie à leurs trousses; mais il faudra qu'elle ne marche jamais qu'en bonne ordonnance, et toujours prête à combattre et à les bien recevoir s'ils reviennent sur leurs pas. Avec cette conduite il n'est point douteux qu'on ne les batte toujours. En suivant le contraire, ce seront eux qui nous battront, comme il est toujours arrivé.

On me dira peut-être que rester ainsi en présence et sur la défensive vis-à-vis d'eux, seroit une honte pour nous. On me dira que, vivant de peu et de tout ce qu'ils trouvent, ils nous affameroient bientôt si nous ne sortions de notre fort pour aller les combattre.

Je répondrai que leur coutume n'est point de rester en place; qu'aujourd'hui dans un endroit, demain éloignés d'une journée et demie, ils reparoissent tout-à-coup aussi vite qu'ils ont disparu, et que, si l'on n'est point continuellement sur ses gardes, on court de gros risques. L'important est donc, du moment où on les a vus, d'être toujours en défiance, toujours prêt à monter à cheval et à se battre.

Si l'on a quelque mauvais pas à passer, on ne manquera pas d'y envoyer des gens d'armes et des gens de trait autant que le lieu permettra d'en recevoir pour combattre, et l'on aura grand soin qu'ils soient constamment en bon ordre de bataille.

Jamais n'envoyez au fourrage, ce seroit autant d'hommes perdus; d'ailleurs vous ne trouveriez plus rien aux champs. En temps de guerre les Turcs font tout transporter dans les villes.

Avec toutes ces précautions, la conquête de la Grèce* ne sera pas une entreprise extrêmement difficile, pourvu, je le répète, que l'armée fasse toujours corps, qu'elle ne se divise jamais, et ne veuille point envoyer de pelotons à la poursuite de l'ennemi. Si l'on me demande comment on aura des vivres, je dirai que la Grèce et la Rassie ont des rivières navigables, et que la Bulgarie, la Macédoine et les provinces Grecques sont fertiles.

En avançant ainsi toujours en masse, on forcera les Turcs à reculer, et il faudra qu'ils choisissent entre deux extrémités, comme je l'ai déja dit, ou de repasser en Asie et d'abandonner leurs biens, leurs femmes et leurs enfans, puisque le pays n'est point de défense, ainsi qu'on l'a pu voir par la description que j'en ai donnée, ou de risquer une bataille, comme ils l'ont fait toutes les fois qu'ils ont passé le Danube.

Je conclus qu'avec de bonnes troupes composées des trois nations que j'ai nommées, Français, Anglais et Allemands, on sera sûr du succès, et que si elles sont en nombre suffisant, bien unies et bien commandées, elles iront par terre jusqu'à Jerusalem. Mais je reprends mon récit.

Je traversai le Danube à Belgrade. Il étoit en ce moment extraordinairement gonflé, et pouvoit bien avoir douze milles de large. Jamais, de mémoire d'homme, on ne lui avoit vu une crue pareille. Ne pouvant me rendre à Boude (Bude) par le droit chemin, j'allai à une ville champêtre (un village) nommé Pensey. De Pensey j'arrivai par la plaine la plus unie que je connoisse, et après avoir traversé en bac une rivière à Beurquerel, ville qui appartient au despote de Rassie, et où je passai deux autres rivières sur un pont. De Beurquerel je vins à Verchet, qui est également au despote, et là je passai la Tiste (la Teisse), rivière large et profonde. Enfin je me rendis à Ségading (Ségédin) sur la Tiste.

Dans toute la longueur de cette route, à l'exception de deux petits bois qui étoient enclos

* On a déja vu plus haut que par le mot Grèce l'auteur entend les états que les Turcs possédoient en Europe.

d'un

d'un ruisseau, je n'ai pas vu un seul arbre. Les habitans n'y brûlent que de la paille ou des roseaux qu'ils ramassent le long des rivières ou dans leurs nombreux marécages. Ils mangent, au lieu de pain, des gâteaux tendres; mais ils n'en ont pas beaucoup à manger.

Ségédin est une grande ville champêtre, composée d'une seule rue qui m'a paru avoir une lieue de longueur environ. Elle est dans un terroir fertile, abondant en toutes sortes de denrées. On y prend beaucoup de grues et de bistardes (outardes), et j'en vis un grand marché tout rempli; mais on les y apprête fort malproprement, et on les mange de même. La Teisse fournit aussi quantité de poissons, et nulle part je n'ai vu rivière en donner d'aussi gros.

On y trouve également une grande quantité de chevaux sauvages à vendre; mais on sait les domter et les apprivoiser, et c'est une chose curieuse à voir. On m'a même assuré que qui en voudroit trois ou quatre mille, les trouveroit dans la ville. Ils sont à si bon marché que pour dix florins de Hongrie on auroit un très-beau roussin (cheval de voyage).

L'empereur, m'a-t-on dit, avoit donné Ségédin à un évêque. J'y vis ce prélat, et me sembla homme de grosse conscience. Les cordeliers ont dans la ville une assez belle église. J'y entendis le service. Ils le font un peu à la Hongroise.

De Ségédin je vins à Paele (Pest), assez bonne ville champêtre sur le Danube, vis-à-vis Bude. D'une ville à l'autre le pays continue d'être bon et uni. On y trouve une quantité immense de haras de jumens, qui vivent abandonnées à elles-mêmes en pleine campagne, comme les animaux sauvages; et telle est la raison qui fait qu'on en voit tant au marché de Ségédin.

A Pest je traversai le Danube et entrai dans Bude sept jours après mon départ de Belgrade.

Bude, la principale ville de Hongrie, est sur une hauteur beaucoup plus longue que large. Au levant elle a le Danube, au couchant un vallon, et au midi un palais qui commande la porte de la ville, palais qu'a commencé l'empereur, et qui, quand on l'aura fini, sera grand et fort. De ce côté, mais hors des murs, sont de très-beaux bains chauds. Il y en a encore au levant, le long du Danube, mais qui ne valent pas les autres.

La ville est gouvernée par des Allemands, tant pour les objets de justice et de commerce que pour ce qui regarde les différentes professions. On y voit beaucoup de Juifs qui parlent bien Français, et dont plusieurs sont de ceux qu'on a chassés de France. J'y trouvai aussi un marchand d'Arras appelé Clays Davion; il faisoit partie d'un certain nombre de gens de métier que l'empereur Sigismond avoit amenés de France. Clays travailloit en haute-lice*.

Les environs de Bude sont agréables, et le terroir est fertile en toutes sortes de denrées, et spécialement en vins blancs qui ont un peu d'ardeur: ce qu'on attribue aux bains chauds du canton et au soufre sur lequel les eaux coulent. A une lieue de la ville se trouve le corps de saint Paul, *hermite*, qui s'est conservé tout entier.

Je retournai à Pest, où je trouvai également six à huit familles Françaises que l'empereur y avoit envoyées pour construire sur le Danube, et vis-à-vis de son palais une grande tour. Son dessein étoit d'y mettre une chaîne avec laquelle il pût fermer la rivière. On seroit tenté de croire qu'il a voulu en cela imiter la tour de Bourgogne qui est devant le château de l'Ecluse; mais ici je ne crois pas que le projet soit exécutable: la rivière est trop large. J'eus la curiosité d'aller visiter la tour. Elle avoit déja une hauteur d'environ trois lances, et l'on voyoit à l'entour une grande quantité de pierres taillées; mais tout étoit resté là, parce que les premiers maçons qui avoient commencé l'ouvrage étoient morts, disoit-on, et que ceux qui avoient survécu n'en savoient pas assez pour le continuer.

Pest a beaucoup de marchands de chevaux, et qui leur en demanderoit deux mille bons les y trouveroit. Ils les vendent par écurie composée de dix chevaux, et chaque écurie est de deux cents florins. J'en ai vu plusieurs dont deux ou trois chevaux seuls valoient ce prix. Ils viennent la plupart des montagnes de Transylvanie, qui bornent la Hongrie au

* Sigismond, dans son voyage en France, avoit été à portée d'y voir nos manufactures, et spécialement celles de Flandre, renommées dès-lors par leurs tapisseries. Il avoit voulu en établir de pareilles dans sa capitale de Hongrie, et avoit engagé des ouvriers de différentes professions à l'y suivre.

levant. J'en achetai un qui étoit grand coureur : ils le sont presque tous. Le pays leur est bon par la quantité d'herbages qu'il produit ; mais ils ont le défaut d'être un peu quinteux, et spécialement mal aisés à ferrer. J'en ai même vu qu'on étoit alors obligé d'abattre.

Les montagnes dont je viens de parler ont des mines d'or et de sel qui tous les ans rapportent au roi chacune cent mille florins de Hongrie. Il avoit abandonné celle d'or au seigneur de Prusse et au comte Mathico, à condition que le premier garderoit la frontière contre le Turc, et le second Belgrade. La reine s'étoit réservé le revenu de celle du sel.

Ce sel est beau. Il se tire d'une roche et se taille en forme de pierre, par morceaux d'un pied de long environ, carrés, mais un peu convexes en dessus. Qui les verroit dans un chariot les prendroit pour des pierres. On le broie dans un mortier, et il en sort passablement blanc, mais plus fin et meilleur que tous ceux que j'ai goûtés ailleurs.

En traversant la Hongrie j'ai souvent rencontré des chariots qui portoient six, sept ou huit personnes, et où il n'y avoit qu'un cheval d'attelé ; car leur coutume, quand ils veulent faire de grandes journées, est de n'en mettre qu'un. Tous ont les roues de derrière beaucoup plus hautes que celles de devant. Il en est de couverts à la manière du pays, qui sont très-beaux et si légers qu'y compris les roues un homme, ce me semble, les porteroit sans peine suspendus à son cou. Comme le pays est plat et très-uni, rien n'empêche le cheval de trotter toujours. C'est à raison de cette égalité de terrain que, quand on y laboure, on fait des sillons d'une telle longueur que c'est une merveille à voir.

Jusqu'à Pest je n'avois point eu de domestique ; là je m'en donnai un, et pris à mon service un de ces compagnons maçons Français qui s'y trouvoient. Il étoit de Brai-sur-Somme.

De retour à Bude j'allai, avec l'ambassadeur de Milan, *saluer le grand comte de Hongrie*, titre qui répond à celui de lieutenant de l'empereur. Le grand comte m'accueillit d'abord avec beaucoup de distinction, parce qu'à mon habit il me prit pour Turc ; mais quand il sut que j'étois chrétien il se refroidit un peu. On me dit que c'étoit un homme peu sûr dans ses paroles, et aux promesses duquel il ne falloit pas trop se fier. C'est un peu là en général ce qu'on reproche aux Hongrois ; et, quant à moi, j'avoue que, d'après l'idée que m'ont donnée d'eux ceux que j'ai hantés, je me fierois moins à un Hongrois qu'à un Turc.

Le grand comte est un homme âgé. C'est lui, m'a-t-on dit, qui autrefois arrêta Sigismond, roi de Behaigne (Bohême) et de Hongrie, et depuis empereur ; c'est lui qui le mit en prison, et qui depuis l'en tira par accommodement.

Son fils venoit d'épouser une belle dame Hongroise. Je le vis dans une joute qui, à la manière du pays, eut lieu sur de petits chevaux et avec des selles basses. Les jouteurs étoient galamment habillés, et ils portoient des lances fortes et courtes. Ce spectacle est très-agréable. Quand les deux champions se touchent il faut que tous deux, ou au moins l'un des deux nécessairement, tombent à terre. C'est là que l'on connoît sûrement ceux qui savent se bien tenir en selle*.

Quand ils joutent à l'estrivée pour des verges d'or, tous les chevaux sont de même hauteur ; toutes les selles sont pareilles et tirées au sort, et l'on joute par couples toujours pairs, un contre un. Si l'un des deux adversaires tombe, le vainqueur est obligé de se retirer, et il ne joute plus.

Jusqu'à Bude j'avois toujours accompagné l'ambassadeur de Milan ; mais, avant de quitter la ville, il me prévint qu'en route il se sépareroit de moi pour se rendre auprès du duc. D'après cette annonce j'allai trouver mon Artésien Clays Davion, qui me donna, pour Vienne en Autriche, une lettre de recommandation adressée à un marchand de sa connoissance. Comme je m'étois ouvert à lui, et que je n'avois cru devoir lui cacher ni mon état et mon

* En France, pour les tournois et les joutes, ainsi que pour les batailles, les chevaliers montoient de ces grands et forts chevaux qu'on appeloit palefrois. Leurs selles avoient par-devant et par-derrière de hauts arçons qui, par les points d'appui qu'ils leur fournissoient, leur donnoient bien plus de moyens de résister au coup de lance que les petits chevaux et les selles basses des Hongrois ; et voilà pourquoi notre auteur dit que c'est dans les joutes Hongroises qu'on peut reconnoître le cavalier qui sait bien se tenir en selle.

nom,

nom, ni le pays d'où je venois, et l'honneur que j'avois d'appartenir à monseigneur le duc (duc de Bourgogne), il mit tout cela dans la lettre à son ami, et je m'en trouvai bien.

De Bude je vins à Thiate, ville champêtre où le roi se tient volontiers, me dit-on; puis à Janiz, en Allemand Jane, ville sur le Danube. Je passai ensuite devant une autre qui est formée par une île du fleuve, et qui avoit été donnée par l'empereur à l'un des gens de monseigneur de Bourgogne, que je crois être messire Rénier Pot. Je passai par celle de Brut, située sur une rivière qui sépare le royaume de Hongrie d'avec le duché d'Autriche. La rivière coule à travers un marais où l'on a construit une chaussée longue et étroite. Ce lieu est un passage d'une grande importance; je suis même persuadé qu'avec peu de monde on pourroit le défendre et le fermer du côté de l'Autriche.

Deux lieues par-delà Brut l'ambassadeur de Milan se sépara de moi: il se rendit vers le duc son maître, et moi à Vienne en Autriche, où j'arrivai après cinq jours de marche.

Entré dans la ville, je ne trouvai d'abord personne qui voulût me loger, parce qu'on me prenoit pour un Turc. Enfin quelqu'un, par aventure, m'enseigna une hôtellerie où l'on consentit à me recevoir. Heureusement pour moi le domestique que j'avois pris à Pest savoit le Hongrois et le haut Allemand, et il demanda qu'on fît venir le marchand pour qui j'avois une lettre. On alla le chercher. Il vint, et non seulement il m'offrit tous ses services, mais il alla instruire monseigneur le duc Aubert*, cousin-germain de mondit seigneur, qui aussitôt dépêcha vers moi un poursuivant†, et peu après messire Albrech de Potardof.

Il n'y avoit pas encore deux heures que j'étois arrivé quand je vis messire Albrech descendre de cheval à la porte de mon logis, et me demander. Je me crus perdu. Peu avant mon départ pour les saints lieux, moi et quelques autres nous l'avions arrêté entre Flandres et Brabant, parce que nous l'avions cru sujet de Phédérich d'Autriche ‡, qui avoit défié mondit seigneur; et je ne doutai pas qu'il ne vînt m'arrêter à mon tour, et peut-être faire pis encore.

Il me dit que mondit seigneur d'Autriche, instruit que j'étois serviteur de mondit seigneur le duc, l'envoyoit vers moi pour m'offrir tout ce qui dépendoit de lui; qu'il m'invitoit à le demander aussi hardiment que je le ferois envers mondit seigneur, et qu'il vouloit traiter ses serviteurs comme il feroit les siens même. Messire Albrech parla ensuite en son nom: il me présenta de l'argent, m'offrit des chevaux et autres objets; en un mot il me rendit le bien pour le mal, quoiqu'après tout cependant je n'eusse fait envers lui que ce que l'honneur me permettoit et m'ordonnoit même de faire.

Deux jours après, mondit seigneur d'Autriche m'envoya dire qu'il vouloit me parler; et ce fut encore messire Albrech qui vint me prendre pour lui faire la révérence. Je me présentai à lui au moment où il sortoit de la messe, accompagné de huit ou dix vieux chevaliers notables. A peine l'eus-je salué qu'il me prit la main sans vouloir permettre que je lui parlasse à genoux. Il me fit beaucoup de questions, et particulièrement sur mondit seigneur; ce qui me donna lieu de présumer qu'il l'aimoit tendrement.

C'étoit un homme d'assez grande taille et brun; mais doux et affable, vaillant et libéral, et qui passoit pour avoir toutes sortes de bonnes qualités. Parmi les personnes qui l'accompagnoient étoient quelques seigneurs de Bohême que les Houls en avoient chassés, parce qu'ils ne vouloient pas être de leur religion§.

Il se présenta également à lui un grand baron de ce pays, appelé Paanepot, qui, avec quelques autres personnes, venoit, au nom des Hussites, traiter avec lui et demander la paix. Ceux-ci se proposoient d'aller au secours du roi de Pologne contre les seigneurs de Prusse, et ils lui faisoient de grandes offres, m'a-t-on dit, s'il vouloit les seconder; mais il répondit, m'a-t-on encore ajouté, que s'ils ne se soumettoient à la loi de Jésus-Christ, jamais, tant qu'il seroit en vie, il ne feroit avec eux ni paix ni trêve.

* Albert II, duc d'Autriche, depuis empereur, à la mort de Sigismond.

† Poursuivant d'armes, sorte de héraut en usage dans les cours des princes.

‡ Frédéric, duc d'Autriche, empereur après Albert II.

§ Houls, Hussites, disciples de Jean Hus (qu'on prononçoit Hous), sectaires fanatiques qui dans ce siècle inondèrent la Bohême de sang, et se rendirent redoutables par leurs armes.

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En effet, au temps où il leur parloit il les avoit déja battus deux fois. Il avoit repris sur eux toute la Morane (Moravie), et, par sa conduite et sa vaillance, s'étoit agrandi à leurs dépens.

Au sortir de son audience je fus conduit à celle de la duchesse, grande et belle femme, fille de l'empereur, et par lui héritière du royaume de Hongrie et de Bohème, et des autres seigneuries qui en dépendent. Elle venoit tout récemment d'accoucher d'une fille; ce qui avoit occasionné des fêtes et des joutes d'autant plus courues, que jusque-là elle n'avoit point eu d'enfans.

Le lendemain mondit seigneur d'Autriche m'envoya inviter à dîner par messire Albrech, et il me fit manger à sa table avec un seigneur Hongrois et un autre Autrichien. Tous ses gens sont à gages, et personne ne mange avec lui que quand on est en prévenu par son maître-d'hôtel.

La table étoit carrée. La coutume est qu'on n'y apporte qu'un plat à la fois, et que celui qui s'en trouve le plus voisin en goûte le premier. Cet usage tient lieu d'essai*. On servit chair et poisson, et sur-tout beaucoup de différentes viandes fort épicées, mais toujours plat à plat.

Après le dîner on me mena voir les danses chez madame la duchesse. Elle me donna un chapeau de fil d'or et de soie, un anneau et un diamant pour mettre sur ma tête, selon la coutume du pays. Il y avoit là beaucoup de noblesse en hommes et en femmes; j'y vis des gens très-aimables, et les plus beaux cheveux qu'on puisse porter.

Quand j'eus été là quelque temps, un gentilhomme nommé Payser, qui, bien qu'il ne fût qu'écuyer†, étoit chambellan et garde des joyaux de mondit seigneur d'Autriche, vint de sa part me prendre pour me les montrer. Il me fit voir la couronne de Bohême, qui a d'assez belles pierreries, et entr'autres un rubis, le plus considérable que j'aie vu. Il m'a paru plus gros qu'une grosse datte; mais il n'est point net, et offre quelques cavités dans le fond desquelles on aperçoit des taches noires.

De là ledit garde me mena voir les waguebonnes‡, que mondit seigneur avoit fait construire pour combattre les Bohémiens. Je n'en vis aucun qui pût contenir plus de vingt hommes; mais on me dit qu'il y en avoit un qui en porteroit trois cents, et auquel il ne falloit pour le traîner que dix-huit chevaux.

Je trouvai à la cour monseigneur de Valse, gentil chevalier, et le plus grand seigneur de l'Autriche après le duc; j'y vis messire Jacques Trousset, joli chevalier de Zoave (Souabe): mais il y en avoit un autre, nommé le Chant, échanson né de l'Empire, qui, ayant perdu à la bataille de Bar un sien frère et plusieurs de ses amis, et sachant que j'étois à monseigneur le duc, me fit épier pour savoir le jour de mon départ et me saisir en Bavière lorsque j'y passerois. Heureusement pour moi monseigneur d'Autriche *fut instruit de son projet.* Il le congédia, et me fit rester à Vienne plus que je ne comptois, pour attendre le départ de monseigneur de Valse et de messire Jacques, avec lesquels je partis.

Pendant mon séjour j'y vis trois de ces joutes dont j'ai parlé, à petits chevaux et à selles basses. L'une eut lieu à la cour, et les deux autres dans les rues; mais, à celles-ci, plusieurs de ceux qui furent renversés tombèrent si lourdement qu'ils se blessèrent avec danger.

Mondit seigneur d'Autriche me fit offrir en secret de l'argent. Je reçus les mêmes offres de messire Albert et de messire Robert Daurestof, grand seigneur du pays, lequel, l'année d'auparavant, étoit allé en Flandre déguisé, et y avoit vu mondit seigneur le duc, dont il disoit beaucoup de bien. Enfin j'en reçus de très-vives d'un poursuivant Breton-bretonnant (Bas-Breton) nommé Toutseul, qui, après avoir été au service de l'amiral d'Espagne, étoit à celui de mondit seigneur d'Autriche. Ce Breton venoit tous les jours me chercher pour aller à la messe, et il m'accompagnoit par-tout où je voulois aller. Persuadé que j'avois dû dépenser

* Chez les souverains on faisoit l'essai des viandes à mesure qu'on les leur servoit, et il y avoit un officier chargé de cette fonction qui, dans l'origine, avoit été une précaution prise contre le poison.

† Qui n'étoit pas encore chevalier.

‡ Waguebonne, sorte de chariot ou de tour ambulante pour les combats.

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en route tout ce que j'avois d'argent, il vint, peu avant mon départ, m'en présenter cinquante marcs qu'il avoit en émaux. Il insista beaucoup pour que je les vendisse à mon profit ; et comme je refusois également de recevoir et d'emprunter, il me protesta que jamais personne n'en sauroit rien.

Vienne est une ville assez grande, bien fermée de bons fossés et de hauts murs, et où l'on trouve de riches marchands et des ouvriers de toute profession. Au nord elle a le Danube qui baigne ses murs. Le pays aux environs est agréable et bon, et c'est un lieu de plaisirs et d'amusemens. Les habitans y sont mieux habillés qu'en Hongrie, quoiqu'ils portent tous de gros pourpoints bien épais et bien larges.

En guerre, ils mettent par-dessus le pourpoint un bon haubergeon, un glaçon*, un grand chapeau de fer et d'autres harnois à la mode du pays.

Ils ont beaucoup de crennequiniers. C'est ainsi qu'en Autriche et en Bohême on nomme ceux qu'en Hongrie on appelle archers. Leurs arcs sont semblables à ceux des Turcs, quoiqu'ils ne soient ni si bons ni si forts ; mais ils ne les manient point aussi bien qu'eux. Les Hongrois tirent avec trois doigts, et les Turcs avec le pouce et l'anneau.

Quand j'allai prendre congé de mondit seigneur d'Autriche et de madame, il me recommanda lui-même à mes deux compagnons de voyage, messire Jacques Trousset et mondit seigneur de Walsee, qui alloit se rendre sur la frontière de Bohême où il commandoit. Il me fit demander de nouveau si j'avois besoin d'argent. Je lui répondis, comme je l'avois déja fait à ceux qui m'en avoient offert, qu'à mon départ mondit seigneur le duc m'en avoit si bien pourvu qu'il m'en restoit encore pour revenir auprès de lui ; mais je lui demandai un saufconduit, et il me l'accorda.

Le Danube, depuis Vienne jusqu'à trois journées pardelà, a son cours dirigé vers le levant ; depuis Bude et même au-dessus, jusqu'à la pointe de Belgrade, il coule au midi. Là, entre la Hongrie et la Bulgarie, il reprend sa direction au levant, et va, dit-on, se jeter dans la mer Noire à Mont-Castre.

Je partis de Vienne dans la compagnie de mondit seigneur de Valse et de messire Jacques Trousset. Le premier se rendit à Lints, auprès de son épouse ; le second dans sa terre.

Après deux journées de marche nous arrivâmes à Saint-Polquin (Saint-Pelten), où se font les meilleurs couteaux du pays. De là nous vînmes à Mélich (Mœlek) sur le Danube, ville où l'on fabrique les meilleures arbalètes, et qui a un très-beau monastère de chartreux ; puis à Valse, qui appartient audit seigneur, et dont le château, construit sur une roche élevée, domine le Danube. Lui-même me montra les ornemens d'autel qu'a le lieu. Jamais je n'en ai vu d'aussi riches en broderie et en perles. J'y vis aussi des bateaux qui remontoient le Danube, tirés par des chevaux.

Le lendemain de notre arrivée, un gentilhomme de Bavière vint saluer mondit seigneur de Valse. Messire Jacques Trousset, averti de sa venue, annonça qu'il alloit le faire pendre à une aubépine qui étoit dans le jardin. Mondit seigneur accourut aussitôt, et il le pria de ne point lui faire chez lui un pareil affront. S'il vient jusqu'à moi, répondit messire, il ne peut l'échapper, et sera pendu. Ledit seigneur courut donc au devant du gentilhomme ; il lui fit un signe, et celui-ci se retira. La raison de cette colère est que messire Jacques, ainsi que la plupart des gens qu'il avoit avec lui, étoit de la secrète compagnie, et que le gentilhomme, qui en étoit aussi, avoit mésusé†.

De Valse nous allâmes à Oens (Ens), sur la rivière de ce nom ; à Evresperch, qui est sur la même rivière, et du domaine de l'évêque de Passot (Passau) ; puis à Lins (Lintz), très-bonne ville, qui a un château sur le Danube, et qui n'est pas éloignée de la frontière

* Glaçon ou glachon, sorte d'armure défensive. Les Suisses estoient assez communément habillez de jacques, de pans, de haubergerie, de glachons et de chapeaux de fer à la façon d'Allemagne (Mat. de Coucy, p. 536.) En Français on appeloit glaçon une sorte de toile fine qui sans doute étoit glacée. Je soupçonne que le glaçon Allemand étoit une espèce de cotte d'armes faite de plusieurs doubles de toile piquée, comme nos gambisons. Peut-être aussi n'étoit-ce qu'une cuirasse.

† Probablement il s'agit ici de frane-maçonnerie, et le Bavarois que Trousset vouloit faire pendre étoit un faux frère qui avoit révélé les mystères de la compagnie secrète.

de

de Bohème. Elle appartient à monseigneur d'Autriche, et a pour gouverneur ledit seigneur de Valse.

J'y vis madame de Valse, très-belle femme, du pays de Bohème, laquelle me fit beaucoup d'accueil. Elle me donna un roussin d'un excellent trot, un diamant pour mettre sur mes cheveux, à la mode d'Autriche, et un chapeau de perles orné d'un anneau et d'un rubis*.

Mondit seigneur de Valse restant à Lintz avec son épouse, je partis dans la compagnie de messire Jacques Trousset, et vins à Erfort, qui appartient au comte de Chambourg. Là finit l'Autriche, et depuis Vienne jusque-là nous avions mis six journées. D'Erfort nous allâmes à Riet, ville de Bavière, et qui est au duc Henri ; à Prenne, sur la rivière de Sceine ; à Bourchaze, ville avec château sur la même rivière, où nous trouvâmes le duc ; à Mouldrouf, où nous passâmes le Taing. Enfin, après avoir traversé le pays du duc Louis de Bavière, sans être entrés dans aucune de ses villes, nous arrivâmes à Munèque (Munich), la plus jolie petite ville que j'aie jamais vue, et qui appartient au duc Guillaume de Bavière.

A Lansperch je quittai la Bavière pour entrer en Souabe, et passai par Meindelahan (Mindelheim), qui est au duc ; par Mamines (Memingen), ville d'Empire, et de là à Walpourch, l'un des châteaux de messire Jacques. Il ne s'y rendit que trois jours après moi, parce qu'il vouloit aller visiter dans le voisinage quelques-uns de ses amis ; mais il donna ordre à ses gens de me traiter comme ils le traiteroient lui-même.

Quand il fut revenu nous partîmes pour Ravespourch (Rawensburg), ville d'Empire ; de là à Martorf, à Mersporch (Mersbourg), ville de l'évêque de Constance, sur le lac de ce nom. Le lac en cet endroit peut bien avoir en largeur trois milles d'Italie. Je le traversai et vins à Constance, où je passai le Rhin, qui commence à prendre là son nom en sortant du lac.

C'est dans cette ville que se sépara de moi messire Jacques Trousset. Ce chevalier, l'un des plus aimables et des plus vaillans de l'Allemagne, m'avoit fait l'honneur et le plaisir de m'accompagner jusque-là par égard pour mondit seigneur le duc ; il m'eût même escorté plus loin, sans un fait d'armes auquel il s'étoit engagé : mais il me donna pour le suppléer un poursuivant, qu'il chargea de me conduire aussi loin que je l'exigerois.

Ce fait d'armes étoit une entreprise formée avec le seigneur de Valse. Tous deux s'aiment comme frères, et ils devoient jouter à fer de lance, avec targe et chapeau de fer, selon l'usage du pays, treize contre treize, tous amis et parens. Il est parfaitement muni d'armes pour joutes et batailles. Lui-même me les avoit montrées dans son château de Walporch. Je pris congé de lui, et le quittai avec bien du regret.

De Constance je vins à Etran (Stein), où je passai le Rhin ; à Chaufouze (Schaffouse,) ville de l'empereur ; à Vualscot (Waldshutt) ; à Lausemberg (Lauffembourg) ; à Rinbel (Rhinfeld), toutes trois au duc Frédéric d'Antriche, et à Bâle, autre ville de l'Empereur où il avoit envoyé comme son lieutenant le duc Guillaume de Bavière, parce que le saint concile y étoit assemblé.

Le duc voulut me voir, ainsi que madame la duchesse son épouse. J'assistai à une session du concile où il représenta l'Empereur, et où furent présens monseigneur le cardinal de Saint-Ange, légat de notre saint père le pape Eugène ; sept autres cardinaux, plusieurs patriarches, archevêques et évêques. J'y vis des gens de mondit seigneur le duc, messire Guillebert de Lannoy, seigneur de Villerval, son ambassadeur ; maître Jean Germain, et l'évêque de Châlons. J'eus un entretien avec ledit légat, qui me fit beaucoup de questions sur les pays que j'avois vus, et particulièrement sur la Grèce ; il me parut avoir fort à cœur la conquête de ce pays, et me recommanda de répéter à mondit seigneur, touchant cette conquête, certaines choses que je lui avois racontées.

A Bâle je quittai mon poursuivant, qui retourna en Autriche ; et moi, après avoir traversé la comté de Férette, qui est au duc Frédéric d'Autriche, et passé par Montbéliart,

* Ces chapeaux, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec les nôtres, n'étoient que des cercles, des couronnes en cerceau.

qui

qui est à la comtesse de ce nom, j'entrai dans la comté de Bourgogne (la Franche-comté), qui appartient à monseigneur le duc, et vins à Besançon.

Je le croyois en Flandre, et en conséquence, voulant me rendre près de lui par les marches (frontières) de Bar et de Lorraine, je pris la route de Vésou; mais à Villeneuve j'appris qu'il étoit à l'entrée de Bourgogne, et qu'il avoit fait assiéger Mussi-l'Evêque. Je me rendis donc par Aussonne à Dijon, où je trouvai monseigneur le chancelier de Bourgogne, avec qui j'allai me présenter devant lui. Ses gens étoient au siége, et lui dans l'abbaye de Poitiers.

Je parus en sa présence avec les mêmes habillemens que j'avois au sortir de Damas, et j'y fis conduire le cheval que j'avois acheté dans cette ville, et qui venoit de m'amener en France. Mondit seigneur me reçut avec beaucoup de bonté. Je lui présentai mon cheval, mes habits, avec le koran et la vie de Mahomet en Latin, que m'avoit donnés à Damas le chapelain du consul de Venise. Il les fit livrer à maître Jean Germain pour les examiner; mais one depuis je n'en ai entendu parler. Ce maître Jean étoit docteur en théologie; il a été évêque de Châlons-sur-Saone et chevalier de la toison*.

Je me suis peu étendu sur la description du pays depuis Vienne jusqu'ici, parce qu'il est connu; quant aux autres que j'ai parcourus dans mon voyage, si j'en publie la relation j'avertis ceux qui la liront que je l'ai entreprise, non par ostentation et vanité, mais pour instruire et guider les personnes qu'un même desir conduiroit dans ces contrées, et pour obéir à mon très-redouté seigneur monseigneur le duc, qui me l'a ordonné. J'avois rapporté un petit livret où en route j'écrivois toutes mes aventures quand j'en avois le temps, et c'est d'après ce mémorial que je l'ai rédigée. Si elle n'est pas composée aussi bien que d'autres pourroient le faire, je prie qu'on m'excuse.

* Jean Germain, né à Cluni, et par conséquent sujet du duc de Bourgogne, avoit plu, étant enfant, à la duchesse, qui l'envoya étudier dans l'Université de Paris, où il se distingua. Le duc, dont il sut gagner la faveur par la suite, le fit, en 1431, chancelier de son ordre de la toison d'or (et non chevalier, comme le dit la Brocquière). L'année suivante il le nomma à l'évêché de Nevers; l'envoya, l'an 1432, ambassadeur à Rome, puis au concile de Bâle, comme l'un de ses représentans. En 1436 il le transféra de l'évêché de Nevers à celui de Châlons-sur-Saone.

Ce que la Brocquière dit de cet évêque annonce de l'humeur, et l'on conçoit que n'entendant point parler des deux manuscrits intéressans qu'il avoit apportés d'Asie, il devoit en avoir. Cependant Germain s'en occupa; mais ce ne fut que pour travailler à les réfuter. A sa mort, arrivée en 1461, il laissa en manuscrit deux ouvrages dont on trouve des copies dans quelques bibliothèques, l'un intitulé, De conceptione beatæ Mariæ virginis, adversus mahometanos et infideles, libri duo; l'autre, Adversus Alcoranum, libri quinque.

THE

NAUIGATION AND VYAGES

OF

Lewes Vertomannus,

GENTELMAN OF THE CITIE OF ROME,

TO THE

REGIONS OF ARABIA, EGYPTE, PERSIA, SYRIA, ETHIOPIA, AND EAST INDIA,

BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE RYUER OF GANGES, ETC.

IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORDE 1503.

CONTEYNING

MANY NOTABLE AND STRAUNGE THINGES,

BOTH HYSTORICALL AND NATURALL.

TRANSLATED OUT OF LATINE INTO ENGLYSHE,

By Richarde Eden.

IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORD 1576.

THE

PREFACE

OF THE

AUTHOUR.

THERE haue been many before me, who to know the miracles of the worlde, haue with diligent studie read dyuers authours which haue written of such thinges. But other giuing more credit to the lyuely voyce, haue been more desirous to know the same by relation of such as haue traueyled in those countreys, and seene such thinges whereof they make relation, for that in many bookes, geathered of vncertaine aucthoritie, are myxt false thinges with true. Other there are so greatly desirous to know the trueth of these thinges, that they can in no wyse be satisfied, vntyll by theyr owne experience they haue founde the trueth, by voyages and peregrinations into straunge countreys and people, to know their maners, fashions, and customes, with dyuers thinges there to be seene: wherein the only readyng of bookes, could not satisfie their thirst of such knowledge, but rather increased the same, in so much that they feared not with losse of goods and daunger of lyfe to attempte great vyages to dyuers countreys, with witnesse of theyr eyes to see that they so greatly desired to knowe. The whiche thyng among other chaunced vnto me also, for as often as in the bookes of hystories and Cosmographie, I read of such marueylous thinges whereof they make mention (especially of thinges in the East partes of the world), there was nothyng that coulde pacifie my vnquiet mynde, vntyll I had with myne eyes seene the trueth thereof. I knowe that some there are indued with hygh knowledge, mountyng vnto the heauens, whiche will contempne these our writinges, as base and humble, bycause we doe not here, after their maner, with high and subtile inquisition intreate of the motions and dispositions of the starres, and gyue reason of theyr woorkyng on the earth, with their motions, retrogradations, directions, mutations, epicicles, reuolutions, inclinations, diuinations, reflexions, and suche other parteyning to the science of astrologie: which certeynely we doe not condempne, but greatly prayse. But measuryng vs with our owne foote, we will leaue that heauie burden of heauen to the strong shoulders of Atlas and Hercules: and only creepyng vpon the earth, in our owne person beholde the situations of landes and regions, with the maners and customes of men, and variable fourmes, shapes, natures, and proprieties of beastes, fruites, and trees, especially suche as are among the Arabians, Persians, Indians, Ethiopians. And whereas in the searchyng of these thinges, we haue (thanked be God) satisfied our desire, we thinke neuerthelesse that we haue done little, excepte we should communicate to other, such thinges as we haue seene and had experience of, that they lykewyse by the readyng therof, may take pleasure, for whose sakes we haue written this long and dangerous discourse,

of

of thinges which we haue seene in dyuers regions and sectes of men, desiryng nothyng more then that the trueth may be knowen to them that desyre the same. But what incommodities and troubles chaunced vnto me in these viages, as hunger, thirst, colde, heate, warres, captiuitie, terrours, and dyuers other suche daungers, I will declare by the way in theyr due places.

THE

FIRST CHAPTER

OF THE

NAUIGATION FROM VENICE

TO

ALEXANDRIA IN EGYPTE.

IF any man shall demaunde of me the cause of this my vyage, certeynely I can shewe no better reason then is the ardent desire of Knowledge, which hath moued many other to see the worlde and miracles of God therin. And forasmuch as other knowen partes of the world, haue heretofore ben sufficiently trauelyed of other, I was determyned to visite and describe suche partes as here before haue not been sufficiently knowen; and therefore with the grace of God, and callyng vppon his holy name to prosper our enterprise, departyng from Venice with prosperous wyndes, in fewe dayes we arryued at the citie of Alexandria in Egypte: where the desyre we had to knowe thinges more straunge and further of, would not permit vs to tarrie long. And therefore departyng from thence, and saylyng vp the ryuer of Nilus, we came to the citie of new Babylon, commonly called Cayrus or Alcayr.

Of the citie named Babylon, or Alcayr, a citie of Nilus in Egypt. Cap. 2.

The same was also called Memphis in tyme past.

WHen we arryued there, I marueyled more then I am able to say: yet when I approached so neare the citie that I myght wel see *into it, it* seemed to me much inferior to the reporte and fame that was thereof: for the greatnesse thereof, seemed nothyng agreeable to the bruite, and appeared no more in circuite then the citie of Rome, although much more peopled, and better inhabited. But the large fieldes of the suburbes haue deceyued many, beyng dispersed with in maner innumerable villages, which some haue thought to haue been part of the citie, whiche is nothyng so, for those villages and dispersed houses, are two or three myles from the citie, and round about it on euery syde. Neyther is it here needefull to spende much tyme in declaryng of theyr maners, or religion, forasmuch as it is well knowen, that all the inhabitantes of those regions are Mahumetans, and Mamalukes, which are suche Christians as haue forsaken theyr fayth, to serue the Mahumetans and Turkes: Although commonly they that serued the Soltan of Babylon in tyme past, before the Soltan was ouercome by the Turke, were called Mamaluchi, as they that serue the Turke, are called Ienetzari. But these Mamaluke Mahumetans, are subiecte to the Soltan of Syria.

Mamelukes. Mahumetans.

Ienetzari.

Of the cities of Berynto, Tripoli, and Antioch. Cap. 3.

THe riches, fayrenesse and magnificence of Babylon aforesayde, and the straunge souldiers Mamalukes, as things knowen we will now pretermit. Therefore departing from Babylon, and

and returnyng to Alexandria, where we agayne entered into our sea, we came to Berynto, a citie on the sea coast of Syria Phœnicia, where we spent many days. This is inhabited of Mahumetans, and plentifull of all thinges. The sea beateth on the walles of the towne: it is not compassed with walles, but on the west syde toward the sea. Here found we nothyng memorable, but only an olde place ruinate, where they say Sainct George deliuered the kynges daughter from a cruell Dragon, whiche he slue, and restored her to her father. Departyng from hence, we sayled to Tripoli: This is a citie of Syria, Eastwarde from Berynto two dayes sayling. The inhabitauntes are subiecte to the Lieutenant or gouernour of Syria, and are Mahumetans. The soile is very fertile, and for the great traffique of merchaundies, incredibly aboundeth with all thinges. Departyng from thence, we came to the citie Comagen of Syria, commonly called Alepo, and named of our men Antioch. It is a goodly citie, situate vnder the mount Taurus, and is subiecte to the Lieuetenant, or Soltan of Babilon. There be the scales or ladders (for so they call them) of the Turkes and Syrians, for it is neare the mount of Olympus. It is a famous marte towne of the Azamians and Persians. The Azamians, are people of Mesopotamia, neare vnto the Persians, and of the religion of Mahumet, from thence, is the iourney to the Turkes and Syrians, and especially of them that come from the part of Mesopotamia, named Azamia.

Syria Phœnicia.

Sainct George and the Dragon.

Tripoli.

Aleppo or Antioch.

The mount Taurus.

The mount Olympus.

Azamia.

Mesopotamia.

Persia.

Of the cities of Aman and Menin. Cap. 4.

DEpartyng from thence, we came to Damasco, in ten dayes iourney. But before you come there, in the myd way, is a citie named Aman, where is great aboundance of gossampine or cotton wool, and all maner of pleasant fruites. Goyng a little from Damasco, the space of sixe myles, is a citie named Menin, situate on the declinyng of a mountayne. It is inhabited of Christians of the Greeke profession, who also obaye to the gouernour of Damasco. There are seene two fayre Temples, which (as the inhabitantes reporte) were builded by Helena, the mother of the Emperour Constantine. There are all kyndes of fruites, and goodly Grapes, and Gardens watered with continuall sprynges. Departyng from thence, we came to the citie of Damasco.

Damasco.

Sainct Helene the mother of Constantine the Emperour.

Of the citie of Damasco. Cap. 5.

IT is in maner incredible, and passeth all beleefe to thinke howe fayre the citie of Damasco is, and how fertile is the soyle. And therefore allured by the maruelous beautie of the citie, I remayned there many dayes, that learnyng theyr language, I might knowe the maners of the people. The inhabitants are Mahumetans and Mamalukes, with also many Christians, lyuyng after the maner of the Greekes. By the way, it shall not be from my purpose to speake of theyr Hexarchatus: the whiche (as we haue sayde) is subiect to the Lieuetenaunt, viceroye or gouernourne of Syria, whiche some call Sorya. There is a very strong fortresse or Castell, which a certayne Ethruscan, borne in the citie of Florence, buylded at his owne charges, while he was there ỹ chiefe Hexarchatus or gouernour, as appeareth by the flower of a Lilie there graven in marble beyng the armes of the citie of Florence. The citie is compassed with a deep fosse or diche, with foure goodly high towres. They passe the dyche with a hangyng brydge, which is lifted vp or lette downe at theyr pleasure. There is all kynde of great artillerie and munition, with also a garde of fyftie Mamalukes, whiche dayly assyste the gouernoure or captayne of the castell, and receyue theyr stipende of the gouernoure or viceroye of Syria. Fortune seemed to giue the Hexarchatus or principate to the sayde Florentine, whiche we wyll declare as we haue hearde of thinhabitauntes. They saye that poyson was once geuen to the Soltan of Syria: and when he sought for remedie, he chaunced to be healed by the sayde Florentine, which was one of the companye of the Mamalukes. After whiche good fortune, he grewe dayely in fauoure with the sayde Prince, who for rewarde gaue hym that citie: where also the sayde Florentine buylded a Castel, and dyed: whom to this daye the Citisens honour for a sainte, for sauyng the lyfe of theyr prince: after whose death, the gouernment returned to the Syrians. They saye furthermore that the Soltan is well beloued of his lordes and princes, for that he easely graunteth them principates

Christians Greekes.

Hexarchatus is a principate or gouernment.

cipates and gouernementes: yet with condition to paye yeerely many thousandes of those peeces of gold which they call Saraphos. They that denye to paye the summe agreed of, are in daunger of imminent death. Of the chiefe noble men or gouernoures 10 or 12 euer assiste the Prince. And when it pleaseth hym to extorte a certayne summe of golde of his noble men or merchauntes (for they vse great tyrannye and oppression by the iniuries and theefte of the Mamalukes agaynst the Mahumetans) the Prince geueth two letters to the captaine of the Castell. In the one is contayned, that with an oration he inuite to the Castell suche as pleaseth hym. In the other is declared the mynde of the Prynce, what he demaundeth of his subiectes. When the letters be read, withal expeditton they accomplishe his commaundement, be it ryght or wrong, without respecte. This meanes the Prynce inuented to extorte mony. Yet sometymes it commeth to passe, that the noble men are of suche strength, that they wyll not come when they are commaunded, knowyng that the tyrant wyll offer them violence. And therefore oftentymes when they knowe that the captayne of the Castell wyll call them, they flee into the dominions of the Turke. This haue we geathered as touchyng theyr maners, we haue also obserued, that the watchemen in towres, do not geue warning to the garde with lyuely voyce, but with drommes, the one answeryng the other by course. But if any of the watchemen be so sleepye, that in the moment of an houre he aunsweare not to the sounde of the watche, he is immediately committed to prison for one whole yeere.

A strange maner to demaund a subside.

Of such thynges as are seene in the citie of Damasco. Cap. 6.

AFter that I haue declared the maners of the Princes of Damasco, it seemeth agreeable to speake of some suche thynges as I haue seene there. And therefore to speake fyrst of the excellencie and beautie of the citie, it is certaynely marueylously wel peopled, and greatly frequented, and also marueylous ryche. It is of goodly buildyng, and exceedeth in abundance and fruitfulnesse of all thynges, and especiallye of all kynde of victuales, flesh, corne and fruites, as freshe damesenne grapes all the whole yeere: also Pomegranets, Oranges, Lymons, and excellent Olyve trees. Lykewyse Roses, both white and red, the fayrest that euer I sawe: and all kyndes of sweete apples, yet peares and peaches were vnsauery. The cause whereof, they say to be to much moysture. A goodly and cleare ryuer runneth about the citie: and therefore in maner in euery house are seene fountaynes of curious worke embossed and grauen. Theyr houses outwardly are not very beautyfull, but inwardly marueylously adourned with variable woorkes of the stone called Ophis, or serpentine Marble. Within the towne are many temples or churches, which they call Moscheas. But that which is most beautyfull of all other, is buylded after the maner of Sainct Peters church in Rome, if you respect the greatnesse, exceptyng this, that in the myddle is no roofe or couerture, but is all open: but about the rest of the temple, it is altogeather vaulted. There they obserue religiously the bodye of the holy Prophet Zacharie. The temple hath also foure great double gates of metal, very fayre, and many goodly fountaynes within it. There are yet seene the ruins of many decayed houses, which were once inhabited by the Christians. Those houses they cal Canonicas, and are of woorke both carued and imbossed.

Theyr churches.

The bodie of the Prophet Zacharias.

There is also to be seene the place where (as they say) our sauiour Christ spake to Sainct Paule these woordes, Paule, Paule, why doest thou persecute me, etc. This place is without the citie about a myle.

The place of the conuersion of Sainct Paule.

There are buried the Christians that die in the citie. There is seene also the Tower in whiche Sainct Paule was committed to pryson, and ioyneth to the wall of the citie. But that place of the Tower where Paule was brought foorth by the Angell, the Mahumetans do not attempt to close vp: Saying, that yf it be closed ouer nyght, they fynde it open agayne in the morning. I saw also there, those houses in the whiche (as they say) Cain slue his brother Abell. These are on the other part of the citie a myle of, in a certayne valley, yet on the syde of a hyll. But let vs nowe returne to the stranger Solgiers, which they call Mamaluchos, and to speake somewhat howe licenciously they lyue in that citie.

The prison of Sainct Paule.

The place wher Cain slue Abel.

Of the Mamalukes of Damasco. Cap. 7.

The Mamalukes wages.

THe Mamalukes therefore, are that kynde of men, which haue forsaken our fayth, and as slaues are bought by the gouerner of Syria. They are very actiue, and brought vp both in learnyng and warlike discipline, vntill they come to great perfection. As wel the litle as ỹ great, without respect, receiue stipend of the gouernour: which for euery moneth amounteth to syxe of those peeces of gold which they call Saraphos, besyde the meate and drynke of themselues and theyr seruantes, and also prouision for theyr horses. And the valiaunt they be, and of greater actiuitie, they are hyred for the greater wages. They walke not in the citie but by two or three togeather, for it is counted dishonour for any of them to walke without a companion. And if by the way they chaunce to meete with two or three women (for they lay wayte to tarry for them about suche houses whyther they know the women resort) lycence is graunted them, as they by chaunce fyrst meete with them, to bryng them into certaine tauerns, where they abuse them. When the Mamalukes attempt to descouer theyr faces (for they go with theyr faces couered) they striue with them because they wyll not be knowen. But when the Mamalukes persyste wantonly to discouer them, they saye thus vnto them, Is it not enough for you that you haue abused our bodyes as pleaseth you, but that you wyl also discouer our faces: Then the Mamalukes suffer them to departe. But sometyme it chanceth, that when they thynke to prostitute the daughter of some gentelmen or noble men, they committe the fact with theyr own wyues: whiche thyng chaunced whilest I was there. The women beautifie and garnishe themselues as muche as any. They vse sylken apparell, and couer them with cloth of gosampine, in maner as fyne as sylke. They weare white buskyns, and shooes of red or purple coloure. They garnyshe theyr heades with many iewelles and earerynges, and weare rynges and braslettes. They mary as often as them lysteth: for when they are weary of theyr fyrst maryage, they go to the chiefe preste of their religion (whom they call Cady) and make request to hym to be diuorsed from theyr fyrst maryage. This diuorsment in theyr language is called Talacarè: which graunted by the hygh Priest or Byshop, they begyn newe maryages. The lyke lybertie is also graunted to the husbandes. Some thynke that the Mahumetans haue fyue or syxe wyues togeather, whiche I haue not obserued: but as farre as I coulde perceyue they haue but two or three. They eate openly, specially in the martes or fayres, and there dresse they all theyr meates. They eate Horses, Cammelles, Buffles, Gotes, and suche other beastes. They haue great abundaunce of freshe cheese. They that sell mylke, dryue about with them 40 or 50 Gotes, which they bryng into the houses of them that wyll bye mylke, euen vp into their chambers, although they be three rooffes hygh, and there mylke them, to haue it freshe and newe. These Gotes haue theyr eares a spanne long, many vdders or pappes, and are very fruitefull: There is great abundaunce of musshcromes, for sometymes there are seene 20 or 30 Cammelles laden with musheromes, and yet in the space of three dayes they are all solde. They are brought from the mountaynes of Armenia, and from Asia the lesse, whiche is now called Turchia or Natolia, or Anatolia.

How the Mamalukes abuse the women.

The women of Damasco.

Chaunge of husbandes and wyues.

The Mahumetans wyues.

Gotes mylke.

Musheromes.

Asia the lesse nowe named Natolia or Turchia.

The Mahumetans vyse long vestures and loose, both of sylke and cloth. The most part vyse hose of gossampine, cloth and whyte shooes. When any of the Mahumetans by chaunce meeteth with any of the Mamalukes, although the Mahumetan be the woorthyer person, yet geueth he place and reuerence to the Mamaluke, who otherwyse would geue hym the Bastonado, and beate hym with a staffe. The Christians also keepe there many ware houses of merchaundies, where they haue dyuers sortes of sylkes and veluet: but the Christians are there euyll entreated of the Mahumetans.

Christians of Damasco.

The iorney from Damasco to Mecha, and of the maners of the Arabians. Cap. 8.

AFter that I haue largely spoken of Damasco, I wyll proceede to the rest of my vyage. Therefore in the yeere of our Lorde. 1503. the eight daye of the moneth of Apryll, when I had

had hyred certayne Cammelles (which they call Carauanas) to go to Mecha, and beyng then ignorant of the customes and maners of them in whose companye I shoulde go, I entred familiaritie and friendshyppe with a certayne captayne Mamaluke, of them that had forsaken our fayth, with whom beyng agreed of the price, he prepared me apparell lyke vnto that whiche the Mamalukes vyse to weare, and geuyng me also a good horse, accompanyed me with the other Mamalukes. This (as I haue sayde) I obtayned with great cost, and many gyftes which I gaue hym. Thus enteryng to the iorney, after the space of three dayes, we came to a certayne place named Mezaris, where we remayned three dayes, that the Merchauntes which were in our company myght prouide thynges necessarie, as specially Camels, and dyuers other thynges. There is a certayne Prince whom they cal Zambei, of great power in the countrey of Arabia: he had three brethren and foure chyldren. He norysheth fourtie thousand horses, ten thousand mares, and foure thousand Camels. The country where he keepeth the heardes of these beastes, is large, of two dayes iorney. This Prince Zambei is of so great power, that he keepeth warre with the Soltan of Babylon, the gouernour of Damasco, and the Prince of Ierusalem al at once. In the tyme of haruest and geatheryng of fruites, he is geuen wholy to praye and robbyng, and with great subtiltie deceyueth the Arabians: for when they thynke hym to be a myle or two of, he is with them sodenly betymes in the mornyng: and inuadyng theyr landes, carryeth away theyr fruites, Wheate, and Barlye, euen as he fyndeth it in the sackes: and so lyueth contynually day and nyght with suche incursions. When his Mares be weeried with continuall runnyng, he resteth a whyle: and to refreshe them, geueth them Camelles mylke to drynke, to coole them after theyr great labour. Those Mares are of such marueylous swyftnesse, that when I presently sawe them, they seemed rather to flee then to runne. Note also that these Arabians ryde on horses only couered with certayne clothes or mattes, and weare none other vesture then only an inwarde coate, or petticoate: for weapon they vse a certayne long Dart of Reedes, of the length of ten or twelue cubites, poynted with Iron (after the maner of lauelyns) and frynged with sylke. When they attempt any incursyons, they marche in suche order, that they seem to go in troupes: they are of despicable and litle stature, and of coloure betweene yealowe and blacke, which some call Oliuastro. They haue the voyces of Women, and the heare of theyr head long and blacke, and layde out at large. They are of greater multitude then a man woulde beleeue, and are among them selues at contynuall stryfe and warre. They inhabite the mountaynes, and haue certayne tymes appoynted to robberye: for this purpose they obserue especially the tyme, when they are certayne of the passage of the Pylgryms and other that iorney that way to Mecha, then lyke theeues they lye in the way and robbe them. When they make these theeuysh inuasions, they bryng with them theyr wyues, chyldren, families and all the goodes they haue. Theyr houses they put vpon the Camelles, for other houses haue they none, but lyue onlye in tentes and pauylyons as do our Soldiers. Suche tabernacles are made of blacke wooll, and that rough and fylthy. But to returne to our viage.

Caruauna, a companie of Camelles.

Mamalukes renegati.

Mezaris.

The prince Zambei in Arabia.

The Prince of Ierusalem.

A Prince a theefe.

Mares.

The Arabyans lyue by robbery.

Houses horse on Camels backs. Tentes and pauilions.

The eleuenth day of Aprill departed from Mezaris a company of Camels (which companie they call the Carauana) to the number of 35 thousand, with fourtie thousand men. But we were no more then threescore persons, of whom the Mamalukes had taken the charge to guyde and garde us, and the Carauana of our companie, whiche the Mamalukes diuided into three partes, as some in the fronte, other in the myddest of the army, and other in a wyng after the maner of a halfe Moone, inclosyng the whole armie; for in this order march the peregrines which iorney in these regions, as hereafter we wyll further declare. But you shall fyrst understand that Damasco is from Mecha fourtie dayes and fourtie nyghtes iorney. Departyng therefore from Mezaris we continued our iorney that day, vntyll the 22 houre of the day. Then our Captayne and guide Agmirus, after he had geuen the watch worde and signe, commaunded that euerye man shoulde rest and remayne in the place where the signe shoulde be geuen them. Therefore as soone as they hearde the signe by the sound of a Trumpet, they stayed, and after they had vnburdened theyr Camels, spent there two houres to victual themselues and theyr beastes: then the Captayne geuyng a new signe, chargyng

This for feare of the Arabians.

From Damasco to Mecha.

Perhaps with the sounde of a horne or Trumpet.

theyr Camelles agayne, they departed speedyly from thence. Euery Camell hath at one feedying fyue Barly loaues, rawe and not baked, as bygge as a Pomegranate. Takyng horse, they continued that iorney the daye and nyght folowyng, vntyll 22 houres of the day, and at that houre they obserue the order whiche we haue spoken of herebefore. Euery eight daye they draw water by dyggyng the grounde or sande: by the way neuerthelesse somewhere are founde Welles and Sesternes. Also euery eyght daye, they rest theyr Camelles two dayes to recouer their strength. The Camelles are laden with incredible Burdens, and double charge: that is to meane the burden of two great Mules. They drynke but once in three dayes.

Water.

The burden of the Camelles.

Of the strength and valiantnesse of the Mamalukes. Cap. 9.

WHen they tary and rest them at the waters aforesayde, they are euer enforced to conflict with a great multitude of the Arabians: but the battayle is for the most parte without bloodshed, for although we haue often tymes fought with them, yet was there only one man slayne on our parte: for these Arabians are so weake and feeble, that threescore Mamalukes haue often put to the worst fyftie thousande Arabians. For these feelde Arabians which are called Pagani, are not in strength or force of armes to be compared to the Mamalukes, of whose actiuitie I haue seene great experience: among the whiche this is one. A certayne Mamaluke layde an Apple vpon the head of his seruant, and at the distance of about 12 or 14 pases, stroke it off from his head. I sawe likewise an other, who ryding on a sadled horse with full course (for they vse saddles as we doe) tooke off the saddle from the horse styll running: and for a space bearing it on his head, put it agayne on the horse, styll continuing his full course.

The feeblenesse of the Arabians.

Pagans.

The actiuitie of the Mamalukes.

Of the cities of Sodoma and Gomorrha. Cap. 10.

PAssyng the iourney of twelue dayes we came to the playne or valley of Sodoma and Gomorrha, where we founde it to be true that is written in Holy Scripture: for there yet remayne the ruynes of the destroyed citie, as witnesse of Gods wrath. We may affyrme that there are three cities, and eche of them situate on the declining of three hylles: and the ruines doe appeare about the heyght of three or foure cubites. There is yet seene, I wotte neare what, lyke blood, or rather lyke redde waxe myxte with earth. It is easie to beleeue that those men were infected with horrible vices, as testifieth the baren, drye, filthie, and vnholsome region, vtterly without water. Those people were once fedde with Manna: but when they abused the gyft of God, they were sore plagued. Departing twentie myles from these cities, about thirtie of our company perished for lacke of water, and dyuers other were ouerwhelmed with sande. Goyng somewhat further forewarde, we founde a little mountayne, at the foote whereof we founde water, and therefore made our abode there. The day folowyng early in the mornyng, came vnto vs 24 thousand Arabians, askyng money for the water which we had taken. We answered that we would paye nothing, because it was gyuen vs by the goodnesse of God. Immediately we came to hand strokes. We geathering ourselues togeather on the sayde mountayne, as in the safest place, vsed our Camelles in the steede of a bulwarke, and placed the merchauntes in the myddest of the army (that is) in the myddest of the Camelles, whyle we fought manfully on euery syde. The battayle continued so long, that water fayled both vs and our enemies in the space of two dayes. The Arabians compassed about the mountayne, crying and threatenyng that they would breake in among the Camelles: at the length to make an ende of the conflicte, our Captayne assembling the merchauntes, commanded a thousande and two hundred peeces of golde to be giuen to the Arabians: who when they had receyued the money, sayde that the summe of ten thousande peeces of golde should not satisfie them for the water which we had drawen. Whereby we perceiued that they began further to quarrell with vs, and to demaunde some other thing then money. Whereuppon our Captayne gaue commaundement, that whosoeuer in all our companie were able to beare armes, should not mount vpon the Camelles, but should with all expedition prepare themselues to fyght. The day folowyng in the morning, sendyng

Manna, turned in bitter plagues.

Lacke of water.

Water deerely bought.

So did Abraham with the Philistians.

So doeth the Turke his army.

sendyng the Camelles before, and inclosyng our army, beyng about three hundred in number, we met with the enemies, and gaue the onset. In this conflicte, we lost only a man and a woman, and had none other domage: we slue of the Arabians a thousande and fyue hundred, whereof you neede not marueyle, if you consyder that they are vnarmed, and weare only a thynne loose vesture, and are besyde almost naked: theyr horses also beyng as euyll furnished, and without saddles, or other furniture.

Of a mountayne inhabited with Iewes, and of the citie of Medinathalhabi, where Mahumet was buried. Cap. 11.

IN the space of eyght dayes we came to a mountayne which conteyneth in circuite ten or twelue myles. This is inhabited with Iewes, to the number of fyue thousande or thereabout. They are very little stature, as of the heyght of fiue or sixe spannes, and some muche lesse. They haue small voyces lyke women and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other. They feede of none other meate then Goates fleshe. They are circumcised, and deny not them selues to bee Iewes. If by chaunce any Mahumetan come into their handes, they flay him alyue. At the foot of the mountayne, we founde a certayne hole, out of the whiche flowed aboundance of water. By fyndyng this oportunitie, we laded sixtiene thousand Camels: which thyng greatly offended the Iewes. They waudred in that mountayne, scattered lyke wylde Goates or Prickettes, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred agaynst the Mahumetans. Beneath the mountaine are seene seuen or eyght thorne trees, very fayre, and in them we founde a payre of Turtle Doues, which seemed to vs in maner a miracle, hauyng before made so long iourneyes, and sawe neyther beast nor foule. Then proceedyng two dayes iourney, we came to a certayne citie named Medinathalhabi: foure myles from the said citie, we founde a well. Heere the Caruana (that is, the whole hearde of Camelles) rested. And remayning here one day, we washed our selues, and chaunged our shertes, the more freshely to enter into the citie: it is well peopled, and conteyneth about three hundred houses, the walles are lyke bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soile about the citie, is vtterly barren, except that about two myles from the citie, are seene about fyftie palme trees that beare Dates. There, by a certayne garden, runneth a course of water fallyng into a lower playne, where also passingers are accustomed to water theyr Camelles. And here opportunitie now serueth to confute the opinion of them whiche thynke that the Arke or Toombe of wicked Mahumet in Mecha, to hang in the ayre, not borne vp with any thyng. As touching which thyng, I am vtterly of an other opinion, and affirme this neyther to be true, nor to haue any lykenesse of trueth, as I presently behelde these thynges, and sawe the place where Mahumet is buried, in the said citie of Medinathalhabi: for we taryed there three dayes, to come to the true knowledge of all these thynges. When wee were desirous to enter into theyr Temple (which they call Meschita, and all other churches by the same name) we coulde not be suffered to enter, without a companion little or great. They taking vs by the hande, brought vs to the place where they saye Mahumet is buried.

Iewes Pigmei.

The citie of Medinathalhabi.

The Toombe or Sepulchre of Mahumet.

Mahumet was not buried in Mecha.

Of the Temple or Chapell, and Sepulchre of Mahumet, and of his felowes. Cap. 12.

HIs temple is vaulted, and is a hundred pases in length, and fourescore in breadth: the entry into it, is by two gates: from the sydes, it is couered with three vaultes, it is borne vp with 4 hundred columnes or pillers of white brick, there are seene hanging lampes about the number of 3 thousande. From the other part of the Temple in the first place of the Meschita, is seene a Tower of the circuite of fyue pases, vaulted on euery syde, and couered with a cloth of silke, and is borne vp with a grate of copper curiously wrought, and distant from it two pases: and of them that goe thyther, is seene as it were through a lattesse. Towarde the lefte hande, is the way to the Tower, and when you come thyther, you must enter by a narower gate. On euery side of those gates or doores, are seene many bookes in maner of a Librarie, on the syde 20, and on the other syde 25. These contayne the filthie traditions and lyfe of Mahumet and his fellowes: within the sayde gate, is seene a Sepulchre (that

Mahumets Librarie.

(that is) a digged place, where they say Mahumet is buried and his felowes, which are these, Nabi, Bubacar, Othomar, Aumar, and Fatoma: But Mahumet was theyr chiefe Captayne, and an Arabian borne. Hali was sonne in lawe to Mahumet, for he tooke to wyfe his daughter Fatoma. Bubacar is he who they say was exalted to the dignitie of a chiefe counseller and great gouernour, although he came not to the hygh degree of an apostle, or prophet, as dyd Mahumet. Othomar, and Aumar, were chiefe Captaynes of the army of Mahumet. Euery of these haue their proper bookes of theyr factes and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discorde of religion and maners among this kynde of filthie men, whyle some confirme one doctrine, and some an other, by reason of theyr dyuers sectes of Patrons, Doctours, and saintes, as they call them. By this meanes, are they marueylously diuided among them selues, and lyke beastes kyll themselues, for such quarelles of dyuers opinions, and all false. This also is the chiefe cause of warre betweene the Sophie of Persia, and the great Turke, beyng neuerthelesse both Mahumetans, and lyue in mortall hatred one agaynst the other for the mayntenaunce of theyr Sectes, Saintes and Apostles, whyle euery of them thynketh theyr owne to bee best.

Nomotheta Turcorum. This Hali our men that haue been in Persia, call Mortus Hali, that is Saint Hali.

Discorde and sectes of religion among the Mahumetans, Turkes, and Persians. Note. Such come, such chaffe.

Of the Secte of Mahumet. Cap. 13.

NOw will we speake of the maners and sect of Mahumet. Vnderstande therefore, that in the highest part of the Tower aforesayde, is an open round place. Now shall you vnderstande what craftes they vsed to deceyue our Carauana. The first cuenyng that we came thyther to see the Sepulchre of Mahumet, our Captaine sent for the chiefe priest of the Temple to come to him, and when he came, declared vnto him that the only cause of his commyng thyther, was to visite the Sepulchre and bodie of Nabi, by which woord is signified the prophet Mahumet: and that he vnderstoode that the price to be admitted to the syght of these mysteries, should be foure thousande Seraphes of golde. Also that he had no parentes, neyther brothers, sisters, kinsefolkes, chyldren, or wyues, neyther that he came thyther to buy merchaundies, as spices, or Bacca, or Nardus, or any maner of precious Iewelles: but only for very zeale of religion and saluation of his soule. and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the prophet. To whom the Priest of the Temple (they call them Side) with countenance lyke one that were distraught, made aunswere in this maner, Darest thou with those eyes with the which thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desyre to see him by whose sight God hath created heauen and earth: To whom agayne our Captayne aunswered thus, My Lorde, you haue sayde truely: neuerthelesse I pray you that I may fynde so much fauour with you, that I may see the Prophet: whom when I haue seene, I will immediately thrust out myne eyes. The Side aunswered, O Prince, I will open all thynges vnto thee. So it is that no man can denye but that our Prophet dyed heere, who if he would myght haue dyed at Mecha: But to shewe in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to gyue vs example to folowe him, was wyllyng rather heere then elsewhere to departe out of this worlde, and was incontinent of Angelles borne into heauen, and there receyued as equall with them. Then our Captayne sayde to him, Where is Iesus Christus, the sonne of Marie: To whom the Side answered, at the feete of Mahumet. Then sayde our Captayne agayne: It suffyceth, it suffyceth, I will knowe no more. After this, our Captayne commyng out of the Temple, and turnyng him to vs, sayd, see (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would haue payde three thousande Seraphes of golde: The same daye at euenyng, at almost three a clocke of the nyght, ten or twelue of the Elders of the secte of Mahumet entred into our Carauana, whiche remayned not paste a stone cast from the gate of the citie. These ranne hyther and thyther, crying lyke madde men, with these wordes, Mahumet the messenger and Apostle of God, shall ryse agayne, O Prophet, O God, Mahumet shall ryse agayne, haue mercy on vs God. Our Captayne and we all raysed with this crye, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspectyng that the Arabians were come to robbe our Carauana; We asked what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? For they cryed as doe the Christians, when sodeynly any marueylous thyng chaunceth. The Elders answered, Sawe you not the lyghtning whiche shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet.

Nabi is the name of Mahumet. A great price for vile marchandies.

Such people, suche Priest.

My lorde Bishop of Mecha.

It seemeth that they know not where he was buryed. The deuyll he was.

Christe at the feete of Mahumet.

Mahumet shal ryse etc. with lods.

False miracles to confirme false religion.

Our

Our Captayne answered, that he sawe nothyng, and we also beyng demaunded, answered in lyke maner. Then sayde one of the old men, are you slaues? that is to say bought men: meanyng thereby Mamalukes. Then sayde our Captayne, We are in deede Mamalukes. Then agayne the olde man sayde, You my Lordes, cannot see heauenly thinges, as being Neophiti (that is) newly come to the fayth, and not yet confirmed in our religion. To this our Captayne answered agayne, O you madde and insensate beastes, I had thought to haue giuen you three thousande peeces of golde, but now, O you dogges and progenie of dogges, I will gyue you nothyng. It is therefore to bee vnderstoode, that none other shynyng came out of the Sepulchre, then a certayne flame which the priests caused to come out of the open place of the Towre spoken of here before, whereby they would haue deceyued vs. And therfore our Captaine commaunded that thereafter none of vs should enter into the Temple. Of this also we haue most true experience, and most certaynely assure you that there is neyther Iron or steele, or the Magnes stone that should so make the toombe of Mahumet to hange in the ayre, as some haue falsely imagined: neyther is there any mountayne nearer then foure myles: we remayned here three dayes to refreshe our company. To this citie victualles and all kynde of corne is brought from Arabia Fœlix, and Babylon or Alcayr, and also from Ethiope, by the redde sea, whiche is from this citie but foure dayes iourney.

Neophiti. Sic ne respondes Pontifici?

The fable that Mahomets Toombe hangeth in the Ayre.

The iourney to Mecha. Cap. 14.

AFter that we were satisfied, or rather wearyed, with the filthinesse and lothesomenesse of the trumperyes, deceites, trifles, and hypocrises of the religion of Mahumet, we determined to goe forward on our iourney: And that by guyding of a pylot, who myght directe our course with the mariners boxe or compasse, with also the carde of the sea, euen as is vsed in sayling on the sea. And thus bendyng our iourney to the West we founde a very fayre well or fountayne, from the which flowed great aboundance of water. The inhabitantes affyrme that Sainct Marke the Euangelist was the auchour of this fountayne, by a miracle of God, when that region was in maner burned with incredible dynesse. Here we and our beastes were satisfied with drynke. I may not here omit to speake of the sea of sande, and of the daungers thereof. This was founde of vs before we came to the mountayne of the Iewes. In this sea of sand we trauciled the iourney of three dayes and nightes: this is a great brode plaine, all couered with white sande, in maner as small as floure: If by euil fortune it so chaunce that any trauaile that way southward, if in the meane time the wind come to the North, they are ouerwhelmed with sande. And although they shoulde haue prosperous wynde, yet are they so inuolued with sande, that they scatter out of the way, and can scarsely see the one the other 10 pases of. And therefore the inhabitants trauayling this way, are inclosed in cages of woodde, borne with Camels, and lyue in them, so passyng the iorney guided by pilots with maryners compasse and card, euen as on the sea, as we haue sayde. In this iorney also many perysshe for thirst, and many for drynkyng to muche, when they finde suche good waters. In these sandes is founde Momia, which is the fleshe of such men as are drowned in these sandes, and there dryed by the heate of the Sunne: So that those bodyes are preserued from putrifaction by the drynesse of the Sand: and therefore that drye fleshe is esteemed medicinable. Albeit there is an other kynde of more pretious Momia, which is the dryed and embalmed bodies of kynges and princes, whiche of long tyme haue been preserued drye without corruption. When the wynde bloweth from the northeast, then the sand riseth, and is driuen against a certaine mountayne which is an arme of the mount Sinai. There we found certayne pyllers artificially wrought, whiche they call Ianuan. On the lefte hande of the sayde mountayne, in the toppe or rydge thereof, is a denne, and the entrie into it, is by an Iron gate. Some fayne that in that place Mahumet lyued in contemplation. Here we heard a certayne horrible noyse and crye: for passyng the sayde mountayne, we were in so great daunger, that we thought neuer to haue escaped. Departyng therefore from the fountayne, we continued our iorney for the space of 10 dayes: And twyse in the way fought with fyftie thousande Arabians, and so at the length came to the citie of Mecha, where al thinges were troubled

Iourney on the lande by carde and compasse as on the sea.

The fountaine of Sainct Marke the Euangelist.

The sea of sande.

Momia.

Momia of Kynges bodies embalmed.

Mount Sinai.

The den where Mahumet lyued in contemplation.

Mecha the kingdome of Mecha.

troubled by reason of the warres betweene two brethren, contendyng whiche of them shoulde possesse the kyngedome of Mecha.

Of the fourme and situation of the citie of Mecha: and why the Mahumetans resort thyther. Cap. 15.

Mecha, whiche Abraham Ortelius calleth Mecca.

NOwe the tyme requireth to speake somewhat of the famous citie of Mecha, or Mecca, what it is, howe it is situate, and by whom it is gouerned. The citie is very fayre and well inhabited, and contayneth in rounde fourme syxe thousande houses, as well buylded as ours, and some that cost three or foure thousande peeces of golde: it hath no walles. About two furlongs from the citie is a mount, where the way is cutte out, whiche leadeth to a playne beneath. It is on euery syde fortified with mountains, in the stead of walles or bulwarks, and hath foure entries. The gouernour is a Soltan, and one of the foure brethren of the progenie of Mahumet, and is subiect to the Soltan of Babylon of whom we haue spoken before: His other three brethren be at continuall warre with hym. The 18 daye of Maye, we entred into the citie by the north syde: then by a declynyng way, we came into a playne. On the south syde are two mountaynes, the one very neere the other, distant onely by a little valley, which is the way that leadeth to the gate of Mecha. On the east syde, is an open place betweene two mountaynes, lyke vnto a valley, and is the waye to the mountayne where they sacrifice to the Patriarkes Abraham and Isaac. This mountayne is from the citie about 10 or 12 myles, and of the heyght of three stones cast: it is of stone as harde as marble, yet no marble. In the toppe of the mountaine, is a Temple or Meschita, made after their fashion, and hath three wayes to enter into it. At the foote of the mountayne are two cesterns, which conserue waters without corruption: of these, the one is reserued to minister water to the Camels of the Caruaana of Babylon or Alcayr, and the other, for them of Damasco. It is rayne water, and is deriued far of.

The Soltan of Mecha.

Sacrifice to Abraham and Isaac.

But to returne to speake of the citie: for as touchyng the maner of sacrifice which they vse at the foote of the mountayne, wee wyll speake hereafter. Entryng therefore into the citie, wee founde there the Caruaana of Memphis, or Babylon, which prevented vs eyght dayes, and came not the waye that wee came. This Caruaana conteyned threescore and foure thousande Camelles, and a hundred Mamalukes to guyde them. And here ought you to consyder, that by the opinion of all men, this citie is greatly cursed of God, as appereth by the great barrennesse thereof, for it is destitute of all maner of fruites and corne. It is scorched with drynesse for lacke of water, and therefore the water is there growen to suche pryce, that you can not for twelue pence buye as much water as wyll satysfie your thyrst for one day. Nowe therefore I wyll declare what prouision they haue for victuales. The most part is brought them from the citie of Babylon, otherwyse named *Memphis*, Cayrus, or Alcayr, a citie of the ryuer of *Nilus in Egypt*, as we haue sayde before, and is brought by the red sea (called Mare Erythreum) from a certayne port named Gida, distaunt from Mecha fourtie myles. The rest of theyr prouisions, is brought from Arabia Fœlix (that is) the happye or blessed Arabia: so named for the fruitfulnesse thereof, in respect of the other two Arabiaes, called Petrea and Diserta, that is, stonye and desart. They haue also muche corne from Ethyopia. Here we found a marueylous number of straungers and peregrynes, or Pylgryms: Of the whiche, some came from Syria, some from Persia, and other from both the East Indiaes, (that is to say) both India within the ryuer of Ganges, and also the other India without the same ryuer. I neuer sawe in anye place greater abundaunce and frequentation of people, forasmuche as I could perceyue by tarrying there the space of 20 dayes. These people resort thyther for diuers causes, as some for merchandies, some to obserue theyr vowe of Pylgrymage, and other to haue pardon for theyr sinnes: as touchyng the whiche we wyll speake more hereafter.

Mecha cursed of God.

Water very deare.

The ryuer Nilus.

The red Sea.

Arabia Fœlix.

Many pilgrymes and straungers at Mecha.

Why so many nations resort to Mecha.

Of the merchandies of Mecha. Cap. 16.

FRom India the greater, which is both within and without the ryuer of Ganges, they haue pearles, precious stones, and plentie of spyces: and especially from that citie of the greater India,

India, which is named Bangella, they haue much gossampyne cloth and silke. They haue also spyces from Ethiopia: and therefore we must needes confesse that this citie is a famous mart of many ryche thynges, whereof there is great plentie.

Of the Pardons or Indulgences of Mecha. Cap. 17.

LEt vs now returne to speake of the pardons of pilgryms, for the which so many strange nations resort thither. In the myddest of the citie, is a Temple, in fashyon lyke vnto the Colossus of Rome, the Amphitheatrum, I meane, lyke vnto a stage, yet not of marbled or hewed stones, but of burnt bryckes: for this temple, lyke vnto an Amphitheater, hath foure-score and ten, or an hundred gates, and is vaulted. The entrance, is by a diuscent of twelue stayers or degrees on euery part: in the church porche, are solde only iewels and precious stones. In the entry the gylted walles shyne on euery syde with incomparable splendour. In the lower part of the temple (that is vnder the vaulted places) is seene a marueylous multitude of men: for there are fyue or sixe thousande men that sell none other thyng then sweete oyntmentes, and especially a certayne odoriferous and most sweete pouder, wherewith dead bodyes are embalmed. And from hence, all maner of sweete sauours are carried in maner into the countreys of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all beleefe to thynke of the exceedyng sweetnesse of these sauours, farre surmounting the shoppes of the Apothecaries. The 23 daye of Maye the pardones began to be graunted in the Temple, and in what maner we wyll nowe declare. The Temple in the myddest is open without any inclosyng, and in the myddest also thereof, is a Turret, of the largnesse of syxe passes in cercuitie, and inuolued or hanged with cloth or tapestry of sylke, and passeth not the heyght of a man. They enter into the Turret by a gate of sylver, and is on euery syde besette with vesselles full of balme. On the day of Pentecost, licence is graunted to al men to se these thynges. The inhabitantes affyrme, that balme or balsame, to be part of the treasure of the Soltan that is Lorde of Mecha. At euery vaulte of the Turret, is fastened a rounde circle of Iron, lyke to the ryng of a doore. The 22 day of Maye, a great multitude of people beganne earely in the mornyng before day, seuen tymes to walke about the Turret, kyssing euery corner thereof, oftentymes feelyng and handelyng them. From this Turret, about tenne or twelue pases, is an other Turret, like a Chappell buylded after our maner. This hath three or foure entryes: in the myddest thereof is a well of threescore and tenne cubites deepe: the water of this well is infected with salt Peter or saltniter. Eyght men are therevnto appoynted to drawe water for all the people: and when a multitude of people haue seuen tymes gone rounde about the first Turret, they come to this well: and touchyng the mouth or brym thereof, they saye thus, Be it in the honour of God, God pardon me, and forgeue me my synnes. When these woordes are sayde, they that drawe the water, powre three buckettes of water on the headdes of euery one of them that stand neere about the well, and washe them all wette from the headde to the foote, although they be apparelled with sylke. Then the dotyng fooles dreame that they are cleane from all theyr synnes, and that theyr synnes are forgeuen them. They saye furthermore, that the fyrst Turret, whereof we haue spoken, was the fyrst house that euer Abraham buylded: and therefore, whyle they are yet all wette of the sayd washyng, they go to the mountayne, where (as we haue sayde before) they are accustomed to sacrifice to Abraham. And remaining there two daies, they make the said sacrifice to Abraham at the foote of the mountayne.

The Temple of Mecha.

A Turret in the Temple of Mecha.

A gate of siluer.

Balsame or balme.

A Chappell with a well in it, in the Temple.

A straunge baptisme for remission of synnes.

Good meaning sufficeth not.

The house of Abraham.

Sacrifice to Abraham.

The maner of sacrificing at Mecha. Cap. 18.

FOrasmuche as for the most parte, noble spirites are delyted with nouelties of great and straunge thynges, therefore to satisfie their expectation, I wyll describe theyr maner of sacrifycing. Therefore, when they intend to sacrifice, some of them kyl three sheepe, some foure, and some tenne: So that the butcherie sometyme so floweth with blood, that in one sacrifice are slayne aboue three thousande sheepe. They are slayne at the rysyng of the Sunne, and shortly after are distributed to the poore for Gods sake: for I sawe there a great and confounded multitude of poore people, as to the number of 20 thousande. These make

Sacrifice of sheepe.

many and long dyches in the feeldes, where they keepe fyre with Camels doong, and rost or seeth the fleshe that is geuen them, and eate it euen there. I beleue that these poore people come thither rather for hunger then for deuotion, which I thinke by this coniectur, that great abundance of cucumbers are brought thyther from Arabia Fœlix, whiche they eate, castyng away the parynges without their houses or tabernacles, where a multitude of the sayde poore people geather them euen out of the myre and sande, and eate them, and are so greedie of these parynges, that they fyght who may geather most. The daye folowing, their Cadi (which are in place with them as with vs the preachers of Gods worde) ascended into a hygh mountayne, to preache to the people that remayned beneath: and preached to them in theyr language the space of an houre. The summe of the sermon was, that with teares they shoulde bewayle theyr sinnes, and beate their brestes, with sighes and lamentation. And the preacher hym selfe with loude voyce, spake these woordes, O Abraham beloued of God, O Isaac chosen of God, and his frend, praye to God for the people of Nabi. When these woordes were sayde, sodenly were heard lamenting voyces. When the sermon was done, a rumer was spredde that a great armye of Arabians, to the number of twentie thousande, were commyng. With whiche newes, they that kept the Caruanas beyng greatly feared, with all speede, lyke madde men, fledde into the citie of Mecha, and we agayne bearyng newes of the Arabians approche, fledde also into the citie. But whyle wee were in the mydwaye betweene the mountayne and Mecha, we came by a despicable wal, of the breadth of foure cubites: The people passyng by this wall, had couered the waye with stones, the cause whereof, they saye to be this: When Abraham was commaunded to sacrifice his sonne, he wylled his sonne Isaac to folowe hym to the place where he should execute the commaundement of God. As Isaac went to folow his father, there appeared to hym in the way a Deuyl, in lykenesse of a fayre and freendly person, not farre from the sayde wall, and asked hym freendlye whyther he went. Isaac answered that he went to his father who tarryed for hym. To this the enimie of mankynde answered, that it was best for hym to tarrye, and yf that he went anye further, his father would sacrifice him. But Isaac nothyng feareyng this aduertisement of the Deuyl, went foreward, that his father on hym myght execute the commaundement of God: and with this answere (as they saye) the Deuyll departed. Yet as Isaac went forwarde, the Diuell appeared to hym agayne in the lykenesse of an other frendlye person, and forbade hym as before. Then Isaac takyng vp a stone in that place, hurlde it at the Deuyl, and wounded hym in the forehead: In witnesse and remembraunce whereof, the people passyng that waye, when they come neare the wall, are accustomed to cast stones agaynst it, and from thence go into the citie. As we went this way, the ayre was in maner darkened with a multitude of stocke Doues. They saye that these Doues, are of the progenie of the Doue that spake in the eare of Mahumet, in lykenesse of the Holye Ghost. These are seene euery where, as in the villages, houses, tauernes, and graniers of corne and ryse, and are so tame, that one can scharsely dryue them a way. Too take them or kyll them, is esteemed a thyng worthy death: and therfore a certayne pensyon is geuen to nourysshe them in the Temple.

Religion for Pouertie.

Cadi, a preacher.

A godly sermon.

Soldiers trouble the word of God.

Where Abraham sacrificed his sonne Isaac.

The Diuell appeareth to Isaac.

Isaac wounded the Deuyll in the forehead.

Stock Doues of the progenie of the Doue whiche spake in Mahumets eare.

Of the Vnicorns of the temple of Mecha, whiche are not seene in any other place. Cap. 19.

ON the other part of the Temple are parkes or places inclosed, where are seene two Vnicorns, named of the Greekes Monocerotæ, and are there shewed to the people for a myracle, and not without good reason, for the seldomenesse and strange nature. The one of them, which is much hygher then the other, yet not much vnlyke to a coolte of thyrtye moneths of age, in the forehead groweth only one horne, in maner ryght foorth, of the length of three cubites. The other is much younger, of the age of one yeere, and lyke a young coolte: the horne of this, is of the length of foure handfuls. This beast is of the coloure of a horse of weesell coloure, and hath the head lyke an hart, but no long necke, a thynne mane hangyng onlye on the one syde: theyr legges are thyn and slender, lyke a fawne or hynde: the hoofes of the fore feete are diuided in two, much like the feet of a Goat, the outwarde part

Monocerotæ.

The Vnicornes.

The Vnicorns horse.

of

of the hynder feete is very full of heare. This beast doubtlesse seemeth wylde and fierce, yet tempereth that fiercenesse with a certain comelinesse. These Vnicornes one gaue to the Soltan of Mecha, as a most precious and rare gyfte. They were sent hym out of Ethiope by a kyng of that countrey, who desired by that present to gratifie the Soltan of Mecha.

Of diuers thynges which chaunced to me in Mecha: And of Zida, a port of Mecha. Cap. 20.

IT may seeme good here to make mention of certayne thynges, in the which is seene sharpenesse of witte in case of vrgent necessitie, which hath no lawe, as sayeth the prouerbe: for I was dryuen to the poynt howe I myght priuely escape from Mecha. Therefore whereas my Captayne gaue me charge to buy certaine thyngs, as I was in the market place, a certayne Mamaluke knewe me to be a Christian. And therefore in his owne language, spake vnto me these woordes, Inte mename: That is, whence art thou? To whom I answered that I was a Mahumetan. But he sayde, Thou sayest not truely. I sayde agayne, By the head of Mahumet, I am a Mahumetan. Then he sayde agayne, Come home to my house, I folowed him willingly. When we were there, he began to speake to me in the Italian tongue, and asked me agayne from whence I was, affyrmyng that he knewe me, and that I was no Mahumetan: also that he had been sometyme in Genua and Venice. And that his woordes myght be the better beleeued, rehearsed many thinges whiche testified that he sayde trueth. When I vnderstoode this, I confessed freely that I was a Romane, but professed to the fayth of Mahumet in the citie of Babylon, and there made one of the Mamalukes. Whereof he seemed greatly to reioyce, and therefore vsed me honourably. But because my desyre was yet to goe further, I asked the Mahumetan whether that citie of Mecha was so famous as all the world spake of it: and inquired of him where was the great aboundaunce of pearles, precious stones, spices, and other rich merchandies that the bruite went of to be in that citie. And all my talke was to the ende to grope the mynde of the Mahumetan, that I might know the cause why such thinges were not brought thyther as in tyme paste. But to auoyde all suspition, I durst here make no mention of the dominion which the Kyng of Portugale had in the most parte of that Ocean, and of the gulfes of the redde sea and Persia. Then he began with more attentyue mynde, in order to declare vnto me the cause why that marte was not so greatly frequented as it had been before, and layde the only faulte thereof in the Kyng of Portugale. But when he had made mention of the Kyng, I began of purpose to detracte his fame, least the Mahumetan might thinke that I reioyced that the Christians came thyther for merchandies. When he perceyued that I was of profession an enemy to the Christians, he had me yet in greater estimation, and proceeded to tell me many thynges more. When I was well instructed in all thinges, I spake vnto him friendly these woordes in the Mahumets language, Menaba Menalhabi: That is to say, I pray you assist mee. He asked me wherein. To helpe me (sayde I) howe I may secretly departe hence. Confirmyng by great othes, that I would goe to those Kinges that were most enemies to the Christians: Affirmyng furthermore, that I knewe certayne secretes greatly to be esteemed, which if they were knowen to the sayde Kynges, I doubted not but that in shorte tyme I shoulde bee sent for from Mecha. Astonyshed at these woordes, he sayde vnto mee, I pray you what arte or secrete doe you know? I answered, that I would giue place to no man in makyng of all maner of Gunnes and artillerie. Then sayde hee, praysed be Mahumet who sent thee hyther, to do him and his Saintes good seruice: and willed me to remayne secretly in his house with his wyfe, and requyred me earnestly to obtayne leaue of our Captayne, that vnder his name he myght leade from Mecha fiftiene Camelles laden with spices, without paying any custome: for they ordinarily paye to the Soltan thirtie Saraphes of golde, for transportyng of such merchandies for the charge of so many Camelles. I put him in good hope of his request, he greatly reioyced, although he would aske for a hundred, affirmyng that myght easily be obteyned by the priuileges of the Mamalukes, and therefore desired him that I myght safely remayne in his house. Then nothyng doubtyng to obtayne his request, he greatly reioyced, and talkyng with me yet more

The dominion of the Kyng of Portugale in the East partes.

Hipocrisie.

Paying of custome to the Soltan.

The realme of Decham in India.

more freely, gaue me further instructions, and counsayled me to repayre to a certayne Kyng of the greater India, in the kyngdome and realme of Decham, whereof we will speake hereafter. Therfore the day before the Carauana departed from Mecha, he willed me to lye hydde in the most secrete parte of his house. The day folowyng, early in the mornyng, the trumpetter of the Carauana gaue warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their horses, to directe their iourney toward Syria, with proclamation of death to all that shoulde refuse so to doe. When I hearde the sounde of the Trumpet, and was aduertised of the streight commaundement, I was marueylously troubled in mynde, and with heauy countenaunce desired the Mahumetans wife not to bewraye me, and with earnest prayer committed myselfe to the mercie of God. On the Tuesday folowyng, our Carauana departed from Mecha, and I remayned in the Mahumetans house with his wyfe, but he folowed the Carauana. Yet before he departed, he gaue commaundement to his wyfe to bryng me to the Carauana, which should departe from Zida the porte of Mecha to goe into India. This porte is distant from Mecha 40 miles. Whilest I laye thus hyd in the Mahumetans house, I can not expresse how friendly his wife vsed me. This also furthered my good interteynement, that there was in the house a fayre young mayde, the Niese of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in loue with me. But at that tyme, in the myddest of those troubles and feare, the fyre of Venus was almost extincte in mee: and therefore with daliaunce of fayre woordes and promises, I styll kepte my selfe in her fauour. Therefore the Fryday folowyng, about noone tyde I departed, folowyng the Carauana of India. And about mydnyght we came to a certayne village of the Arabians, and there remayned the rest of that nyght, and the next day tyll noone.

Affliction encreseth leachery.

The citie of Zida.

From hence we went forwarde on our iourney toward Zida, and came thyther in the silence of the nyght. This citie hath no walles, yet fayre houses, somewhat after the buyldyng of Italie: Heere is great aboundaunce of all kynde of merchandies, by reason of resorte in maner of all nations thyther, excepte Iewes and Christians, to whom it is not lawfull to come thyther. Assoone as I entered into the citie, I went to their Temple or Meschita, where I sawe a great multitude of poore people, as about the number of 25 thousande, attendyng a certayne Pilot who should bryng them into their countrey. Heere I suffered muche trouble and affliction, beyng enforced to hyde my selfe among these poore folkes, faynyng my selfe very sicke, to the ende that none should be inquisityue what I was, whence I came, or whyther I would. The Lord of this citie is the Soltan of Babylon, brother to the Soltan of Mecha, who is his subiecte. The inhabitauntes are Mahumetans. The soyle is vnfruitfull, and lacketh freshe water. The sea beateth agaynst the towne. There is neuerthelesse aboundance of all thinges: but brought thyther from other places, as from Babylon of Nilus, Arabia Fœlix, and dyuers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in maner dryed vp therewith. And therefore there is euer a great number of sicke folkes. The citie conteyneth about fyue hundred houses.

Poore Pilgryms that came from Mecha.

From Arabia to Persia.

After fyftiene dayes were past, I couenaunted with a pilot, who was ready to departe from thence into Persia, and agreed of the price, to goe with him. There lay at Anker in the hauen almost a hundred Brigantines and foistes, with diners boates and barkes of sundry sortes, both with Ores and without Ores. Therefore after three dayes, gyuyng wynde to our sayles, we entred into the redde sea, otherwise named Mare Erythræum.

The red sea.

Of the red sea, and why it can not be sayled in the nyght. Cap. 21.

IT is well knowen to wyse men that this sea is not red, as some haue imagined, but is of the colour of other seas. We continued therefore our vyage vntyll the goyng downe of the Sunne: for this sea, is nauigable only in the day tyme: And therefore in the nightes, the maryners rest them, vntyll they come to the Ilande named Chameran, from whence they proceede forwarde more safely. Why this can not be sayled in the nyght, they say the cause to be, that there are many daungerous sandes, rockes, and shelues: and therefore that it is needefull of diligent and long prospecte, from the toppe Castell of the shyppe, to foresee the dangerous places.

The

The seconde booke entreating of Arabia Fœlix. That is, the happie or blessed Arabia.

Of the citie of Gezan, and the fruitfulnesse thereof. Cap. 1.

FOrasmuche as hytherto wee haue spoken somewhat of the maners of the people and cities of Arabia Fœlix, it may nowe seeme conuenient to finishe the rest of our vyage with such thinges as we haue seene in the sayde countrey of Arabia. Therefore after sixe saylyng, we came to a citie named Gezan. It hath a commodious porte, and very fayre, where we found about fourtie and fyue Brigantines and foistes of dyuers regions. The citie is harde by the sea syde, and the Prince thereof, is a Mahumetan. The soile is fruitful, lyke vnto Italie: It beareth Pomegranates, Quinses, Peaches, Apples of Assyria, Pepons, Melons, Oranges, Gourdes, and dyuers other fruites: Also Roses, and sundry sortes of floures, the fayrest that euer I sawe: It seemeth an earthly Paradyse. The moste parte of the inhabitauntes go naked. In other thinges, they lyue after the maner of the Mahumetans. There is also great abundance of fleshe, wheate, barley, the grayne of whyte Millet or Hirse (whiche they call Dora) whereof they make very sweete bread. The citie of Gezan.

Of certayne people named Banduin. Cap. 2.

DEpartyng from the citie of Gezan, the space of 5 dayes, sayling towarde the left hande, hauyng euer the coast of the lande in sight, we came to the sight of certayne houses, where about 14 of vs went alande, hopyng to haue had some victuals of the inhabitants. But we lost our labour, for in the steede of victuals, they cast stones at vs with slinges. They were about a hundred that fought with our men for the space of an houre. Of them were slayne 24. The rest were dryuen to flyght, they were naked, and had none other weapons then slynges. After theyr flyght, we brought away with vs certayne hens and Calues very good. Shortly after a great multitude of the inhabitauntes shewed them selues to the number of fyue or syxe hundred: but we departed with our praye, and returned to the shyppes.

Of an Ilande of the red sea, named Cameran. Cap. 3.

THe same day sayling forwarde, we came to an Iland named Cameran, which conteyneth ten myles in circuite. In it is a towne of two hundred houses, the inhabitantes are Mahumetans: it hath aboundaunce of freshe water and fleshe, and the fayrest salte that euer I sawe. The porte is eight myles from the continent, it is subiecte to the Soltan of Amanian of Arabia Fœlix. After we had remayned here two dayes, we tooke our way towarde the mouth of the red sea in the space of two dayes saylyng: This sea may here be sayled both day and nyght, for (as we haue sayde before) from this Ilande vnto the porte of Zida, the red sea is not safely nauigable by nyght. When we came to the mouth of the sea, we seemed to be in maner inclosed, for that the mouth of the sea is there very streyght, and no more then three myles ouer. Towarde the right hande, the continent lande is seene of the heyght of ten pases: the soile seemeth rude and not cultured. At the lefte hande of the sayde mouth, ryseth a very hygh hyll of stone. In the myddest of the mouth, is a little Ilande vnhabited, named Bebmendo, and is towarde the lefte hande to them that sayle to Zeila: But they that goe to Aden, must keepe the way to the lefte hande. All this way, we had euer the lande in our sight, from Bebmendo to Aden, in the space of two dayes and a halfe.

Of the citie of Aden, and of their maners and customes towarde straungers. Cap. 4.

I Doe not remember that I haue seene any citie better fortified then this: It standeth on a soyle not much vnequall, it is walled on two sydes: The reste is inclosed with mountaynes, hauyng on them fyue fortresses. The citie conteyneth sixe thousande houses. Theyr exercise of byying and selling, begynneth the seconde houre of the nyght, by reason of extreeme heate in the day tyme. A stone cast from the citie, is a mountayne hauyng on it a fortresse. Of the citie of Aden booke. Cap. 13. Byyng and selling by nyght.

The

The shyppes lye neare the foote of the mountayne: it is certaynelye a very goodly citie, and the fayrest of all the cities of Arabia Fœlix. To this as to the chiefe marte, the merchauntes of India, Ethiopia, and Persia, haue recourse by sea, and they also that resorte to Mecha. Assoone as our Brigantines came into the hauen, immediately the customers and searchers came aborde, demaundyng what we were, from whence we came, what merchaundies we brought, and howe many men were in euery Brigantine.

Beyng aduertised of these thinges, immediately they tooke away our maste, sayles, and other tackelynges of our shyppes, that we should not departe without paying of custome. The day after our arryuyng there, the Mahumetans tooke mee and put shackles on my legges, which came by occasion of a certayne Idolatour who cryed after mee, saying O Christian Dogge, borne of Dogges. When the Mahumetans hearde the name of a Christian, incontinent they layde handes on mee, and brought mee to the Lieuetenant of the Soltan, of that place, who assemblyng his counsayle, asked their opinion if I should bee put to death as a spye of the Christians.

The Auctheur taken and put in prison.

Picade the Moocke writeth that Christians are founde in all regions sauing in Arabia and Egypt, where they are most hated.

The Soltan himselfe was out of the citie, and therefore his Lieutenaunt who had yet neuer adiudged any man to death, thought it not good to gyue sentence agaynst mee, before the Soltan should be aduertised hereof. And therefore I escaped this present daunger, and remayned in custodie fiftie and fyue dayes, with an Iron of eightiene pounde weyght hangyng at my feete. The seconde day after I was taken, many Mahumetans in great rage resorted to him, whose office was to make inquisition of treason. These a few dayes before, by swymmyng hardly escaped the handes of the Portugales, with the losse of theyr foistes and Barkes, and therefore desired greatly to bee reuenged of the Christians: affyrmyng with outragious crye, that I was a spye of the Portugales. But God fayled not to assyst me: for the master of the prison perceyuing the outrage of the Mahumetans, and fearyng that they would offer me violence, made fast the gates of the prison. After that fyue and fiftie dayes were paste, the Soltan commaunded that I should be brought before him: and so, set vppon a Camel with my shackles, I came in eight dayes iourney to the place where the Soltan laye and was brought to his presence in a citie named Rhada: for there the Soltan had assembled an army of thirtie thousande men, to make warre agaynst the Soltan of the citie of Sana, whiche is three dayes iourney from Rhada, and situate partly on the declining of a hyll, and partly in a playne, very faire to be seene, well peopled, and hauyng plentie of all thinges. When I came before the Soltan, he began to aske me what I was, I answered that I was a Roman, profesced a Mamaluke in Babylon of Alcayr, and that of religious mynd to discharge my conscience of a vowe whiche I had made to see the bodie of Nabi the holy Prophet, I came to the citie of Medinathalhabi, where they say he is buried: and that in all cities and countreys by the way, I hearde honourable reporte of his greatnesse, wisedome, and singuler vertue, and therefore ceassed not untyll I entred his dominions, moste desirous to see his face, yeldyng thankes to God, and *Nabi, that* it was nowe my chaunce to be presented before him: trustyng that the equitie of his wisedome, would thereby consyder that I was no spye of the Christians, but a true Mahumetan, and his seruant and slaue. Then sayde the Soltan, saye Leila illala Mahumet reuliala: which wordes I couldne neuer well pronounce, eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience I durst not. Therefore when he sawe mee holde my peace, he commytted me agayne to pryson, commaundyng that I shoulde be straightly looked vnto, where 16 men of the citie were appoynted, euery day foure, to watche me by course. So that for the space of thre monethes, I had not ỹ fruition of heauen, during which miserable time, my diet was euery day a lofe of myllet, so litle that seuen of them woulde not haue satisfyed my hunger for one daye: But if I myght haue had my fyll of water, I woulde haue thought my selfe happie. Within three dayes after the Soltan marched with his army of thyrtie thousande footemen (as we haue sayde) and three thousande horsemen, to beseege the citie of Sana. These horsemen borne of Christian parentes, and blacke like the Ethiopians, and whyle they were yet very young, were brought in the kyngdome of Prester Iohn, named in Latine Presbyter Iohannes, or rather Preciosus Iohannes. These Christian Ethiopians, are also named Abyssini. They are brought vp in discipline

The woordes of them that professe the religion of Mahumet.

Soldiers horsemen of Christian Ethiopians of the dominion of Prester Iohannes. Abyssini, vnder Prester Iohn.

discipline of warre, as are the Mamalukes and Ienetzares of the Turkes. This Soltan hath them in great estimation, for they are the garde of his owne person, and therefore haue greater wages, and in number fourescore thousande. They couer their bodie with a sindon, like vnto a cloke or cape, putting out onely one arme, and are besyde naked without any other apparell. In the warres they vse rounde targettes, made of buffles hydes, with certayne litle barres of Iron to strengthen them. These targets are paynted very fayre with sundrye colours, and very commodious to resyste dartes, and are in largenesse as muche as the mouth of a barell: the handle is made of woodde, as bygge as they may well holde in theyr handes, and shorte brode swordes. At other tymes, they vse also vestures of lynnen cloth of sundry coloures. Also of gossampine or Xylon, otherwyse also named Bombasine. In the warres, euery man beareth with hym a slyng, which he casteth fyrst shakyng it often about his head. When they come to 40 or 50 yeeres of age, they make them hornes, by wreathyng & heare of their heds, so bearyng two hornes lyke young Gotes. When they procede to the warres, fiue thousande Camels folowe the army, all laden with ropes of bombasine.

A gard of foure score thousand Mucke men.

Targettes.

Slynges.

How the women of Arabia, are greatly in loue with whyte men. Cap. 5.

AFter the army was departed, I was incontinent commytted to pryson, as I haue sayde. Harde by the prysone was a long entrie in maner of a cloyster, where somtyme we were permitted to walke. Ye shall further vnderstande, that in the Soltans place remayned one of his three wyues, with twelue young maydes to wayte vppon her, very faire and comely, after theyr maner, and of coloure inclynyng to blacke. The fauoure that they bore me, helped me very much, for I with two other, beyng in the same pryson, agreed that one of vs should counterfytte him selfe to be mad, that by this deuice, one of vs myght helpe an other. In fine it was my lotte to take vppon me the mad mans part, and therefore stoode me in hande to do suche follies as pertayne to madnesse. Also the opinion whiche they haue of mad folkes, made greatly for my purpose: for they take mad men to be holy, and therefore suffered me to run more at large, vntyll the Eremites had geuen iudgement whether I weare holy, or ragyng mad, as appeareth heareafter. But the fyrst three dayes in which I began to shew my madnesse, weryed me so muche, that I was neuer so tyred with laboure or greeued with payne, for the boyes and rascall people sometyme to the number of 40 or 50 hurled stones at me almost without ceassing, while in the meane tyme againe I paid some of them home with lyke wages. The boyes cryed euer after me, callyng me mad man. And to shewe it the more, I caryed alwayes stones with me in my shyrt, for other apparel had I none. The queene hearyng of my follies looked oftentymes out of the wyndowes to see me, more for a secrete loue she bore me, then for the pleasure she tooke in my follyes, as afterwarde appeared.

Counterfet madnesse.

Therefore on a tyme, when some of them, muche madder then I, played the knaues with me in the syght of the queene (whose secrete fauour towardes me I somewhat perceyued) that my maddenesse myght seeme more manifest, I cast of my shyrt, and went to the place before the wyndowes, where the queene myght see me all naked: wherein I perceyued she tooke great pleasure, for she euer founde some occasion that I myght not goe out of her syght: and would sometymes, with all her damoselles wayting on her, spende almost the whole daye in beholdyng me: and in the meane season diuers tymes sent me secretly muche good meate by her maydens, and when she saw the boyes or other doe me any hurt, she badde me kyll them, and spare not, reuyling them also, and callyng them dogges and beastes. In the pallace was nouryshed a great fatt sheepe: for there are some of such exceedyng bygnesse, that only the tayle wayeth 11 or 12 pounde weyght. Vnder the coloure of madnesse, I layd hand on this sheepe, saying, Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which wordes the Soltan before, when I was brought to his presence, wyllyd me to say, to prooue whether I were a Mahumetan or a professed Mamaluke. But the beast answeryng nothyng, I asked hym yf he were a Mahumetan, Iewe, or Christian. And wyllyng to make hym a Mahumetan, I rehearsed agayne the sayde woordes, Leila illala Mahumet resullala, (that is to saye)

Sheepe with exceedyng great tayles.

A sheepe made a Mahumetan.

saye) there is one God and Mahumet his cheefe Prophet: which are the wordes which they speake in professyng theyr fayth. But when the beast yet answered nothyng, I broke his legges with a staffe. The queene tooke great pleasure in these my madde follyes, and com-

Hunger maketh appetite.

maunded the fleshe of the sheepe to be geuen me to eate: I neuer ate meate with more, or better appetite. Also three dayes after, I likewise kylled an Asse that was wont to bryng water into the pallace, because he refused to be a Mahumetan, and to say those woordes. The same tyme also I handeled a Iewe so euyll, that I had almost kylled hym, one in the meane tyme callyng me Christian dogge, dogge borne. With which words beyng very angry, I cast many stones at him: but he agayne hurlyng at me gaue me a stroke on the brest, and an other on the syde, which greeued me very sore. And because I coulde not folowe hym by reason of my shackles, I returned to the pryson, and stopped the doore with a heape of stones, and there lyued in great payne for the space of two daies without meate or drynke: And therefore the queene and other thought me to be dead, but the doore was opened by the queenes commaundement. Then these dogges deryding me, gaue me stones in the steede of bread, and peeces of whyte marble, saying that it was suger: other gaue me clusters of Grapes full of sand. But partly that they should not suspect that I counterfeyted madnesse, I ate the grapes as they gaue me them. When the bruite was spred that I lyued

Madnesse taken for holynesse.

two dayes and nyghtes without meate and drynke: some began to suspect that I was a holy man, and some that I was starke madde. And thus being diuided into diuers opinions, they consulted to send for certayne men, of whom they haue such opinion of holynesse, as we

Heremytes Mahumetani.

haue of Heremytes: these dwell in the mountaynes, and leade a contemplatyue lyfe. When they came vnto me to geue theyr iudgement what maner of man I was, certayne merchantes asked them yf I were a holy man or a madde man. These were also of diuers opinions, some affyrmyng one thyng, and some another. Whyle they were yet debatyng this matter for the space of an houre, I pyssed in my handes, and hurlde it in theyr faces: whereby they agreed that I was no Sainct, but a mad man. The queene seyng all this at the wyndowe, laughed well thereat among her maydens, and sayd thus to them, By the goodnesse of God, and by the head of Mahumet, this is a good man. The day folowyng, when in the mornyng I founde hym a sleepe that had so sore hurt me with stones, I tooke hym by the heare of the head with both handes, and with my knee so pounched hym on the stomacke, and battered his face, that I left hym all bloody and half dead. Which thyng the queene seeing cryed vnto me saying, kyll the beast, kyll the dogge, whereupon, he ran his way, and came no more in syght. When the President of the citie heard that the queen fauoured me, and toke pleasure in my mad sport, thynkyng also that I was not mad, commaunded that I shoulde goe at lybertie within the pallace, only wearyng my shackles: Yet euery nyght was I put in another pryson in the lower part of the pallace and so remayned styl in the courte for the space of 20 dayes. In the meane tyme the queene wylled me to go a huntyng with her, whiche I refused not, and at my returne, I fained me to be sicke for weerinesse. So continuyng for the space of eyght dayes, vnder the coloure of sickenes, the queene often sent to me to know how I did. After this, fyndyng opportunitie, I de-

A holy vowe.

clared to the queene that I had made a vow to God and Mahumet to visite a certayne holy man in the citie of Aden, and desyred her to geue me leaue to go thyther. Whereunto she consented: and commaunded immediatly a Cammell and 25 Sarraphes of golde to be delyuered me. Therfore y day followyng, I tooke my iorney, and in the space of eight dayes, came to the citie of Aden: and shortly after my commyng, visited the man of whom was so

A holy saint.

great reporte of holynesse, and whom the people honoured for a saint. And this onely because he had euer lyued in great pouertie, and without the company of women. And heare are seene many other such: But doubtlesse all suche lose theyr laboure, beyng out of the fayth of Christ. When I had performed my vowe, I fayned that I had recouered health by myracle of that holy man and certified the queene thereof, desyryng that I myght tarye there a whyle, to visyte lykewyse certayne other men in that countrey, of whom was the lyke fame of

The fleete of India.

holynesse: whiche excuse I deuised, because the fleete of India woulde not yet depart from thence for the space of a moneth. In the meane tyme I secretly agreed with a certayne cap-

tayne

tayne of that nauie to goe with hym into India, and made hym many fayre promisses to rewarde hym largely. He answeared that he woulde not go into India before he had fyrst ben in Persia: whereunto I agreed.

Of the cities of Lagi and Aiaz in Arabia Fœlix: And of the martes of Aiaz and the towne of Dante. Cap. 7.

THe daye followyng, mounting vppon a Camell, and making a iorney of 25 myles, I came to a certayne citie named Lagi, situate in a great playne, well peopled, hauing abundaunce of Oliues, and fleshe, with also great plentie of corne, after our maner: but no vines, and great scarsenesse of woodde. The inhabitauntes are vnciuiile and rusticall people, of the nation of vagabunde and feelde Arabians, and therfore but poore. Departing frō hence one dais iorney, I came to another citie named Aiaz, situate vppon two hylles, with a great plaine betweene them, and hath in it a notable fountaine, and therefore diuers nations resort thither as to a famous mart. The inhabitauntes are Mahumetans, and yet greatly differyng in opinion of theyr religion: insomuche that therefore they be at great enimitie one agaynst the other, and keepe sore ware. The cause whereof they saye to be this: That the people of the north mountayne, maynteyne the fayth and secte of Mahumet and his felowes, of whom we haue spoken before: but the other of the South mountayne affyrme, that faith shoulde be geuen onely to Mahumet and Haly, saying the other to be false prophetes. But let vs nowe returne to the marte. Almost all maner of spices are brought hyther. The region bryngeth foorth sylke and bombassine: also diuers goodly fruites, and vynes. On the toppe of both the hylles, are very strong fortresses, two dayes iorney from thence is the citie of Dante, well fortified both by arte and nature, situate in the toppe of a very great mountaine.

Strife and hatred for religiō and all worth nought.

Mertus Hali as the Persians call hym.

Of Almacharan, a citie of Arabia Fœlix, and of the fruitefulnesse thereof. Cap. 8.

DEparting from Dantè, we came to the citie of Almacharan, in two dayes iorney. This is situate on a very high mountayne, and declynyng, and difficulte to ascende, as of the heyght of seuen myles, and the way so narow, that onely two men can passe togeather. In the toppe, is a playne of incredible largenesse, very fruiteful, with plentie of all thynges to the vse of man. And therefore I thynke it to be inexpugnable and inaccessible: hauyng also so great abundaunce of water, that one fountaine may suffice for a hundred thousand men. And therfore they saye that the Soltan here hydeth his treasure, because he was borne in this citie.

Here also euer remayneth one of his wiues. The ayre is marueylous temperate and holsome, and the citie seconde to none in all respectes: the colour of the inhabitantes is rather enclynyng to whyte, then any other colour. And to speake that I haue seene, the Soltan reserueth here as much golde, as wyll lade a hundred Camels.

As muche gold as wyll lade a hundred Camels.

Of Reame a citie of Arabia Fœlix, and the temperatenesse thereof. Cap. 9.

THis citie is distaunt two dayes iorney from Almacaran. The colour of the inhabitantes is enclinyng to blacke: they are great merchantes. The soyle is fruitfull of all thynges sauyng wood: it conteyneth in circuite two thousande houses: on the one syde is a mountayne hauyng on it a very strong fortresse. Here I saw a certayne kinde of sheepe hauyng theyr tayles of fortie and foure pounde weyght, and are without hornes, and also so marueylous fat, that they can scarcely goe for fatnesse. There be lykewyse certayne grapes without graynes, the sweetest that euer I eate, and al maner of suche fruites, as I haue spoken of before. It is of marueylous temperatenesse, as witnesseth the long lyfe of men, for I haue spoken with many of them that haue passed the age of a hundred and fiue and twentie yeeres, and yet verie lustie and wel complexioned. They goe for the most part naked, wearyng only shyrts, or other loose and thynne apparell, lyke Mantelles, puttyng out one arme all bare. Almoste all the Arabians make them hornes with wreathyng of theyr owne heare, and that they thynke very comely.

A sheepes tayle of 44 pounde weyght.

Grapes without grayues.

Men of long lyfe in temperate ayre.

Of Sana a citie of Arabia Fœlix. Cap. 10.

An armye of fourescore thousand men. Strong Walles.

DEpartyng from thence three dayes iorney, I came to a citie named Sana, situate vppon a verye hyghe mountayne, verye strong by Arte and Nature. The Soltan besyeged this, with a great armye of fourescore for the space of three monethes, but coulde neuer wynne it. Yet it was at the last rendered by composition. The walles are of eyghteene cubites heyght, and twentie in breadth, insomuch that eyght Camels in order may wel marche vpon them. The region is very fruitefull and muche like vnto ours, and hath plentie of water.

Anthropophagus.

A Soltan is Lorde of the citie: hee hath twelue sonnes, of the whiche one is named Mahumet, who by a certayne naturall tyrannye and madnesse, delyteth to eate mans fleeshe, and therfore secretly kylleth many to eate them. He is of large and strong body, of foure cubites hygh, and of the coloure inclinyng to ashes. The soyle beareth certayne spices not farre from the citie. It conteyneth about foure thousand houses. The houses are of fayre buyldyng, and geue no place to ours. The citie is so large, that it conteyneth within the walles, fieldes, gardens, and medowes.

Of Taessa, Zibith, and Damar, great cities of Arabia Fœlix. Cap. 11.

Roses.

AFter three daies iorney, I came to a citie named Taessa, sytuate vppon a mountayne, and verye fayre to syght: it hath plentye of all delices, and especially of marueylous fayre Roses, whereof they make Rose water. It is an auncient citie, and hath in it a Temple buylded after the fashion of the churche of Sancta Maria Rotunda in Rome. The houses are very fayre, and shewe yet the monumentes of antiquitie: innumerable merchantes resort hyther for the trafficke of sundry merchandies. In apparell they are lyke vnto other, and of darkyshe ashe coloure of skynne, enclynyng to blacke. Three dayes iorney from thence, I came to an other citie named Zibith, very fayre and good, distaunt from the redde sea onlye halfe a dayes iorney; there is great abundance of merchandies by reason of the neare-nesse of the sea. It aboundeth with many goodly thynges, and especially with most white Suger, and sundrye kyndes of pleasant fruites. It is sytuate in a very large playne within two mountaynes: it lacketh walles, and is one of the cheefest martes for all sortes of spyces. The inhabitants are of the colour of them aforesayde. From hence in one dayes iorney, I came to the citie of Damar: it is in a fruitefull soyle, and hath great exercise of merchandise. The inhabitants are Mahumetans, in apparell and colour lyke vnto the other.

Suger.

Of the Soltan of the aforesayde cities, and why he is named Sechamir. Cap. 12.

The Soltan of Arabia felix.

THese cities whereof we haue spoken here a little before, are subiect to a Soltan of Arabia Fœlix, named Sechamir. Secha (by interpretation) *signifieth holy*, and Amir, a Prince, because he abhorreth sheddyng of mans blood. At the tyme of my beyng there in pryson, he nouryshed syxteene thousand poore men, and captiues in pryson condemned to death, allowyng to euery of them dayly for theyr diet, syxe of theyr pence of the smallest valure, and at home in his pallace entertayneth as many blacke slaues.

A pitifull pagan.

A great familye.

Of Monkeys and Marmasettes, and other beastes, noysome to men. Cap. 13.

Of Aden reade the fourth cap.

DEpartyng from hence, I returned to the citie of Aden in three dayes iorney: in the midde waye, I founde an exceedyng hygh and large mountayne, where is great plentie of wylde beastes, and especially of Monkeys, whiche runne about the mountayne euery where. There are also many Lions, very noysome to men: and therefore it is not safe to iorney that way, but when a multitude of men goe togeather, at the least to the number of a hundred. I passed this way with a great companie, and yet were we in daunger of the Lions, and other wylde beastes which folowed vs: for we were sometimes constrayned to fyght with them with dartes, slyngs, and bowes, vsyng also the helpe of dogges, and yet escaped hardly. When I came to the citie, I fayned myselfe sicke: and in the day time lurked in the temple, and went foorth only in the night to speake with the pilot of the shyp (of whom I haue made mention before) and obteyned of hym a foist or barke to depart thence secretly.

Monkeys and Lions.

Danger of wilde beasts.

Of

Of certayne places of Ethiopia. Cap. 14.

IN the syxt chapter here before, I haue made mention howe departing from the queene I went to the citie of Aden, where I couenaunted with a certayne pilot to goe with hym into India, and that he woulde not go thyther before he had fyrst made a viage into Persia, and that at my fyrst beyng in the citie of Aden, he coulde not yet for the space of a moneth depart from thence: Duryng whiche tyme, I traueyled the regions and cityes, whereof I haue spoken, vnto this my returne to Aden. Nowe therfore accordyng to our agreement to trauayle diuers countreys and regions, committing our selues to the sea, we were by inconstant fortune and sundry tempestes, deterred from that viage: for whereas we were nowe syxe dayes sailyng on our waye to Persia, a sodayne contrary tempeste droue vs out of our waye, and cast vs on the coast of Ethiope. Our barkes were laden with rubricke (that is, a certayne redde earth) which is vsed to dye cloth: for yeerely from the citie of Aden, departe fyfteene or twentie shyps laden with rubricke, which is brought out of Arabia Fœlix. Beyng therefore thus tossed with stormes, we were dryuen into a port, named Zeila: where we remayned fyue dayes to see the citie, and tarrye vntyll the sea were more quiet.

Tempest.

The viage to Persia. Ethiope.

Rubricke.

Of the citie Zeila in Ethiopia, and the great fruitfulnesse therof: and of certayne straunge beastes seene there. Cap. 15.

IN this citie, is great frequentation of merchandies, as in a most famous mart. There is marueylous abundance of gold and Iuerye, and an innumerable number of blacke slaues, solde for a small pryce: these are taken in warre by the Mahumetan Mores, out of Ethyopia, of the kyngdome of Presbiter Iohannes, or Preciosus Iohannes, whiche some also call the Kyng of Iacobins or Abyssins, beyng a Christian: and are caried away from thence into Persia, Arabia Fœlix, Babylonia of Nilus or Alcair, and Mecha. In this citie iustice and good lawes are obserued: the soyle beareth Wheate, and hath abundaunce of flesh, and diuers other commodious thynges. It hath also Oyle, not of Olynes, but of some other thyng, I knowe not what. There is also plentie of hony and waxe: there are lykewyse certayne sheepe, hauyng their tayles of the weyght of syxeteene pounde, and exceedyng fatte, the head and necke are blacke, and all the rest whyte. There are also sheepe altogeather whyte, hauing tayles of a cubite long, hangyng downe lyke a great cluster of grapes: and haue also great lappes of skynne hangyng from theyr throtes, as haue Bulles and Oxen, hangyng downe almost to the grounde. There are also certaine Kyne with hornes lyke vnto Hartes hornes, these are wylde: and when they bee taken, are geuen to the Soltan of that citie as a kyngly present. I sawe there also certayne Kyne, hauyng only one horne in the middest of the forehead, as hath the Vnicorne, and about a spanne of length, but the horne bendeth backwarde: they are of bryght shynyng red colour. But they that haue Hartes hornes, are enclynyng to blacke colour. Conye is there good cheepe. The citie hath an innumerable multitude of merchants: the walles are greatly decayed, and the hauen rude and despicable. The kyng or Soltan of the citie is a Mahumetan, and entertayneth in wages a great multitude of foote men and horsemen. They are greatly geuen to warres, and weare onlye one loose syngle vesture, as we haue sayde before of other. They are of darke ashye colour, enclining to blacke. In the warres, they are vnarmed, and are of the sect of Mahumet.

Golde. Iuery. Blacke slaues.

Presbiter Iohannes, kyng of Iacobins and Abyssins.

Iustice and good lawes.

Sheepe with great tayles.

Palearia.

Kyne with Hartes hornes.

Kyne with only one horne.

Of Barbara, an Ilande of Ethiope. Cap. 16.

AFter that the tempestes were appeased, wee gaue wynde to our sayles, and in shorte tyme arryued at an Ilande named Barbara, the Prince whereof is a Mahumetan. The Ilande is not great, but fruitfull and well peopled: it hath abundance of flesh. The inhabitants are of colour enclynyng to blacke. Al theyr ryches, is in heardes of cattayle. We remayned here but one day, and departyng from hence, sayled into Persia.

The thyrde booke entreateth of Persia: and of certayne townes and partes of Persia. Cap. 1.

Diuobanderrumi.

WHen we had sayled the space of twelue dayes, we aryued at a citie called Diuobanderrumi, (that is to say) the holy porte of Turkes. It is but a little way from the continent: when the sea ryseth with hye tydes, it is an Iland enuironed with water, but at a lowe fludde, or decrease of the sea, one may go thyther by land: it is subiect to the Soltan of Cambaia. The Gouernour is named Menacheas. It is a marte of great merchandies. There dwell about it foure hundred merchants of Turky: it is well walled round about, and defended with al sorts of engins. They haue barkes and brygantines somewhat lesse then ours: we remained here two daies. Departyng from hence, we came to an other citie named Gea, in the space of three dayes iorney: this also aboundeth with merchandies, and is a mart greatly frequented. The soyle is fruitefull, with plentie of all thynges necessary; the inhabitantes are Mahumetans. Neare vnto this, are two other fayre cities and portes, named Giulfar and Meschet.

The Soltan of Cambaia.

Gea.

Giulfar. Meschet.

Of the Iland and citie of Ormus, or Armusium: and of an Iland of Persia where pearles are found. Cap. 2.

Ormus.

Pearles.

PRoceedyng on our viage, we came to a citie named Ormus, very fayre. This is seconde to none in goodlye situation, and plentie of pearles: it is in an Ilande dystaunt from the continent twelue myles: It hathe great scarcenesse of freshe water and corne, from other regions is brought thyther all victualles that nouryshe the inhabitauntes. Three dayes saylyng from thence, are geathered those muscles which bryng foorth the fayrest and byggest pearles: they are taken as I will nowe declare. There are certayne men that get theyr lyuing by fyshyng. These hauing small Boates cast into the sea a great stone, fastened to a corde, and this on both sydes of the Boate, to make it as stedfast and immoueable as a shyppe lying at an anker. The Boate thus stayed as it were with weyght and balance, an other appoynted to that purpose, casteth in the sea a corde with a stone hangyng at it. In the myddest of the Boate an other hauyng a sacke hangyng on his shoulder before and behynde, and a stone hangyng at his feete, hurleth him selfe into the sea, and swimmeth vnder the water euen vnto the bottome of the sea, for the deapth of fyftiene pases or more, and there remayneth vntyll he haue geathered the pearle Muscles, which he putteth in his sacke, then he casteth away the stone that weyghed him downe, and commeth vp by the corde. There are seene sometyme almost three hundred shyppes, and other kynde of vessels, which come thyther from many places and countreys. The Soltan of the citie, is a Mahumetan. There are aboue foure hundred merchauntes and factours remayning here continually, for the trafike of merchandies whiche come from diuers other regions, as silke, pearles, precious stones, spices, and suche lyke. They lyue with Ryse for the moste parte, for they haue none other corne.

Fyshyng for pearles.

Dyuers vnder the water.

Of the citie named Eri in Chorazani, a region of Persia, and of the riches therof: Also of Reubarbarum. Cap. 3.

DEpartyng from Ormus, I went into Persia: And after ten dayes iourney, I came to a certayne citie named Eri. The name of the region is Chorazani, by which signification we may also name it Flaminia. The Kyng of the region, dwelleth in the citie: It is fruitefull and plentifull almost of all thynges. There is seene so great aboundaunce of sylke, that you may in one daye bye as muche as may suffice to lade three thousande Cameles. Corne is there neuer deare, by reason of the great abundaunce. There is great plentie of Rubarbe, as I geather by this coniecture, that syxe pounde of Rubarbe, after our pounde of 12 ounces to the pounde, are solde for one croune of golde. The citie conteyneth in circuite about seuen thousande houses. They are of the secte of Mahumet. Departyng from hence twentie dayes iorney, I obserued that the continent region or firme lande, farre from the sea syde, is very well inhabited with many good townes and vyllages.

Chorazani or Chorishan.

Great aboundaunce of silke. Plentie of Corne. Rubarbe of smal price.

Of

Of the ryuer thought to be Euphrates. And of Castoreum. Cap. 4.

IN this iorney I came to a certayne great ryuer, whiche in the inhabitantes language euen at this daye is named Eufra, which I veryly thynke to be Euphrates, consideryng also the large capacitie thereof. Proceedyng therefore on my iorney by the ryuer towarde the lefte hande, I came in the space of three dayes to an other citie, named Schyra. This hath onely one prynce, and he a Persian Mahumetan, and subiecte to none other. Here are founde all sortes of precious stones, and especially the stone Eranon, whiche delyuereth men from witchecraftes, madnesse, and fearefulnesse, proceedyng of melancolie. It is the stone commonly called the Turquesse. They are brought in great abundaunce from a citie named Balascam, where is also great plentie of Castoreum, and sundrye kyndes of coloures. And heere I notifie vnto you, why there is found litle true Castoreum among vs, because it is adulcerate by the Persians before it come to our handes, for these people are greatly geuen to the counterfettyng of suche thynges, as I saw by experience before myne eyes: for willyng on a time to proue the odoriferous strength of pure Castoreum, I sawe certayne, that had experience hereof, do in this maner. They tooke the bladder of Castoreum, and foure of them one after an other, put it to their noses to smell.

The ryuer Euphrates.

Schira.

Precious stones.

The stone Eranon and Turquesse.

Balascam.

Castoreum.

The sauour of it was so strong, that it made theyr noses bleede: and by this profe, they knew it to be pure Castoreum, and not counterfect. I asked the Persian whether Castoreum (as other the lyke vngments or drugges) would sone loose his strength. He answered, that the strength of that sauour myght be preserued the space of ten yeres, yf it were not counterfect. The Persians are very courteous and gentle people, lyberall and gratious one to an other, and fauorable to strangers: and this I speake as I haue founde and seene by experyence Duryng the tyme that I was there, I founde a certayne Persian merchant, who the yeere before knewe me in the citie of Mecha: he was borne in the citie of Eri in Corozain. As soone as he sawe me, he spake to me in this maner, Lodovicke what God or fortune hath sent thee into these countreys: Art not thou he whom not long sence I knewe in Mecha? To whom I answered, I am certaynely the same, and am now come hyther for the great desire that I haue to see the worlde. Praysed be God, sayd he, that I haue nowe found a companion of my iorney, that is taken with the same desire that I haue: and therfore for the space of fyfteene dayes we remayned togeather in a citie named Squilaz. He exhorted me not to depart from hym, but that we should togeather, by his guydyng, trauayle the cheefe partes of the world. Enteryng therefore on our iorney, we came fyrst to a place named Sainct Bragant.

Commendation of the Persians.

Squilaz.

Sainct Bragant.

Of the citie of Sainct Bragant, bygger then Babylon. And of the kyng of Persia, named the Sophie. Cap. 5.

THey saye that the citie of Sainct Bragant, is bygger then *Babylon*: the kyng of the citie, is a Mahumetan. The merchantes saye that when it pleaseth hym, he assembleth an armie of threescore thousande Horsemen. The people are of colour enclinyng to whytenesse, and verye warrelyke men. This we say only by enformation of other: for we coulde not safely passe any further, by reason of the great warres which the Sophie then made agaynst those Mahumetans, which are of the sect and religion of Bubachar, Othomar, and Omar. These were the felowes of Mahumet, as we haue written before of Mahumet and his felowes. The Persians abhorre these as heretikes and false doctoures, although they themselues also be Mahumetans of an other secte, whiche is of Mahumet and Hali, whose doctrine they embrace and esteeme for most perfect and true religion. Here therefore the sayde Persian, my goode friende, and ioyfull companion of my iourney, sayde thus vnto mee, That thou mayest vnderstande (Lodouicke) the vnfayned good will that I beare thee, and the desyre I haue that our friendshyp may be knyt with indissoluble bandes, and thereby to assure thee that I will not fayle thee in thy necessitie, I haue a Nyese named Samis, whom I wil gyue thee to wyfe. Samis in theyr tongue, signifieth the Sunne (for shee deserued so to be called for her singuler beautie) and sayde furthermore, that he dyd not trauayle the worlde for lacke of

An armie of threescore thousand horsemen.

War betweene the Sophie of Persia and the Turke, for the religion.

The Persians hold of Mahumet and Hali or Morgan Hali.

A sure friend in necessitie.

of any thyng, but only for his pleasure and desyre of knowledge. And therefore passyng no further, by reason of the warres (as we haue sayde) we returned to the citie of Eri, where he enterteyned mee in his house honourably: and shewyng mee his Nyese, instauntly desyred mee to take her to wyfe. But I, hauyng my mynde otherwyse destinate, woulde not seeme to contemne his so friendly a profer, but deferred it to a more conuenient tyme. Therefore departyng from thence, within eight dayes after, we returned to Ormus, and sayled from thence into India, arryuing there at a certayne porte named Cheo.

Cheo.

Here foloweth the fourth booke, which entreateth of India, and of the cities and other notable thynges seene there.

Of the citie of Cambaia in India, most fruiteful in maner of all thinges. Cap. 1.

FOrasmuche as in the begynnyng of this woorke we promised that we would declare all thynges briefely, we intende nowe heere to speake onely of thynges which may seeme most woorthye to be knowen. Entryng therefore into India, we came to a certaine porte, which the great and famous ryuer Indus passeth by, and is not far from the citie of Cambaia. It is situate three myles within the lande, towarde the South. The Brigantines or foystes can haue no accesse to it, excepte the fludde ryse hygher then commonly it is woont to do, which sometymes ouerfloweth the lande the space of foure myles. But heere the fluddes haue contrarie courses of increasyng, for heere they increase in the wane of the Moone, but with vs in the full Moone. The citie is walled after our maner, and aboundeth with al necessarie thynges, especially with wheate, and al sorts of holesome and pleasaunt fruites. There are also certayne kindes of spyces, the names whereof I knowe not. It hath also abundaunce of gossampine or bombassine cotton. Merchaunts bryng from thence yeerely so much bombassine and silke, that somtime they lade fourtie or fyftie shyps to cary into other countreys. In this region is also a mountayne where the Onyx stone, commonly called Corneola, is founde: and not farre from thence also an other mountaine, where the Calcedony and Diamant are found.

The ryuer Indus. The citie of Cambaia.

Note the increse of ryuers contrarye to ours.

40 shippes lade with ryse and bombasine.

The maners of the people of the citie of Cambaia: and of the Soltan thereof. Cap. 2.

THe Soltan of Cambaia, at my beyng there, was named Macamut, and had raygned fourtie yeeres, after he had expulsed the kyng of Gugerat. They thynke it not lawefull to kyll any lyuyng beaste to eate, or to eate fleshe. They are no Mahumetans, neyther Idolaters, and therefore I beleeue that if they were baptised, they were not far from the way of saluation, for they obserue the exquisite rule of iustice, doyng no worse to other, then they woulde to be done to them. As touchyng theyr apparell, some of them go naked, and other couer onely theyr priuities. On theyr heades, they weare fyllettes of purple colour. They them selues are of darke yelowe coloure, commonly called Leonell coloure. This Soltan maynteyneth an army of 20 thousande horsemen. Euery mornyng resort to his pallace, fyftie men, syttyng on Elephantes. Their office is, with all reuerence to salute the king or Soltan, the Elephantes also kreelyng downe. In the mornyng assoone as the kyng waketh, is hearde a great noyse of Drummes, Tambartes, Tymbrelles, Waytes, and also Trumpettes, with dyuers other musicall instruments, in reioycyng that the kyng lyueth. The lyke do they whyle he is at dinner: and then also the men syttyng on the Elephantes, make hym the like reuerence as before. We wyll in due place speake of the wytte, customes, and docilitie of these beastes. The Soltan of this citie, hath his vpper lyppe so grosse, that it is a monstrous thyng to beholde: Insomuche that sometyme he beareth it vp with a fillet, as women do the heare of theyr heades: his bearde is whyte and long, euen vnto the nauell. He is so accustomed to poyson from his infancie, that he dayly eateth some to keepe it in vse. And although he hym selfe feele no hurt thereof by reason of custome, yet doth he thereby so impoyson hym selfe, that he is poyson to other: for when he is disposed to put any of his noblemen to death, he causeth hym to be brought to his presence, and to stande naked

Pithagorici. Good people.

They may seeme the successours of Darius and Porus.

The great pompe of the kyng of Cambaia. Elephantes.

Monstrous great lyppes.

A straunge historie of a Kyng accustomed to eate poyson.

naked before hym. Incontinente he eateth certayne fruites (whiche they call Chofolos) lyke vnto Nuttemegges: and eateth also the leaues of certayne hearbes, whiche they call Tambolos, addyng also thereto the pouder of beaten oyster shelles. And a whyle chawyng al these togeather in his mouth, he spitteth it vpon hym whom he desyreth to kyll, who being sparkled therwith, dyeth, by force of the poyson within the space of halfe an houre. He entertaineth about foure thousand concubines: for when soeuer he hath lyne with any of them, she with whom he hath lyen, dyeth the daye folowing, beyng by hym impoysoned. And therefore when he changeth his shyrt, or other apparell, no man dare weare it: and for this cause he hath great change of apparell My companion enquired diligently of the merchants by what meanes he was of so venomous nature: They answered, that the Soltan his father brought him so vp of a chylde with poison by litle and litle, with preseruatiues so accustomyng hym thereto. But let vs now returne to speake of the maners of the people: for the most part they weare but only one syngle vesture, and are very warrelyke men: also greatly geuen to merchandies. The fruitfulnesse and plentifulnesse of the region can not be spoken. It is frequented almost of al nations. Therfore from this citie, and from an other (wherof we wyll speake hereafter) diuers and innumerable sortes of merchandies, are transported to almost all the regions of the worlde, and especially to the Turkes, Syrians, Arabians, Indians: also to diuers regions of Affrike and Ethiopia: principally exceedyng abundance of sylke and Bombasyne, and therefore is this Soltan marueylous rych. He keepeth in maner contynuall warre with the kyng of Ioga, whose realme is fyfteene dayes iorney from Cambaia, and reacheth very farre euery waye. This kyng mayntayneth an armie of 30 thousand fyghtyng men: he and all his people are Idolatours. He lyueth in contynual progresse, with a mightie trayne at the charges of the people: and contynually carrieth about with hym foure thousand tentes and pauilions: also his wyfe, children, concubines and slaues, furthermore, foure or fiue of most couragious horses: likewyse muskattes, moonkeys, Parrottes, Leopardes, and haukes. And in this order he walketh almost ouer all India. The kynges apparell, is a double gotes skinne, one coueryng his brest, and the other his backe, with the hearysyde outward: he is of wesel colour enclining to blackenesse: as are the most part of these Indians, beyng in maner scorched with heate of the Sunne. They weare al earerings, precious stones, and iewels of sundry sorts: some couer theyr body with a single, light, and thinne vesture, puttyng out one arme naked. The kyng and certaine of his noble men, paynt their faces with certayne sweete gommes and spices: and some also other partes of their bodies. They are ledde with many vayne superstitions: for some professe neuer to lye on the grounde, some to lyue in continual silence, as though they were speechlesse, hauing two or three appointed by signes to serue them meate and drynke.

A venomous kyng.

Belyke he geteth no chyldren.

Great fruitfulnesse and abundance of marchandies.

Plentie of sylke.

The kyng of Ioga, an Idolatour.

Continuall progresse. Wyues and concubines.

The colour of the Indians.

They haue all hornes hangyng about theyr neckes: and therefore when they come to any citie, they blowe theyr hornes all at once, to make the inhabitantes afrayde, as do they that with vs keepe Crowes or Rookes out of the corne. Then commyng to talke with the citizens, they demaund victualles and what soeuer other thynges they stande in neede of. Whyle the kyng any tyme resteth a whyle in one place, almost all the whole armye gardyng his person about his pauylion, fyue or syxe hundred in the meane tyme raunge abroade togeather to geat what they can. They tarry not past three dayes in one place, but are euer wanderyng after the maner of the vagabunde Egyptians, Arabians and Tartars. The region is not fruiteful, but rough, with craggie mountaines. The houses of the citie are despicable: the citie is also without walles. This kyng is enemie to the Soltan of Machamir, and vexeth hym greatly with diuers incursions.

Hornes.

Wandryng nations. Feeble men.

Of the citie of Ceull, and the maner of the people. Cap. 3.

Departyng from Cambia, in twelue dayes iorney I came to a citie named Ceull: the land that lieth betweene them both is called Guzerat. The kyng of this citie, is an Idolatour: they are of darke yealowe colour, or Lion tawnye: some were suche slender apparell as they whom

Guzerat.

whom wee haue spoken of before: other are naked, couering onlye theyr pryuities. They are prompt to the warres, and vse swordes, bowes, dartes, slynges, and rounde targettes. They haue engines to beat downe walles, and to make great slaughter in an armie: the citie hath walles, and is distant from the sea but three myles. A fayre ryuer runneth by the citie, by the whiche much merchandies is brought thyther. The soyle beareth almost all maner of fruites, except Vynes, Walnuttes, and Chessnuttes. It hath also Wheate, Barlie, and other kyndes of corne. Here is made great plentie of Bombasine cloth. They are such Idolatours as are they of Calecut, of whom we wyl speake hereafter: yet are there in the citie many merchants Mahumetans. They exercise iustice. The kyng entertayneth but a small armie. There are many horses and kyne. Two dayes iorney from hence, is a citie named Dabuly, hauing a great ryuer runnyng by it. It hath walles after the maner of ours. The soyle is fruiteful, and the citie beautifull. There are innumerable merchauntes Mahumetans. The kyng is an Idolater, and hath an armye of 30 thousande men. They are in maners lyke vnto the other, and of the same colour.

Idolatours.

Dabuly.

Idolatres.

Of Goga, an Ilande of India. Cap. 4.

DEpartyng from hence, I came to the Iland of Goga, not past a myle destant from the continent. This payeth yeerely trybute to the kyng of Dechan a thousand peeces of golde, of the value of the Saraphes of Babylon, hauyng on the one syde the Image of the dyuell, and on the other syde, certayne vnknowen caractes. Vppon the sea coaste of one syde of this Ilande, is a towne buylded after the maners of ours. The gouernour is a certayne Captayne of soldiers named Sausin: he hath in his regiment foure hundred Mamalukes, and is also a Mamaluke hym selfe: and therefore when he fyndeth any whyte men, he entertayneth them frendly, and geueth them stypende of twentie Saraphes of golde euery moneth. But he fyrst maketh profe of their strength and valiantnesse by wrestlyng: and if they be not founde meete for the warres, he putteth them to handy craftes. This Captayne with onely his foure hundred Mamalukes, greatly vexeth the king of Narsinga. Departyng from hence, in eyght dayes iorney by lande, I came to the citie of Dechan.

Tribute.

Mamalukes.

White men.

Of Dechan, a very fayre citie of India. Cap. 5.

THe kyng or Soltan of Dechan, is a Mahumetan, of whom the foresayde captayne Mamaluke is entred in wages. This citie is beautifull in syght, and the soyle very fruitefull and plentifull in maner of all thynges necessarie. The kyng is accompted a Mamaluke, and with hym 35 thousande men of his dominion of horsemen and footemen. The citie is beautified with a marueylous fayre pallace, and the pallace adourned with many fayre roomes, for before you come to the kynges chamber, you must passe by *44 other chambers, for the sollers of the chambers are so orderly disposed, that* one chamber styll geueth entrye into an other, vntyll you come to the last. The citie is compassed with a wal, after the maner of the Christians. The houses are not vncomely. The kyng vseth incredible pompe, and regal magnificence. They that wayte vppon his person weare vppon theyr shooes or starpins Rubies and Diamondes, and such other precious stones. What ouches and iewelles they weare in theyr earynges and Condaliis, Carkenettes colours, let wittie men iudge, comparyng the feete to the more noble partes of the bodie. Sixe miles from the citie is a mountayne where Diamondes are digged. It is compassed with a wall, and kept with a Garrison. The region hath plentie of all thynges. The people are Mahumetans. Theyr apparell for the most part is of sylke: or at the least the sherte or inmost vesture. They weare also thyne buskynnes: and hose lyke gregascos or maryners slops. Theyr women, after the maner of the women of Damasco, haue theyr faces couered. The kyng keepeth in maner continual war with ỹ kyng of Narsinga. The most part of his souldiers are strangers, enterteyned for wages. They are whyte men: but the inhabitantes, of the coloure of the other Indians. The kyng is marueylous ryche, and lyberall. He hath also a great nauie of shyps. He hateth the Christians as much as any other. Thus hauyng traueled this part of the region, I toke my iorney towarde a citie named Bathacala, fyue dayes iorny from Dechan. The inhabitantes are Idolaters, except

A fayre pallace.

Great pompe and magnificence.

Where Diamontes are founde.

Womens faces couered.

White men.

The kyng of Dechan hateth the Christians.

The citie Bathacala.

cept certayne Mahumetan merchaunts, which resort thither for merchandise. It hath abundaunce of Ryse, Sugar, Fygges, Walnuttes, Wheate, Corne, and many other fruites and rootes vnknowen to vs. They haue Beeues, Kyne, Bulfes, Sheepe, Goates, and dyuers other beastes, but no Horses, Mules or Asses.

Of certayne other goodly cities of India. Cap. 6.

DEpartyng from hence, I tooke my iorney towarde a citie Centacola, one dayes iorney from Bathacala. The prince of this citie is no lord of great richesse. There is neuerthelesse abundaunce of fleshe, Ryse, and other suche fruites as growe in India: many Mahumetans resort hyther for merchaundies. The kyng is an Idolater, and of Lion tawny colour. They go starke naked, and weare nothyng on theyr heades. This prince is subiecte to the kyng of Barthacal. Departyng from hence two dayes iorney, I came to an Ilande named Onor, whose kyng is an Idolater, and serueth the deuyll, and is subiect to the kyng of Narsinga: He is very gentle and familier, he mayntayneth eyght foystes, which make excursions and lyue by rouyng and pyracie. He is in great frendshyppe with the kyng of Portugale. The inhabitantes couer their priuities with a sindone, and are besyde all naked. The soyle beareth plentie of Ryse, as in other partes of India. There are in maner al kyndes of beastes, as wylde bores, Harts, Wolues, Lions, and sundry kinds of birdes, and foules vnlike vnto ours, Pecockes also and Parrottes. It hath innumerable Kyne of shynyng yelowe coloure: also sheepe exceedyng fatte. There is so great abundaunce of flowers and Roses, that they fayle not in wynter. There can not be a more temperate ayre: and therfore they lyue muche longer then we do. Not far from this citie, is an other citie named Mangolor: from whence about the number of 60 shyppes departe yeerely laded with Ryse. The inhabitantes are partly Idolaters, and partly Mahumetans. Their maner of lyuing and apparell, is as we haue sayd before.

Centacola.
Idolaters.
Barthacal.
The Ilande of Onor.
A kyng, a pirate.
Naked men.
Ryse.
Beastes.
Byrdes and foules.
Flowers all the yeere longe.
Longe lyfe.
Mangolor.
Ryse.

Of Canonor and Narsinga, great cities of India. Cap. 7.

DEpartyng from hence, we directed our iorney toward the citie of Canonor, beyng a very goodly citie. Heere the kyng of Portugale hath a very strong towne. The kyng of the citie is an Idolater, and nd great frend to the kyng of Portugale. The citie hath a porte, whyther are brought the horses of Persia: but the custome for horses is exceedyng great. Departyng from hence, and entryng further into the lande, we came to the citie of Narsinga, where many Mahumetan merchauntes do dwel. The soyle beareth neyther wheate nor vynes, or fewe other fruites, except Oranges and Gourdes. They eate no breade: but lyue with ryse, fyshe, and suche walnuttes as the countrey beareth. In maners and Idolatrye, they are lyke vnto them of Calecut, of whiche we wyll speake heareafter. There is founde plentie of spyces, as Ginger, Pepper, Myrobalans, Cardanum, Cassia, and dyuers suche other. Also many and dyuers kindes of fruites vnlyke vnto ours, and muche sweeter. The region is in maner inaccessible for many dennes and diches made by force. The kyng hath an army of fyftie thousande gentelmen, whiche they call Heros. In the warres they vse swoordes, rounde Targettes, or Buklers, Lances, Dartes, Bowes, Slynges: and begyn nowe also to vse Gunnes. They go naked, coueryng onely their priuities, except when they go to the warres. They vse no Horses, Mules, Asses, or those Camels whiche we commonly call Dromedaries. They vse onely Elephantes, yet not to fyght in the battayle. Great merchaundise is vsed in the citie: for thyther resorte from dyuers countres two hundred shyppes yeerely. Departyng from the Kyngdome of Narsinga, in 15 dayes iorney towarde the East, we came at the length to a citie named Bisinagar.

Afterwarde he became founde to the Portugales.
Citie of Narsinga.
Oranges.
Ryse.
Spyces.
Strange fruites.
An army of fyftie thousand gentelmen.
Gunnes.
Elephantes.

Of the fruiteful citie of Bisinagar in the kyngdome of Narsinga. Cap. 8.

THe citie of Bisinager is vnder the dominion of the kyng of Narsinga, and subiect to him. The citie is very large and well walled, situate on the syde of a hyll, and eyght myles in circuite. It is compassed with a triple wall, and is a famous mart of all sortes of ryche merchaundise. The soyle is marueylous fruitefull, and hath whatsoeuer pertayneth to delicates

A triple wall.

Hawkyng and huntyng.

An army of foure thousand horsemen.

Horses of great price.

and pleasures. There is no lande more commodious for haukyng and huntyng, for it hath large playnes and goodly woods: a man would saye it were an earthly Paradyse. The kyng and people are Idolaters. He is a prince of great power, he hath an army of foure thousande horsemen. And yet is it to be noted, the price of a good horse there, to be no lesse then foure or fyue hundred of those peeces of golde whiche they call Pardais: And sometyme it so chanceth that a horse is solde for eight hundred of those peeces of golde. The cause of which great price is, that they are brought out of other countreys: and that they haue no Mares, being forbydden by the commaundement of the kynges, streightly chargyng the portes to be kepte, least any mares should be brought into the countrey. Hee hath also foure hundred Elephantes to serue in the warres: and lykewyse as many Camelles, of the kynde of those swyfte runnyng Camelles which be commonly called Dromadarii. And here me seemeth good opportunitie to say somewhat of the docilitie, agilitie, and wyt of Elephantes, as we haue promised.

Foure hundred Elephantes. Dromedary Camelles.

Of the docilitie, agilitie, and wit of Elephantes. Cap. 9.

THe Elephant, of all foure footed beastes, and nexte vnto man, is most wittie and docible, and not farre from humane sence, and surmounteth all other beasts in strength. When the Indians bring them to the warres, they put great packesaddelles on their backes, suche as in Italie they vse for the great Mules. These packesaddelles they gyrde vnder theyr bellyes with two chaynes of yron. Vppon the saddelles, they place on euery syde a litle house, or if you will, rather call them Turrettes, or Cagies, made of wood: euery Turret conteyneth three Men. Betweene the two Turrettes sitteth an Indian on the backe of the beast, and speaketh to him in his owne language, which the beast vnderstandeth and obeyeth: for it is certaine that no other beast approcheth so neare to the vnderstanding of man. Seuen men therefore are thus placed vppon one Elephant when they goe to the wars, and all armed with coates of fence, Targets, Bowes, Lances, Dartes, and Slynges. Also the trunke or snoute of the Elephant (which of the Latine is called Promuscis, or Proboscis, and of some, the hande of the Elephant) is armed, and hath a sword fastened to it of the length of two cubites, very strong, and of a handfull in breadth. And thus furnished, they proceede to the battayle. When it is requisite to goe forwarde, or backwarde, the gouernour sittyng aboue, gyueth them an instruction with such voyces as they are accustomed vnto: for sometyme he sayth thus to the beast, Stryke here, stryke there, forbeare here, goe forewarde there, turne this way, and that way. All which woordes he vnderstandeth and obeyeth without spurre or brydell. But where it so chanceth that by casting of fyre, they are with feare dryuen to flyght, they can by no meanes be stayed. And therefore these people haue many subtile deuises howe they may feare them with fyre, which this beast, by the sense of nature, feareth aboue all thinges, and therefore flyeth in maner at the syght of fyre. And to speake somewhat of theyr strength, as I haue by experience, I remember that when I was in the citie of Canonor, certayne Mahumetans drue a shyp aland, turnyng the shyp, after the maner of the Christians, with the fore end towarde the lande, and laying vnder it three rowling beames. Then three Elephantes commodiously applied, drawyng with great force, and bendyng downe theyr heades to the ground, brought the shyp to lande. But many haue thought that the Elephantes haue no ioyntes in theyr legges, and that therefore they could not bende theyr legges: which thyng doubtlesse is false, for they haue ioyntes as haue other beastes, but in the lowest parte of theyr legges. The females are more fierce then the Males, and much stronger to beare burdens. Sometime they are taken with furie or madnesse, and testifie the same by disordinate runnyng here and there. One Elephant exceedeth the bygnesse of three Buffes and not vnlyke of heare. They haue eyes lyke swyne, and the snout or trunke very long, wherwith they put meate and drinke into their mouth: and therefore may it well be called the hande of the Elephant. The mouth is vnder the throate, much lyke the mouth of a Sowe, and the trunke is holowe, and can therwith holde fast stickes or staues, and them rule as it were with a hande. I sawe also the trunke of a tree ouerthrowen by an Elephant, which 24 men attempting, could not doe. The two great teeth or tuskes, are placed in the highest iawe. Ech of their eares, are two handfuls

Howe the Elephantes are prepared to the warres.

Seuen men fyght vpon one Elephant.

Howe the Elephant is armed.

The Elephant vnderstandeth the voyce of his keeper.

The Elephant can not abyde fyre.

The strength of the Elephant.

The Elephantes haue ioyntes in their legges.

The hande of the Elephant.

The teeth of the Elephant is luxry.

fuls byg, whether the beast be of the bygger or lesse kinde. The feete are like vnto such round thicke trenchers of wood as be commonly vsed. The foote conteineth fyue hoofes, in roundnesse like vnto great Oysters. The tayle is lyke to the tayle of a Bufle, foure handfull long, and of thyn heare. The females are also bigger then the males, they are of sundry bignes, for some are of 13 handfuls high, and other of 14 handfuls, and some also haue been seene of sixtiene handfuls. They goe slowly, and walowing, and therfore some that haue not ben vsed to them, are moued to vomite euen as it were on the sea. Yet is it a pleasure to ryde on the young Elephantes, bicause they goe softly like ambeling Mules. When you mount of them, they stoope and bend their knees, that you may easily ascende. They are neuer brydeled, neyther vse theyr keepers any halters to gouerne them. The bygnesse of the Elephant.

Of the ingendering of Elephantes, and of the magnificence & riches of the king of Narsinga. Cap. 10.

WHen they ingender, they resorte to the medowes or woods, for by a certaine naturall shamefastnesse they doe it not but in secrete places: Althoug some Auethors haue written that Elephants engender backward. Some take it for a great present to giue the king the member or pissell of an Elephant, whiche perhappes they doe for the exceedyng great price of Elephantes: for some are solde there for fyue hundred peeces of golde, and some (as they say) for two thousande: which peraduenture, is not for their greatnesses of bodie, but rather for certayne properties, wyt, and docilitie, wherein some farre exceede other, euen as among men. And I dare well say that I haue seene some men much inferior to Elephants in wyt and sense. Therefore the kyng of Narsinga, in riches and dominion, farre exceedeth all kynges that euer I haue seene or hearde of. The citie in situation and fayrenesse, repre-senteth the citie of Milane, except only that is in a declining place, and lesse equal. Other kingdoms which are subiect to this, lye round about it, as the kingdome of Ausonia and Venice lye about Milane. Their Bramini (so are the priestes named) tolde me the king receiueth dayly of that citie for tribute or reuenue, the summe of twelue thousandes of those peeces of golde whiche they call Pardios. He maynteyneth an army of many thousandes of men, for he liueth in continuall warre with his borderers. He is an Idolatour, and honoureth the deuyll, euen as doth the kyng of Calecut. They that are of the rychest sorte, vse a slender inwarde apparell or peticote, not very long, and bynde theyr heades with a phillet or broade bande, of sundry colours, after the maner of the Mahumetans. The common sorte, couer onely their priuities, and are besyde all naked. The kyng weareth a Cappe of cloth of golde, of two handfulles long: when he goeth to warre, he weareth a vesture of bombasine, and thereon a cloke adourned with plates of gold, hauyng the borderer garde besette with all sortes of precious stones and lewelles. His horse with the furniture, is es-teemed to bee woorth as muche as one of our cities, by reason of innumerable lewelles of great price. When he goeth a huntyng, three other kynges beare him company, whose office is to be euer neare him, and guyde him. When he maketh any iourney, or rydeth abrode, he is accompanyed with six thousand horsemen: And therefore it is manifeste that not only for these thynges whereof we haue spoken, but also for dyuers other of lyke magnificence, hee is one of the greatest Kynges in the worlde. He coyneth money and peeces of golde named Pardios. Also other siluer money of lesse value, whiche they call Fano, conteynyng the value of sixtiene of the smallest money of copper. Trauelers may here goe safely through all his dominions, if they can avoyde the daunger of the Lions. Of theyr dyet and order of lyuyng, I will speake more largely where occasion shall serue to wryte of Calecut. This kyng of Narsinga, is a great friende to the Christians, and is in great amitie with the kyng of Portugale: and therefore the Portugales are here friendly and honourably vsed. When I had remayned in this citie many dayes, I returned to the citie of Canonor. The naturall shamefastnesse of Elephantes. The pissell of an Elephants. Men of lesse vnderstandyng then Elephantes. The riches of the kyng of Narsinga. A great tribute by the day. Idolators. A rich cloke. The magnificence of the kyng of Narsinga. Coyne of golde and siluer. Daunger of Lyons. The kyng of Narsinga, friend to the kyng of Portugale.

And after I had remayned three dayes, I entered further into the lande, and came to a citie named Trompata, about twelue myles from Canonor. The inhabitauntes are Idolatours. It is neare vnto the sea, and therefore there are seene many merchantes Mahumetans. They lyue moderately and haue in maner none other ryches then nuttes of India, but there are very The citie of Trompata.

Mahumetans. very fayre trees to make shyppes. There are in the citie aboue fiftiene thousande Mahumetans, although the Kyng be an Idolatour. Departyng from hence, I came to the citie of Pandara: and from thence passyng by the citie of Capagot, I came at the length to the famous citie of Calecut. And to be breefe, I haue here ouerpassed to speake largely of many other people and kyngdomes, as are these, Chianul, Dabul, Bathecalo, Onouè, Bangolor, Canonor, Cuchin, Cacilon, and Calonue, which I haue done, to the ende that I may entreat of Calecut, as the chiefest, and as it were the head and metropolitane of all the cities of India, for it is certayne that the Kyng of Calecut in royall maiestie exceedeth all the kynges of the East, and is therefore in theyr language called Samory, that is to say, God on the earth.

Pandara. Capagot. Calecut.

The kyng of Calecut, a God on the earth.

The fyfth booke of East India, and fyrst of the famous citie of Calecut. Cap. 1.

The citie of Calecut.

THe citie of Calecut, is situate vppon the continent or firme lande, and the sea beateth vppon the houses of the citie. There is no porte: but on the South syde about a myle from the citie, is a ryuer which runneth into the ocean sea by a narrow mouth. This runneth by many braunches into the playne feeldes, and is of the inhabitantes by diuers trenches dispearsed to water the grounde. It is not past the depth of three or foure foote of water. The course of it bendeth towarde the citie, and runneth into it. The citie is not compassed with walles, but conteyneth in circuite sixe thousande houses, not adherent or ioyning togeather after the maner of ours, but by a certayne space distant one from the other, eyther for feare of fyre, or by ignorance of the builders. It is a myle of length. The houses are despicable, as no hygher from the grounde then a man on horsebacke, and are for the most parte couered with boughes of trees, in the steede of tiles or other coueryng. The cause whereof they say to bee, that in digging the grounde fyue or syxe handfull depth, water immediately issueth foorth. And therefore they can laye no deeper foundations to beare the weyght of any greater buyldynges. The houses of merchandyse, or warehouses, are solde for fyftiene or twentie peeces of golde. But the common houses, are of no greater price then two peeces of golde at the most, and some for lesse.

Houses diuided.

Very lowe houses.

Houses of small price.

Of the kyng of Calecut, and of their Idolatrie. Cap. 2.

Idolatry and seruyng of the deuyll. One God. Pseudoplatonici.

THe kyng of Calecut and his people, are gyuen to Idolatrie and seruyng of the deuyll: yet deny they not but that there is one great God, maker of heauen and earth, and fyrst and chiefe cause of all thinges: But they adde thereunto a fable, saying that God coulde take no pleasure of his principate or dominion, if hee himselfe shoulde take vppon hym the gouernement of the worlde, and therefore that he gaue the vicarage of that gouernaunce to the deuyll, who (they say) was sent from heauen for that purpose, and to iudge the worlde, renderyng vnto men well or euyll, according to their deseruyng. This deuyll they name Deumo. But the great God him selfe they call Tamerani. The kyng hath a Chapel in his Pallace, where he honoureth this Deumo: The Chapell is open on euery syde the breadth of a vaulte of two pases, and is no hygher from the grounde then three pases. The entraunce is by a doore of wood, garnished with carued woorke, conteyning the dyuers monstruous fourmes and shapes of deuylles. In the myddest of the Chapell, is a seate of maiestie made of copper, with also a deuyll of copper sittyng in it. This deuyll hath on his head a crowne, after the maner of the byshop of Rome, but this hath overplus fourne hornes, his mouth gapyng, with foure notable teeth, a deformed nose, louryng and grymme eyes, a threatenyng looke, crooked handes lyke a fleshe hooke, and feete not much vnlyke the feete of a Cocke: A monster doubtlesse horrible and fearefull to beholde. In euery corner of the Chapell sit such deuylles of shining copper, as though they were of flamyng fyre, deuouryng soules miserably. These soules are about the bygnesse of halfe a finger, and some little bigger. He putteth one soule into his mouthe with the ryght hande, and with the lefte hande taketh an other from beneath. Euery mornyng the priestes (whom they call Bramini) washe the Idoll with rose water, and perfume him with sweete sauours, and lying prostrate on the grounde, pray vnto him. They sacrifice vnto him once a weeke. Theyr maner of sacrifice is

The deuyll Prince of this worlde.

Deumo, quasi Dæmon. The Chapell of the deuyll.

The deuylls chayre of maiestie. Difference betweene the Popes crowne and the deuylles. A well fauoured Prince.

The deuylles ordinary dyet, and deintie meate. Bramini. Brachmini.

is this, They haue a little cubbarde lyke vnto an Altar, three handfulles hygh, foure handfuls brode, and fyue handfuls long: this cubbard they strawe with all maner of floures and sweete pouders. Then hauyng a great Chafingdyshe, or the lyke vessell of siluer, full of burning coles, they put the blood of the Cocke thereon, and also cast thereon innumerable sweete sauours: In the meane tyme also with sensours in theyr handes, they goe rounde about the Altar, makyng perfume with frankensense, ringyng a little siluer bell all the whyle of the sacrifice. They kyll the Cocke with a siluer knyfe, and the knyfe also being rayed with blood, they put often in the fyre, that no parte of the blood be lost. Sometyme hauyng the knyfe in theyr hande, they make certayne straunge gestures, much lyke to those which the masters of fense vse in giuyng or auoydyng of strokes. They neuer cease puttyng to more coles and spices or perfumes, vntyl all the blood of the Cocke be burnt. The priest that offereth the blood of the Cocke, hath his armes and feete garnyshed with siluer plates and pendantes, in such sorte, that whyle hee moueth, they make a certayne noyse, much lyke vnto sonettes or haukes belles. He hath on his breast a certayne bosse, conteynyng I know not what secrete figure, which may seeme to be the secrete caract or signe of some mysterie. The sacrifice being finished, he taketh both his handes full of wheate, and goeth from the Alter backeward lyke a Creuice, neuer mouyng his eyes from the Alter, vntyll he come to a certayne tree: where openyng his handes, hee casteth the wheate on the tree. Then holdyng his handes aboue his head, he returneth to the Alter, and taketh away all that is thereon.

The maner of sacrifice to the deuyll.

Gallus Esculapio.

A goodly priest the deuyllea Chaplen.

Offeryng of wheate.

Of the maner which the kyng vseth at his meate. Cap. 3.

THe Kyng doeth not sit downe at his meate, before foure of the priestes offer it to the deuyll, in this maner. Lifting theyr handes aboue theyr heades, with also many other fantasticall gesticulations, and murmuryng voyces, they offer the meate to the deuyll, and spende long tyme in those ceremonyes, to the end that the Kyng should eate no meat that is not first offered to the deuyll. They offer the meate in a tray of wood, and therein laye it vppon the brode leaues of a certayne tree. His meat is Ryse, and dyuers other thinges, as fruite, fleshe, and fyshe. He sitteth on the grounde without cloth or Carpet. The priestes in the meane tyme stande rounde about him, but approcheth no nearer then foure or fyue pases, obseruyng diligently the Kinges woordes. When the kyng hath lefte eatyng, the priestes carry away all that is lefte, and in a certayne place thereto appointed, offer it to certayne Crowes, which they keepe for the same purpose: And therefore being vsed to be thus fedde, geather togeather at a signe gyuen them, and eate vp the meate. These crowes are therefore of them esteemed holy: and therefore it is not lawfull for any man to take them or hurte them.

The deuyll is serued before the kyng.

Chaplens of honour.

I thinke the Priestes take parte with the Crowes.

Crowes esteemed holy.

Of the Priestes of Calecut, called Bramini. Cap. 4.

THese Bramini, are in place with them, as are the chiefe priestes or byshoppes with vs. Therefore when the king shall marrie, he lyeth not with his wyfe before shee be defloured by the Archbyshop, yet taketh he not this vppon him without rewarde: for the kyng gyueth him for his labour fiftie peeces of golde. Only the kyng of Calecut keepeth this custome.

The priestes euer prouide for them selues.

A goodly office for a byshop.

Of the dyuers sortes of Idolaters in the citie of Calecut. Cap. 5.

THe chiefest Idolaters, and of the greatest dignitie, are the Bramini. They of the seconde order, are named Naeri: And in the same place with them, as are with gentelmen, whose office is when they go abrode to beare swoordes, targettes, bowes, launces, and other weapons. The thyrde order consysteth of mecanike or handie craftes men. In the fourth place, are vitaylers, and suche as make prouision of fyshe and fleshe. Next vnto these, are they that geather Pepper, Wyne, Walnuttes, and suche other fruites and spices. The last and basest sort, (named Neraui) are they that sowe and geather Ryse. These as the inferiour tribe of men, are in such subiection to the Bramini and Naeri, that in payne of death they may approche no nearer vnto them then 50 pases. And therefore they lye lurkyng in certayne

Priestes and gentelmen.

Poore men haue no soules.

tayne shadowes and darke places and maryshes, lest they shoulde suddenly chaunce to meete with them. Wherefore when they come abrode, that they may be hearde a farre of, they crye with a loude voice I wotte near what, that they may be hearde of the sayde Bramini and Naeri, least beyng soddenly betrayyed, they shoulde be put to death.

Of the apparell of the kyng, queene, and Inhabitantes of the citie of Calecut. And of their maner of feedyng. Cap. 6.

They are not troubled with garderobes, or mukyng them redye morayng and euenyng.

THe apparell of the kyng and queene, is litle or nothyng differyng from the other Idolaters: among the whiche the Mahumetans (as strangers) are not to be accompted. They couer onely theyr priuie partes with bombasine cloth or sylke, and are besyde all naked, barefooted also, and bareheadded. But the Mahumetans weare single apparell, reachyng only vnto the nauel. The women are apparelled euen as are the men, sauyng only that they lette theyr heare growe very longe. The kyng and nobilitie of the citie, eate no fleshe except they fyrst aske counsayle of the Priestes. But the common people may eate what fleshe they wyll, excepte the fleshe of kyne. But they of the basest sorte, named Nirani and Poliar, may eate onely fyshes dryed at the Sunne.

Of theyr custome after the death of the kyng. Cap. 7.

The kynges children succeed not to inherite the kyngdome.

AFter the death of the kyng, if he haue any male chyldren lyuyng, or brethren, or brothers chyldren, they succeede not in the kingdome: for of auncient lawe and custome, the septer pertayneth to the kynges systers sonnes, of whiche if there be none, it commeth to the next of the blood: And this for none other cause (as they saye) but that the priestes haue defloured the queene. When the kyng goeth abrode or on huntyng, the priestes, be they neuer so young, keepe the queene at home, and remayne neere about her: for there is nothyng more acceptable to the kyng, then that the priestes shoulde so keepe companye with the queene. And therefore the kyng may well thynke that the chyldren borne of her, are not to be numbred amongst his chyldren, and therfore taketh the chyldren of his systers, to be neerest of his blood, and ryght inheritours to the crowne. When the kyng is dead, all his subiectes, by cuttyng theyr beardes and shauyng theyr headdes, testifie how greeuously they take his death. Yet heareih they vse not all one fashion, for some cutte onely part of the heare of theyr chynne, and some parte of the heare of theyr head, and other all: and so euery man as he doth phantasie. Duryng the tyme that they celebrate the funerals of the kyng, they that lyue by fyshyng, forbeare fyshyng for the space of eight dayes. And when any of the kynges wyues dye, they obserue the lyke ceremonyes as for the death of the kyng. The kyng sometyme, by a certayne superstician, abstyeneth from venery, or the company of women, for the space of a yeere: and lykewise forbeareth to eate certayne leaues, whiche they call Betolas, beyng the leaues of Assyrian apples: which they vse not onely for dilicates, but also because theyr propertie is to moue men more greatly to wanton lustes. For the same purpose also they eate a certayne fruite named Coffolo, somewhat lyke vnto Dates.

What payne the priestes take for theyr kuyng and what seruice they do the kyng. Bastordes.

Moornyng for the death of the kyng.

Chastitie and abstinence.

Mestes that moue to lechurie.

Of theyr chaungyng of wyues. Cap. 8.

Great frendshyppe.

THe gentelmen and merchauntes, to shew great curtesie and frendshyp one to the other, vse sometyme to chaunge wiues, and therein vse this maner of speache: My freende, we haue nowe of long tyme lyued togeather as faythful frendes, and therefore for the laste accomplyshement of our frendeshyppe, if it so please thee, lette vs chaunge wyues. Content sayth the other, for I beare thee euen as good wyll. The wyues refuse not to agree on the condition herein also, to please theyr husbandes. Then the one bryngeth his wyfe to the other, saying: Woman, this man shall hereafter be thy husbande. The other sayth the lyke to his wyfe also. Thus all partes beyng agreed, they depart with frendly embrasyng: But the chyldren remayne with the fyrst husbande. These Idolatars haue also diuers other customes: for among some of them, one woman is maryed to seuen husbandes, of the whiche euery of them hath his nyght by course appoynted to lye with her: And when she hath

hath brought foorth a chylde, she may geue it or father it to whiche of them she lysteth: Who may in no case refuse it.

The maner of feedyng of the common people, of the Idolatars, and of theyr Iustice. Cap. 8*.

Diogenians.

LYing along on the grounde they eate theyr meate out of a traye of copper: for spoones, they vse certayne leaues of trees. Theyr meate commonly, is Ryse, fyshe, spices and fruites, of the commoner sort. The labouryng men or ruder sorte, eate so fylthyly, that puttyng theyr foule handes in the potte, they take out ryse by handfuls, and so thrust it in theyr mouthes. They vse this kynde of Iustice for homicide. Where any hath slayne a man, he is thus punyshed. They haue a kynde of galows made in maner of a double crosse, where whyle the murtherer is tyed fast, one thrusteth a stake through his bodye, where the poore wretche so hangeth vntyll he be dead: But they that wounde or hurt any man, redeeme the faulte for mony payde to the kyng. They that are in debte, are thus enforced to paye the same. The creditour fyrst demaundeth his monye: and if it be founde that the debitour breake promysse, then he to whom the mony is owyng, goeth to one of the kynges scriueners (whiche are sayde to be a hundred) and before hym makyng dewe proofe of the debte, receiueth of hym a greene wande of a tree, with auctho̅ritie to prosecute his debitour vntil he haue found him, where when he hath arrested him, with these woordes (go no further before thou paye me) thryse rehearsed, he sayth furthermore thus. I charge thee by the head of Bramini, and by the head of the kyng, not to sturre from this place before thou paye me. There is no shyfte but eyther to paye incontinent, or there to loose his lyfe. But if he be found alone, and escape after the sayd woords, he is euer after adiudged a rebell, and therefore shall it be lawefull for any man to kyll hym whersoeuer he is founde, within the kynges dominions.

The punyshement of murtherers.

Beatyng.

A straunge maner to demaund debte.

Death for debte.

Of the honoring of Idolles. Cap. 9.

WHen they praye to theyr Idolles, in the mornyng before the Sunne ryse, they resorte to the pooles or ryuers to washe them: And so at their commyng home to theyr houses (where they keepe theyr Idolles) they touch nothyng before they praye to the Idolles prostrate on the grounde secreatly: while they praye, they make certayne deuylyshe gesticulations lyke mad men, so maruelously defourmyng theyr faces, eyes, and mouthes, that no man can behoide it without horrour: and thus contynue their prayer a quarter of an houre. When the tyme of eatyng approcheth, they may not fal to theyr vittayles, before some one of the gentlemen haue dressed it, and set it in order. But this custome is obserued onely among the gentelmen or noble men. The women haue none other charge or care, then to dresse and beautifie them selues, for their husbandes vse not to haue to do with them before they be curyously washed, and perfumed with sundrye sweete sauours. When the women go abrode, it is marueilous to beholde howe they are behanged with iewels and pretious stones, on theyr eares, armes and legges.

Outward cleanlynesse.

Womens woorke.

Cleanly Women.

Of theyr maner of warre. Cap. 10.

THey haue in the citie certayne maisters of fence, that teach them how to vse the swoord, the target, the launce, and suche other weapons. When the kyng proceedeth to the warres, he is furnyshed with an armie of a hundred thousande footemen, for of horsemen there is no vse, but onely Elephantes: for the kyng hym selfe rydeth on an Elephant. They that are next to the kyng, weare about theyr headdes, fillettes or bandes of sylke, of crymisyn or scarlet colour. Theyr weapons are certayne crooked swoordes, targets, launces, and bowes. The kynges ensigne, is a certaine thyng made of bowes of trees, implicate round like the couering of a tub, borne vp on a reede. This is borne so that ỹ shadow thereof may couer the king from the heate of the Sunne; and is in their tongue, called Somler. When both the armies approche within three arrowe shoote, the kyng sendeth his Braminos into the tentes of his enimies, in maner of haroldes to chalenge a hundred of them to come foorth (if they dare)

Maisters of fence.

The kynges army.

Their Weapons.

The kynges ensigne.

The priestes are haroldes.

A chalenge to combatte.

dare) to combat agaynst a hundred of his Naeres, which before we said to be his gentelmen and chiefe strength of his army: which message done, both sydes prepare them selues to the batayle, and in the midway, fyrst a hundred fyght with a hundred. The whiche if they shoulde feyght continually for the space of three dayes, would neuer stryke with the poynt, but with the edge of the swoorde, and for the most parte at the head, and seldome at the legges. But when fyue or syxe are slayne, incontinent the Bramini on both partes make an ende of the fyght: and by theyr commaundement the retreate is sounded on both partes. Then agayne the Bramini (which are the chiefe priestes as we haue sayde) on both sydes, speake vnto the kynges, and aske them if they wyll any more. And thus for the most parte make they an ende of the quarell and battayle, without great slaughter of men. The kyng sometymes rydeth on an Elephant, and sometymes also is borne by his noble men, named Naeri. When he proceedeth, there folowe hym a great multitude of mynstrels, makyng a great noyse, with Tymberels, Tamberets, and suche other instrumentes. The stypende of the Naeri is foure Carlines euery moneth in peace, and syxe in tyme of warre: these haue theyr teeth very blacke, by eatyng of a certayne hearbe, whiche they much vse. When any of these are slayne, their bodies are burned, with great pompe, and many superstitions, and also theyr ashes reserued: but the common sort are buryed, in diuers maners, for some are buried in their houses, some in their gardens, and other in feeldes, medowes, or wooddes. They coyne mony here, as in ỹ citie of Narsinga. When I was there, there was in ỹ citie merchants of almost all partes of the East, and especially a great number of Mahumetans, and many also of the region of Melacha, and Bangella: other also of Tarnassari, Pego, and Ciriomandel: some lykewyse of the Ilandes of Zeylan, and Sumatra, whiche is Taprobana: other of Cholon, Caicolon, and Bathecala; and almost innumerable other, of nations whose names are better knowen to vs, as Persians, Arabians, Syrians, Turkes, and Ethiopians, and also many of the kyngdome of Narsinga, strangers of so many nations, were in the citie of Calecut whyle I remayned there. Vnderstand furthermore, that the Idolators vse not to sayl on the sea, but that is appoynted to the Mahumetans, as meeter men for that purpose. And there is in the citie of Calecut more then fyfteene thousande Mahumetans, whiche were borne in the same citie.

A great battayle and litle bloodshed.

Minstrels.

Blacke teeth.

The dead gentelmen are burnt, but the poore men are buryed.

Coyned money.

Merchauntes resorte to Calecut.

Mahumetans of Calecut.

Of their shippes and maner of saylyng on the sea. Cap. 11.

THeyr Shippes are made no lesse then may suffise for the burden of foure or fyue hundred Tonne, and all open without any couerture. In the ioyntes of their Shippes they put no Towe, but lyne the plankes so artificially, that they holde out water very well: yet do they pytche the ioyntes, and make them fast with nayles of Iron. They do not forbeare Towe for lacke therof, for they haue great plentie o[illegible]mpe and flaxe. *They haue plankes* or boordes and postes of diuers sortes, for they haue as good wood and better then we. Theyr sayles are of Bombasine cloth, and doubled in the neather part, whereby they geather more wynde, and swell therewith, lyke a bagge: and in this they passe vs, vsyng but only syngle sayles. They vse ankers of marble, of the length of eyght spannes and on euery syde two: these they hang in the sea by double ropes, and besyde these, haue none other ankers. They haue certayne appoynted tymes and seasons, of saylyng: for some tymes serue best for one coast, and some other, for other coastes and viages. The changes and also contrarietie of tymes, is there greatly to be consydered: for when with vs al thynges for heate are almost scorched, then haue they large shewres, as in the monethes of May, Iune and Iuly. Their shippes are of diuers quantities, as with vs, and therfore also of diuers names. They haue one sort of vessels made of one whole peece of wood, like a trough, veri long, sharpe and narowe: in these they vse both sayles and ores, and are therfore swyfter then our Galleys or foystes. The Pirates vse these very much. The best of their shippes are made in an Ilande named Porcai, not farre from Calecut.

Theyr shippes.

Ankers of marble, on euery syde two.

Seasons of the yeere, contrarie to ours.

Diuers fashions of shippes and other vessels.

Of the Court or Palace of the Kyng of Calecut. Cap. 12.

THe Palace of the kyng of Calecut conteyneth no lesse then a myle in circuite, the wall is

A goodly palace.

is not hygh, the buylding is fayre, with beames or postes wel ioynyng the frame, and curiously wrought and carued with the figures and shapes of deuyls on euery syde. Why the walles be no hygher, we haue declared before, where we haue spoken of the lowe buyldyng of the houses of the citie: the cause wherof (as we haue saide) is the vnstable grounde, so ful of water, that they can dygge no deapth to lay fundation to beare hygher buyldynges. But what pearles and precious stones the kyng weareth vpon hym, can not be expressed for the greatnesse of the thyng: for doubtlesse it exceedeth all estimation. Although at the tyme of my beyng there, he was not geuen to ioyfulnesse, but lyued in greefe of mynde, aswel for the warres which the kyng of Portugale made agaynst hym, as also that he was diseased with the Frenche poxe, which had now entred into his throte: neuerthelesse, his eares, armes, handes, legges, and feete, were so beautyfully and rychly garnyshed with all sortes of iewels and precious stones, that it can not be spoken. His treasure is esteemed so vnmeasurable, that it can not be conteyned in two wonderful great cellars or warehouses. This treasure consysteth of precious stones, plates of golde, and also so muche coyned golde as may suffice to lade a hundred Mules, as theyr Bramini reporte, to whom it is best knowen. They saye also that this treasure was geathered and reserued by twelue kynges whiche were before hym, and that in his treasurye is a cofer of three spannes in length, and two in breadth, ful of only pretious stones, of price inestimable.

Images of the deuyll to garnyshe the kinges palace.

The ryche iewels which the king weareth.

The kyng of Portugales warres agaynst the kyng of Calecut.

The Frenche poxe among precious iewelle.

Inestimable treasure.

Of the spices of Calecut. Cap. 13.

PEpper is geathered in the feeldes about the subarbes, and also in certayne places within the citie. The stalke of pepper is very weake and lyke vnto vines, which can not beare it selfe, without the helpe of a stake or proppe, and is muche lyke vnto an Iuie, and in lyke maner creepeth and embraceth suche trees as are neere vnto it. This tree (or rather bushe) is dispearsed into sundry branches, of the length of two or three spannes, and hath the leaues lyke vnto the leaues of an Assyrian apple, but that these are somewhat thycker and fatter. On euery twigge hange syxe clusters, no bygger then Dates, and lyke vnto clusters of litle grapes, and of the coloure of vnripe grapes, but growe thycker. They are geathered in the moneth of October and Nouember, inclynyng yet to greene colour, and are so layde on mattes, and set in the Sunne to drye, where in the space of three dayes, they become blacke, as they are brought hyther. The fruitefulnesse of these, proceedeth onely of the symple goodnesse of the soyle, without helpe of loppyng or pruning. This region beareth also Gynger, whiche is doubtlesse a roote, and is sometyme dygged of the weight of 12 unces, it entreth no deeper into the grounde then three or foure handefuls. When they dygge it out, they leaue the knotte or ioynt of the roote in the pitte, and couer it agayne with earth, as a seede for more agaynst the nexte yeere. It is founde in an equall soyle, as are the Myrabolanes: yet is the earth where it groweth, of very redde coloure. The stalke, is muche lyke the stalke of a young peare tree.

Pepper.

The Pepper tree.

Clusters of pepper.

Ginger.

Of the fruites of Calecut. Cap. 14.

IF I should describe all the sortes of straunge fruites that are seene there, it would rather require a volume, then a breefe rehersall of them particulerly: for they haue not only many greatly differing from ours in fourme, sauour and tast, but also those of the kynde of such as we haue, differ in maner no lesse. Whereby may the naturall Philosopher consider howe those thinges which are all of one kynde, differ according vnto the nature of the soile and diuers situation vnder the heauens. By which natural cause, and alteration, some fruites and seedes, by transplanting into a better soile, become more perfect in their kind, as bigger, fayrer, sweeter, and more fruitfull: As also contrariwise, the contrary, by transplanting into a worse soile, or colder region: which diuersitie is seene, not only in plantes and hearbes, but also in beastes, and euen in man kynde. It is very strange to consider howe diuersly trees beare theyr fruites and seedes, as some in one parte of the tree, and some in an other. There is in Calecut a fruite which they name laceros: the body of the tree, is of the bignesse of a Peare tree: the fruite is of the length of two handfuls and a halfe, and as byg as the thygh of a man. The fruit groweth out of the body of the tree vnder the branches, and some

Fruites vnlyke ours.

A philosophicall consideration of the difference of thinges of one kynde.

A great fruite growyng out of the body of the tree.

some euen in the very myddest of the tree, and other yet lower also. The colour is greene, and in fourme, in maner lyke vnto a Pyne apple, but with lesse graines or knobbes: when it is rype, it becommeth blacke. It is geathered in the moneth of December. It hath the taste of a Pepon, and the sauour somewhat like Castoreum. It seemeth in eatyng to gyue dyuers and sundry pleasant tastes: as sometyme the taste of a Peache, sometyme of a Pomegranate, and leaueth at the ende a taste so sweete, that you would thynke it to be newe hony combes. Vnder the skynne, it is lyke vnto a Peache. And within the body conteineth an other fruit, not much vnlyke softe Chestnuttes, and beyng rosted, hath the same taste, and is therefore certaynely one of the goodlyest fruites that I knowe. I wil here, to be breefe, omit to speake muche of their Nuttes, and Walnuttes, Almons, Prunes, Peaches, Quinces, Gourdes, Melons, and suche other fruites knowen to vs, and yet much more pleasaunt and fayrer then are ours. There is one fruite worthie to be knowen, which they call Apolanda. The tree groweth to the height of a man, it beareth not past foure or fiue leaues hangyng by certayne slyppes, euery leafe is able well to couer a man from rayne, and the heate of the sunne: In the myddest of the leafe, riseth a twyg or stalke, lyke the stalke of a beane, which bringeth out floures and also fruites of a handfull long, and of the bignesse of a mans arme: these fruites are geathered vnrype, bycause they become rype in keeping. Euery slyp beareth about two hundred fruites, a thyng certaynely wherein is greatly seene the fruitfulnesse of nature. They touche one an other, and cluster togeather. They are of yelowe colour, and haue a verry thyn codde, and are in eatyng delicate and holesome. There are three sortes of this kynde of fruite, of the which one is of euyll taste, and therefore not so muche esteemed. It is yet more straunge, that this tree beareth fruite but once, yet when it dyeth, there ryse about the roote thereof fyftie or threescore young slyppes, whiche renue the lyfe of theyr parent, that he dye not without succession. The gardeners or graffers transplante these in other places, for within the space of one yeere they bring foorth fruite. They are geathered in great abundance almost all the whole yeere, and are therefore very good cheape, and of small pryce, as twentie for a penny. The same soyle beareth lykewyse innumerable and most fayre and sweete floures all the yeere long, and especially Roses, both white, redde, and yelowe.

Rype fruites in December. A fruite of manyfolde tastes.

One fruite within an other.

A tree with very heede leaues.

Two hundred fruites on euery slyppe.

A tree that neuer beareth fruit bitt once.

Fruites and floures geathered at all tymes of the yeere.

Of a most fruitfull tree of all the world. Cap. 15.

THere is also an other tree, most worthie to be knowen, the which in fruitfulnesse, and sweetnesse of the fruit, passeth all the trees of the worlde. It beareth certaine fruites lyke vnto great Dates or Nuttes, and generally bringeth foorth tenne commodities: for it beareth wood most apte to nourish fyre, and Nuttes very pleasant to be eaten, also cordes or ropes which may well serue for saylers: Lykewyse very fyne cloth, which when it is coloured, sheweth lyke silke: The wood is the best that may be founde to make coles, it yeldeth also wine and *odoriferous water*: furthermore also, oyle and suger. The boughes of the tree, are commodious to couer houses in place of tyles or thetche: for by reason of the closenesse and fatnesse of the leaues, they keepe out the rayne very well. The fruite of this tree (as we haue sayde) is in forme lyke vnto great Dates or Nuttes. One tree beareth about two hundred of those fruites. Takyng away the first ryme, they put it in the fyre, where it burneth quickly and with great flame. The seconde fruite vnder the sayde first ryme, is muche lyke vnto bombasine or silke, and is lyke vnto flaxe when it is wrought. Of the floures, they make a certayne kynde of cloth, not vnlyke silke. The towe or refuse of the first flaxe, they spinne and make thereof a grosser cloth, and small ropes or cordes: and of the smallest, wreathed togeather, they make greater ropes, which may serue for shippes. That parte of the Nut which is vnder the third ryme, conteyneth also a substaunce apte to make coles. The last ryme, includeth the substance or cornell of the Nutte, very delicate to be eaten. This ryme or barke, is of the thicknesse of a mans litle finger. As the Nutte groweth in bignesse, so doeth also the water conteyned therein. So that the Nutte commyng to his full rypenesse and bygnesse, the water occupieth the inner parte: and sometyme is founde so much water in the Nutte, that you may take out of euery Nutte two or three cuppes of water very sweete to be droonke, and as cleere as Rose water, of the which also being thickened

This tree in the west Indis, is called Cocus. Ten Commodities of one tree.

Nux Indies. They are as big as a mans fyst and some bygger.

Very sweete and cleare water within a Nutte.

thickened by seethyng, is made very fatte oile. The Nutte likewise it selfe, is of very pleasant taste. They suffer but one parte of the tree to bring foorth fruite: for on the other parte or syde, they cutte and wounde the tree in diuers places euery morning and euening, and powre into the wounded places a certayne liquor, which draweth out of the tree a iuise, which falleth into vessells placed to receyue it, and so receyue they euery day and nyght in euery vessell, a cuppe of most precious liquor, which sometymes also they seeth at the fyre, putting euer more vnto it, vntill it come to the strength of Aqua vitæ, and troubleth the brayne both in sauour and drynkyng, as doeth most strong wyne. On an other braunche of the same tree, they geather lykewyse suger, but not very sweete. The tree beareth fruite continually: for there are seene on it both the olde and drye fruites of the season paste, and also greene fruites of the newe spring. It beareth not before the fifth yeere. These trees are founde in the space or distaunce of about two hundred myles. They are so greatly esteemed, that in the myddest of most cruellest warres, it is not lawfull for any man to hurt them, euen in the landes of their enemies. They lyue but to the age of 25 yeeres. They prosper best in sandy grounde, and are set or planted as are Walnuttes. This region hath also other fruites wherof they make good oyle.

Oile made of water.

Wyne of cutte braunches of a tree.

A tree that beareth fruite continually all the whole yeere.

Oile.

Howe they sowe Ryse. Cap. 16.

THey tyll the ground and plough it with Oxen as we doe: when the tyme approcheth to sowe Ryse, they testifie the ioyfulnesse of that day with all sortes of instrumentes, singing and dauncing. And in the way of their good speed, that all thinges may prosper the better, (as they beleeue) they disguise ten men in apparell, to the similitude of the three deuylles, and daunce about them with all the noyse of theyr instruments. And thus celebratyng the festiuall day, they pray the deuylles good grace to sende them plentie of Ryse.

Ploughing of the grounde.

A daunce of deuylles.

Solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos. etc.

Howe theyr Phisitians visite sicke folkes. Cap. 17.

WHen any merchaunt of the Idolaters is sore greeued with any disease, and in maner neare vnto death, then certaine of them, which they take for phisitians, called to visite the patient in this extremitie, come thyther in the silence of the nyght, apparelled lyke the deuyll (as is aforesayde) carying fyre stickes in theyr mouthes and handes. And there, with a madde crye and howlyng, and with the iangelyng of certayne instrumentes, maketh so horrible a noyse in the eares of the sicke man, that it were enough to make a whole man sicke. And this is all the remedy and comfort which their Phisitians bring to their sicke men, whiche is none other, then in the article of death to present vnto them the similitude of him whom they (worse then deuylles) honour for Gods vicare. Eyther meanyng perhappes by this meanes, to call agayne the sicke man almost dead. When the inhabitantes haue so ingorged them selues with so much meate, that they be sicke in theyr stomake, they take the pouder of the rootes of ginger, and makyng it in fourme of a strupe, with puttyng some liquor vnto it, drinke it all vp, and within three dayes recouer theyr health.

The deuyll a Phisition.

Such a Phisition such phisicke.

A remedie for surfetyng.

Of theyr Exchaungers, Bankers and Brokers. Cap. 18.

THeir exchaungers and bankers, haue weyghtes and balances so little, that the boxe, with the weightes and all that parteineth therto, passeth not the weight of an ounce, and are made so iuste, that the weight of a heare will cast them. When they will trye true golde from false, or base from fyne, they vse the touche stone, as we doe, but haue this more then we: They haue a ball composed (I know not wherof) and lyke vnto waxe, and when they have first rubbed the golde on the touche, they rubbelikewyse the touche on the sayd ball, where then the spottes of the golde remayne, and thereby they knowe a more exacte proofe of the finenesse or basenesse of the gold. When the sayde ball is full of gold, they melt it in the fyre, and geather the gold which it had imbibed. These exchangers are but grosse witted men, and ignorant of the arte which they professe. In buying and selling of merchandies, they vse this maner. They haue a broker, whose helpe they vse in these affayres. Therefore when the merchauntes come thyther, then the broker hauyng with him a vayle or scarfe, taketh the seller by the ryght hande and couereth it with the vayle. Then doth the merchant number on his fingers, from one vnto a

Fyne weyghtes and balances.

A straunge experiment to proue the fyne golde from base.

A superstitious maner of buying and selling.

Proxenets.

hundred thousand, priuily and secretly, and then the seller also with lyke numbryng of his fingers and ioyntes, vntyll he come to the number of the price of his merchandies. Then the broker goeth agayne to the buyer, and coueryng his handes with the vayle in lyke maner, and numberyng of his fingers, certifieth him howe muche the seller demaundeth for his ware, then the buyer agayne, by feelyng and numbryng the brokers fingers, signifieth what he will gyue the seller for his merchaundies. And thus the broker goeth to and fro, shewyng both theyr meanyng with silence vntyll they be agreed. They sell theyr cloth by measure, but theyr spices and iewells by weyght.

Of the inhabitantes of Poliar and Hirana, and how they nourysh theyr children. Cap. 19.

Litle payne or cost for noursing of children.

THe women weane theyr children when they come to the age of three monethes, and afterward nourysh them with Goates milke: and when in the morning they haue giuen them milke, they tomble them in the sandes all foule and filthie, where they let them lye all the day, and are so scorched of the Sunne, that farre of them seeme like Buffes Calues. I neuer sawe more deformed or filthie creatures: at euenyng, theyr mothers gyue them milke agayne. By this kinde of wylde bringing vp, they become men of marueylous dexteritie in swiftnesse of runnyng, and other thinges of great agilitie, as to walke vppon ropes, swymmyng, leapyng, vaultyng, and such lyke.

Funambuli.

Of foure footed beastes, foules, and birdes of Calecut. Cap. 20.

THere are many beastes and kyndes of birdes, as Lions, wilde Bores, Hortes, hyndes, Buffes, Kyne, Goates, and Elephantes: yet not all engendred there, but brought thyther partly from other places. There are also parottes of sundry colours, as greene, purple and other mixte colours. There is such multitude of them, that there are men appointed to keepe them from the Ryse in the fieldes, as we vse to keepe Crowes from the corne. They are marueylous crying and chattering, and of small price, as one solde for two pense or halfe a souse. There are many other birdes much vnlyke to ours, which euery mornyng and euenyng make so great a noyse and sweete singing, that nothing can be more pleasant or delectable to heare, and therfore the inhabitantes lyue in great pleasure, and in maner as it were in an earthly Paradyse, in continuall spryng and florishyng of floures, hearbes and trees, all the yeere long: besyde also the goodly and holsome temperatenesse of the ayre, being neither extreme hotte nor colde, but in maner in temperature of continuall spring tyme. That region hath also Monkeys, which are there of small price. These are very hurtfull to husbandmen, and such as liue by tillage of the grounde: for they clyme the trees of those goodly Indian Nuts and precious fruite, wherof we haue spoken here before, of the which they make wyne, which these beastes do spill, and cast downe the vesselles that are made faste there to receyue the sayde liquor of wyne.

Popingayes or Parottes.

A great noyse of birdes.

An earthly Paradyse, Continuall spring and temperate ayre. Monkeys doe much hurte.

Of certayne Serpentes which are seene in Calecut. Cap. 21.

THere are certayne Serpentes, of such bignesse, that they are equal to swine, theyr heads are much greater then the heads of Bores: they are foure footed, and of the length of foure cubites, and are engendred in marishes. The inhabitantes say that they are without poison, and doe not otherwyse hurt then by byting. There are furthermore three kindes of Serpentes: of the which, some are of so strong poison, that if they drawe neuer so litle blood, present death foloweth, whiche thing chaunced oftentymes whilest I was there. Of these kindes of serpentes, some are of the bignesse of an Aspe, and many much bigger. Of these there are a very great number. The cause wherof (they say) is this: That the kyng of Calecut, of a certaine foolishe superstition, maketh so great accompt of these Serpentes, that he causeth litle houses or cottages to be made for them, beleeuyng that they haue vertue against ouer much raine, and ouerflowing of riuers, and therefore if a man kill any of them, he is punished with death, as though he had killed a man: and the like punishment is also for him that killeth a cowe. They greatly esteeme these Serpents, bicause (as they say) they came from heauen, and therfore they take them for heauenly spirites, which they affirme,

Crocodiles without poison. Three kyndes of serpentes.

Serpentes superstitiously kepte and nourished.

Death for kyllyng a Serpent or a Cowe.

affirme, for that only with touching, they bring present death. And this is ℈ cause that there are many serpentes, being thus permitted by the commaundement of the king. These serpents know the Idolaters inhabitants from Mahumetans, or other strangers, and wil sooner venture vppon them. When I was there, I came into a house where eight men laye dead and greatly swolne, whiche the day before were killed by these serpents, yet doe they esteeme it for good lucke, when going abrode, they meet with any of them. Because they goe naked. Superstition.

Of the lightes and Lampes which are seene in the Pallace of the Kyng of Calecut. Cap. 22.

IN the kynges Courte or Pallace, are diuers mansions, and very many chambers, and therefore in the euenyng when it waxeth darke, there are seene innumerable burning Lampes.

In the hall of the pallace, are seene ten or twelue candelstickes laton, very fayre, and of cunnyng workemanshyp, muche lyke vnto goodly fountaynes, and of the heyght of a man. In eche of them are dyuers vesselles, and in euery vessel three candels lyght, of two spannes length, and great plentie of oyle. In the first vessell, are many Lampes made of cordes of bombasine cotten. In the myddle part, is seene a narower vessel, also full of lampes and lightes. In the lowest vessell also the like number of lightes. But in another vessel in the toppe of all the candelsticke, are in maner innumerable lightes, mainteyned with oyle, and haue matches of bombasine cotton. At the angles or corners of these candelsticks, are the Images of deuils, whiche also holde the lightes that are in the kinges presence. When any of the kinges blood dyeth, hee sendeth for all the Bramini or priestes of his realme, and commaund them to mourne for the space of a yeere. At theyr commyng, hee banqueteth them three dayes togeather, and at theyr departyng, giueth eche of them fyue peeces of golde. Goodly candelsticks of Laton. Polyzines et Polychni. Innumerable lyghtes and Lampes. The deuyll weth in the Kynges chamber. Mourning the space of a yeere.

Of the great multitude of Idolaters which resort to Calecut, for pardon of their sinnes. Cap. 23.

NOt farre from the citie of Calecut, is a certayne churche or Temple, compassed about with water, lyke an Iland, builded after an auncient fashion, hauyng a double order of pillars, much lyke the Temple of sainct Iohn de Fonte in the citie of Rome. In the middest of the Temple, is an Altar of stone, where the people sacrifice to Idolles. Betweene the pillars on hygh, is a Boate of the length of two pases, and full of oyle. Also rounde about the Temple, are many Trees with an innumerable multitude of Lampes and lightes hangyng on them: The temple also it selfe, is as ful of lyghtes. The 25 day of December, resorteth thyther an infinite multitude of people, from all partes, euen for the distance of 15 dayes iorney, and especially of the priestes, to whom parteyneth the order of sacrificeyng: But they do not sacrifice vnto theyr Idolles before they washe them selues in the water whiche is about the Temple. When the priestes assende to the place whereas in the boate fylled with oyle (as we haue said) they sprincle the people with the sayd oile, but annoynte onely their heads: Who beyng so annoynted, may then proceede to the sacrifice. On the one syde of the altar, where they sacrifice, is seene a most horrible fourme of a deuyl, to whom the people, prostrate on the grounde, pray vnto, and then depart to theyr houses and countreys. By this meanes they beleeue that all theyr sinnes are quite forgeuen them, and therefore for the space of three dayes, they lyue there in safegarde, as if it were in Sanctuarie: and for that tyme, is it not lawfull for any man to arrest or trouble an other for what so euer quarrell. Certainely I neuer saw in any place a greater multitude of people assembled, except in the citie of Mecha. The temple of sacrifyce to Idolles. Trees behanged with Lampes. Washing before sacrifice. Holy oyle in the stede of holy water. Sacrifice to the deuyll for forgeuenesse of sinnes. Sanctuary. Large is the way that leadeth to perdition, etc.

The syxt booke contaynyng the voyage of India.

Of the cities of Caicolon, and Colon. Cap. 1.

MY faythfull companyon Cociazenor the Persian (of whom I haue made mention here before) consyderyng that by the meanes of warres and imminent daungers, there was nowe no place for merchaundies, especially for that the Portugales had made sore warres and great slaughter in the citie of Calecut, by occasion that the inhabitantes of the citie had conspired with The kyng of Portugale warres in the citie of Calecut.

with the Mahumetans for the murther of eight and fourtie Portugales (whiche was done at my beyng there) I thought it best in tyme to depart from thence. This facte so greatly moued the kyng of Portugale to reuenge, that he hath since that tyme kepte hostile warres agaynst them, and greatly consumed them, and defaced their citie. We therefore departyng from thence by a very fayre ryuer, came to a citie named Caicolon, distaunte from the citie of Calecut fiftie leagues: the inhabitantes are idolaters. There is great aboundance of Merchaundies, and great frequentation of merchauntes: the soyle beareth of the best kynde of Pepper. The kyng of the citie is not very rych. In apparel and maners, they differ litle from them of Calecut. Heere we founde certayne merchantes, Christians, named of the profession of saint Thomas the Apostle. They obserue the fastyng of fourtie dayes, as we do, and beleeue in the death and resurrection of Christ, as we do, and therfore celebrate Easter after our maner, and obserue other solemnities of our religion, after the maner of the Greekes. They are commonly named by the names of Iohn, Iames, Matthias, and Thomas. Departyng from thence, in the space of three dayes iorney we came to an other citie, named Colon, about twentie myles distant from the aforesayde. The kyng is an idolater, and a prince of great power, hauyng euer an armie of twentie thousande horsemen: there is a very fayre port. Neare to the sea syde the soyle beareth no corne, yet great aboundance of fruite and pepper, as in the citie of Calecut: but by reason of the warres we remayned no longer heere. Not farre from hence, we saw men fyshe for pearles, in maner as we haue sayde before of the citie and Ilande of Ormus.

Caicolon.
Pepper.
Christians of the profession of saint Thomas.
Colon.
An armie of xx thousande horsmen.
Pearles.

Of Cyromandel, a citie of India. Cap. 2.

THe citie of Cyromandel is by the sea syde, and distant from the citie of Colon seuen dayes saylyng. The citie is very large, but without walles: it is subiecte to the kyng of Narsinga, and is within the syght of the Iland of Zaylon. After that you are past the poynt of Comerin, the soyle beareth plentie of Ryse. This citie is in the way to diuers great regions and cities: It is inhabited with innumerable Mahumetans merchantes, resortyng thyther from many countreys. There are no spyces, but aboundaunce of fruite, as in Calecut.

Zailon.
Comerin.

I founde there certayne Christians, who affyrme that the bodye of sainct Thomas the Apostle is there in a certayne place, about twelue myles from this citie, and also that there are certayne Christians whiche relygiously obserue the holy body: and that the Christians are euyll vsed, because of the warres whiche the kyng of Portugall hath made agaynst the people of these countreys. Also that the Christians are sometyme murthered secretly, lest it shoulde be knowen to the kyng of Narsinga, who is in amitie and friendshyppe with the kyng of Portugall, and greatly fauoureth the Christians. The cause whereof (as they saye) is also partly by reason of a certayne myracle, whiche was this. The Christians on a tyme had a great conflicte with the Mahumetans, where one of the Christians beyng sore wounded on his arme, resorted incontinent to the sepulchre of saint Thomas, where makyng his prayers, and touchyng the holy place, his arme was immediately healed. Whereupon (as they saye) the kyng of Narsinga euer after greatly fauoured the Christians. Here my companion solde muche of his wares. But by reason of the warres betweene the kynges of Narsinga and Ternaseri, we determined to depart from hence. And therefore saylyng ouer a gulfe of 20 leagues with great daunger, we arriued at an Iland named Zailon, very large, as containing in circuite a thousand myles.

The bodie of Thomas the Apostle.
The kyng of Narsinga frende to the Portugalles.
A miracle at the sepulchre of S. Thomas.

Of the Ilande of Zailon, and the precious stones founde there. Cap. 3.

IN this Ilande are foure kynges of great dominion, by reason of the largenesse of the Ilande. But because of the warres among them at my beyng there, I could not tarye long to haue particular knowledge of the region and maners of the people. There are in the Ilande many Elephantes. There is also a very long mountayne, at the foote whereof, are founde many precious stones, named Piropi, commonly called Rubines or Rubies. The merchauntes iewelers, come by them by this meanes.

Foure kynges in one Iland.
Elephantes.
Rubie stones.

Fyrst, goyng to the kyng, they bye of hym a certayne measure of that grounde where suche stones are founde, of the largenesse of a cubite euery way. The price of this, is fyue

pieeces

pieeces of gold: yet with suche condition, that in dyggyng the grounde, there is euer one present for the kyng, to the ende that if in dyggyng be founde any of those precious stones exceedyng the weyght of 10 Caractes, the same to be reserued for the kyng. And the rest that are founde vnder that wayght, to appartеyne to the merchaunt. Not farre from the sayd mountayne, are founde diuers other sortes of precious stones, as Iasynthes, Saphires, Topases, and suche lyke. Harde by the mountayne, runneth a great ryuer. The soyle bryngeth foorth the sweetest fruites that euer I sawe, especially cloues, and apples of Assiria, of exceedyng sweetnesse, and all other as in Calecut. Precious stones.

Of the tree of Cinamome in the Iland of Zaylon. Cap. 4.

THe tree of Cinamome is not much vnlike a Baye tree, especially the leaues, it beareth berryes as doth the Baye tree, but lesse, and whyte: It is doubtlesse therefore none other then the barke of a tree, and is geathered in this maner. Euery thyrde yeere they cutte the branches of the tree. Of this, is great plentie in the sayde Iland. When it is fyrste geathered it is not yet so sweete, but a moneth after when it waxeth drye. A certayne Mahumetan merchaunt of the Iland, tolde my companyon, that there in the top of a hygh mountayne is a certayne denne, whyther the inhabitantes of the countrey resort to praye, in memorye of our fyrst father Adam, who (they saye) after he had synned by breakyng the commaundement of God, lyued in that place in continuall penitence. Whiche thing they affyrme by this coniecture, that there is yet seene the print of the steppes of his feete, of the length of almost two spannes. The inhabitantes are subiect to the kyng of Narsinga, and paye hym tribute. The region is of temperate ayre, although it be situate in maner vnder the Equinoctiall lyne. The people are of darke tawny colour. Theyr apparell, are certayne single clokes of bombasine cloth, whiche they weare, bearyng euer the ryght arme out all naked, as is the maner of all the Indians. They are no warrelyke men, neyther haue they the vse of Iron. Here my companyon solde to the kyng muche Saffran and Coralles. How Cinamome is geathered. A denne where Adam lyued in penance. Temperate regions vnder the Equinoctiall lyne. Saffran and Coralles.

Of Paleachet, a citie of India. Cap. 5.

DEpartyng from the Ilande of Zailon, in three dayes saylyng we came to a citie named Paleachet, subiecte to the kyng of Narsinga. It is a famous marte of ryche merchaundies, and especially of iewels and precious stones, brought thyther from Zailon and Pego. There is also great plentie of spices. There dwell in the citie many Mahumetan merchauntes, where we beyng receiued in one of theyr houses, tolde hym from whence we came, and what merchandies we brought, as Saffran, and Coralles, whereof he was very glad. The citie hath great scarsnesse of corne, but plentie of Ryse: and in other fruitefulnesse of the soyle and maner of the people, much lyke vnto Calecut. But because they were at dissention with the kyng of Tarnassari, and prepared warres agaynst hym, we departed from thence, and in 13 dayes sayling, arryued at the citie of Tarnassari, a hundred myles distant.

Of Tarnassari, a citie of India. Cap. 6.

THis citie is not farre from the sea, and situate on a meetly equall grounde, well walled, hauyng also a famous porte, and a very fayre ryuer runnyng on the North syde of the citie. The kyng is an Idolatour, and a prince of great power. He keepeth continuall warre with the kyngs of Narsinga and Bangella. He bryngeth to the feelde a hundred Elephantes, of the fayrest and byggest that euer I sawe. He hath an armie of an hundred thousand penonarie footmen and as many horsemen. Theyr weapons are swoordes, rounde targettes, peltes, bowes, dartes, and iauelins of great and long reedes. They are also armed with iackes made of bombasine cotton, wrought very harde, and closely couched. Theyr houses are walled, and cominent in order as ours are. The region bryngeth foorth wheate, bombasine, sylke of sundrye kindes of colours, Brasile, and sundrye kyndes of fruites, muche lyke vnto ours. Also apples of Assiria, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Gourdes, Cucumbers etc. Elephants. An armie of a hundred thousande footmen. Fruites.

Of the wylde and tame beastes of the citie of Tarnassary. Cap. 7.

THis region bryngeth foorth many beastes both wyld and tame. The tame beastes are, Oxen,

Wylde beastes. Peacockes. Falcons. Popingayes.

Oxen, Kyne, Sheepe, Gotes, Hogges, Hartes, and Hyndes The wylde beastes, are Lions, Wolues, Cattes of the mountayne, and also Muskecattes. In the feeldes are many Peacockes, and those kynde of Egles whiche we call falcons. Popingays also or Parottes, marueylous fayre, of the which some are white, and other of seuen colours. There is likewise great plentie of Hares, and Partriges and diuers other sortes of great byrdes liuyng by praye,

A great and fayre foule.

muche bygger then Eagles: for of the vpper parte of their beckes, they make haftes for swoordes. The becke is of yelowe colour, distincte with crimsine, very fayre and beautifull to be seene. But the byrde is blacke and purple, with certayne whythe feathers intermyxt. There are also the byggest Hennes and Cockes that euer I sawe: and therefore thinhabitants

Cocke fyghting.

and Mahumetans which dwell there, take muche pleasure in Cockefyght, and laye great wagers in that kynde of sporte. I haue seene them fyghte for the space of syxe houres, and yet sometymes they kyll one an other at the fyrst stroke. There are certayne Gotes farre ex-

Fruitefull Gotes.

ceedyng ours in byggenesse, and muche fayrer: these are so fruitefull, that at one byrth they bryng forth foure young kyddes. There is so great abundance of beastes, that twelue weathers are sold for one peece of golde to the value of a crowne or pistolet. There are also

Rammes with hookes hornes.

certayne weathers or rammes with hornes lyke vnto buckes hornes, and are muche bygger and fyercer then ours.

Theyr Buyffles are not so fayre as ours. The region hath also abundaunce of fyshe, very bygge and good, and of small price. These people eate all maner of beastes, excepte kyne. They eate on the grounde without carpet or other cloth: yet haue they vessells of woode artificially made. Theyr drynke is water and suger: theyr beddes are raysed from the grounde, after the maner of ours. Theyr couche is of bombasine cotton, and the couerynges of sylke. Theyr apparell, is a cloke or mantell of bombasine or sylke, with one arme out, all bare. But some of the merchauntes, weare inner vestures or shirtes of sylke or bombasine cloth. They go all barefooted except the priestes, whiche weare on theyr heads certayne rayles or crestes of two spannes long, with a knotte on the crowne lyke vnto an Acorne, and sparkled with golde. They delyght also in earynges: but weare neyther rynges nor braselettes. The colour of the inhabitantes inclyneth to whyte, for the temperature of the climate or ayre, is colder then at Calecut. Theyr maner of tyllage, and geatheryng of fruite, is lyke vnto ours.

Of the maner which the kyng of Tarnassarie vseth, when he permitteth his wyfe to be defloured of white men. Cap. 8.

THis kyng vseth not to geue his wyfe to the priestes to be defloured, as doth the kyng of Calecut, but committeth this facte to whyte men, as to the Christians or Mahumetans, for he wyll not suffer the Idolaters to do this. The inhabitantes lykewyse haue not to do carnally with theyr wyues, before some whyte man, of what so euer nation, haue fyrst the breakyng of them.

The maner of burnyng dead bodyes in the citie of Tarnassary. Cap. 9.

WHen the kyng or any of the priestes or gentlemen dye, their bodies are burnt in a great fyre made of a pile of wood: then all the whyle they sacrifice vnto the deuyll. Their ashes are reserued in certayne pottes of the earth of Samos, and buryed in theyr houses. They sacrifice in ȝ shadows of trees as do they of Calecut. Whilst the bodyes are burnyng, they cast in the fyre all maner of sweete sauoures, as Aloes, Myrre, frankensense, Storar, Sandals, Corall, and innumerable suche other sweete gummes, spices, and trees. These make the fyre muche greater, encreasyng the flame by reason of theyr gummositie: in the meane tyme also they neuer ceasse to make a great noyse with Trumpettes, Pipes, Drummes, Tambarells, and suche other instruments, not muche vnlyke the ceremonies which in olde

Canonisyng of saintes.

tyme were vsed among the gentiles in canonisyng theyr saintes. Furthermore, duryng these funeralls, there are 15 or 20 disguised lyke deuyls, whiche continually walke rounde about the fyre, with many strange gesticulations, after the maner of reioycyng. The wyfe also of the burned kyng or priest, standeth by the fyre alone, without the companye of any other woman, lamentyng and beatyng her breast. These ceremonies are done the seconde watche of the nyght. Within fyfteene dayes after, the wyfe biddeth to a banquette all her husbandes

husbandes kynsfolkes, and when they come at a daye appoynted, they go al to the place where her husbande was burnt, and at the same houre of the nyght: then commeth foorth the wyfe, garnyshed with all her iewells and best apparell, vsyng therein the helpe of all her kynsfolkes. *In* the same place is made a pytte, no deeper then may serue to receiue the woman: This pytte, is sette about with reedes, and the reedes are couered with a cloth of sylke, that the pytte may not be seene. In the meane tyme also a fyre is made in the pyt, with sundry sortes of sweete woods: and the wyfe, after that her gestes haue well banqueted, eateth very muche of a certayne meate whiche they call Betola, whiche troubleth her mynde as though she were halfe madde or drunken. In the meane whyle, a great companye of suche theyr musitions as we haue spoken of before, apparelled like deuyls, with burnyng stickes in theyr mouthes, daunce fyrst about the pytte, and then make sacrifice to the great deuyl Deumo. The wyfe also in the meane season runneth vp and downe lyke a madde body, with countenaunces of dauncyng and reioycyng. Then turnyng her to them that are disguised lyke deuyls, she commendeth her selfe to theyr deuoute prayers, desiring them for her to make intercession to the great Deumo, that after this transitorie lyfe, it may please him to receyue her into the company of his Angelles. After the ceremonies are fynished, shee taketh her leaue of all her kynsfolkes, whiche stande rounde about her, and neare vnto the pitte, then with sodaine outrage and a loude crye liftyng vp her handes, she hurleth her selfe into the burnyng pit, which done, her kynsfolkes, standing neare vnto the fyre, couer her with litle fagottes of sweete wood, hurlyng also thereon much pitche, that the bodie may the sooner be consumed: and except the wyfe shoulde doe this after the death of her husbande, she should euer after be esteemed an euyll woman, be hated of all men, and in fine, in danger to be slayne both of her owne kynsfolkes and her husbandes, and therefore shee goeth to it *the* more willingly. The kyng him selfe is present at these pompes: which are not commonly vsed for all men, but only for the kynges, priestes, and noble men.

The wyfe burneth her selfe after the death of her husband.

Deuuyng deuyles.

Sacrifice to the deuyll.

The high way to hell.

Great respects of fame and honestie.

Of the iustice which the inhabitantes of Tarnassari obserue. Cap. 10.

IF any kyll a man, he is adiudged to death, as in the citie of Calecut. Of giuyng and receyuyng, iustice is ministred, as proofe may be made by writing or witnesse. They wryte in parchement lyke vnto ours, and not in barkes of trees as doe they of Calecut. When they contende for any thyng, they resorte to the gouernour of the citie, to whom the kyng hath giuen full aucthoritie of iurisdiction: and if any merchaunt straunger dye there without children, he may make no inheritour, but all his goods is due to the kyng: when the kyng is dead, his chyldren succeede in the kyngdome. When the inhabitantes dye, theyr goods are equally diuided among theyr chyldren.

Writyng.

Howe *the* Mahumetans are buried in the citie of Tarnassari. Cap. 11.

WHen any of the Mahumetan merchantes dye, they are embaulmed with many spices and sweete gummes, and theyr bodies put in Coffins of wood: with chiefe regarde that theyr heades lye towarde the citie of Mecha, which is from thence Northwarde.

Mecha.

Of the dyuers sortes of theyr shyppes or other vesselles. Cap. 12.

THey haue Brigantines very shalowe, and with flatte bottoms, which drawe but small depth of water. Some also vse foistes, hauyng two or double forepartes, and two Masters, and are open without any couerture. There is an other kynde of shyppes of burden: Of the which, some beare the burden of a thousande tunnes. In these they carry Botes and other small vesselles, to the citie of Melacha, when they goe for spices.

Of Bangella, a great and riche citie of India, and of the great power of the kyng. Cap. 13.

IT is now tyme to speake further of our viage, and of our proceeding therein. Therefore packyng vp our wares, and committyng vs to the sea, we came in twelue dayes saylyng to a citie named Bangella, distant from Tarnassari seuen hundred myles. This citie in fruitfulnesse and plentifulnesse of all thinges, may in maner contende with any citie in the worlde.

The citie of Bangella.

An army of two hundred thousand men.

The kyngdome and dominion of this citie is exceedyng large. The kyng hath an army of two hundred thousande footemen and horsemen Mahumetans, and is of so great power, that he keepeth sore warres with the kyng of Narsinga. The region is so plentifull in all thynges, that there lacketh nothyng that may serue to the necessarie vses or pleasures of men: for there are in maner all sortes of beastes, good and holesome fruites, and plentie of corne: Spices also of all sortes. Lykewyse of bombasine and sylke, so exceedyng great aboundance, that in these thinges, I thinke there is none other region comparable with this, and therefore here are very many rich merchantes, for euery yeere departe from hence, fyftie shyppes laden with clothe of bombasine and sylke, into the cities and countreys of Turchia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Ethiopia and India. There are also many merchaunt straungers, whiche buye precious stones of the inhabitauntes.

Spices and silke.

Riche merchaunts.

Precious stones.

Of certayne Christian merchauntes, which exercise merchandies there. Cap. 14.

Christians.

HEre we founde many Christian merchantes which were borne in the citie of Sarnau, as they tolde vs. They resorte thyther, as to a great marte, with cloth of silke and wood of Aloes, and Laser, which yeldeth the sweete gumme named Laserpitium, commonly called Belzoi, beyng a kynde of myrre. They bryng also Castoreum, and diuers other sweete sauours. The sayde Christians tolde vs also, that there be in that kyngdome, many Christian Princes, subiect to the great Cham, of the citie of Cathai. The apparell of these Christians, was Chamlet, loose and very full of pleytes, and lyned with bombasine cloth. On theyr heads they weare certayne coppen or sharpe poynted cappes, of two handfull hygh, of scarlet colour. They are white men. They acknowledge one God in Trinitie, and are baptised after our maner. They beleeue the doctrine of the Apostles and Euangelistes. They wryte backewarde, after the maner of the Armenians. They celebrate the birth and buriall of Christ, and obserue fastyng the fourtie dayes of Lent as we doe. They celebrate also certayne sainctes dayes. They vse no shooes, but weare loose hose of silke, garnished with dyuers Iewels. On theyr fingers they weare Rinqes, with stones of incomparable splendour. At meate, they vse no table, but eate lying on the grounde, and feede of all sortes of fleshe. They affyrmed also, that there are certayne Christian kynges (whiche they call Rumi) of great power, confynyng or borderyng on the dominions of the great Turke. When these Christians had seene the precious merchaundies of my companion, and specially a great braunche of Corall, they earnestly desired him to goe with them to a certayne citie, where they promised him that by theyr procurement he shoulde sell his ware at great auantage, if he would buye Rubie stones, and that he might therby easily geat aboue ten thousande peeces of golde: Affirming that those kynde of stones were of muche greater value in Turkey. Whereunto my companion answered, that he would goe with them *if they would departe in* shorte space. We will (sayde they) departe *euen to morrow*: for here is a foist whiche departeth *hence to morowe*, and taketh her viage to the citie of Pego, whyther we desyre to bryng you. My companion consented the rather to his request, bicause he was aduertised that he should fynde there certayne Persians his countreymen. Therefore with this good companie departyng from the citie of Bangella, and saylyng ouer a great gulfe lying on the South syde, wee came at the length to the citie of Pego, a thousande myles distaunt from Bangella.

Lignum Aloes. Laserpitium. Belzoi. Castoreum.

Christian Princes vnder the great Cham of Cathay.

Christian Princes neare the Turkes dominions.

Corall of great pryce. Rubies.

Pego.

Of Pego, a famous citie of India. Cap. 15.

THe citie of Pego, is not farre from the sea, and is situate vppon the continent or fyrme lande. A very fayre ryuer runneth by the citie, by the which merchandies are caried to and fro. The kyng of the citie, is an Idolater. The inhabitauntes, in apparell, liuyng, and maners, are lyke vnto them of Tarnassari: but of whiter colour, as in a colder region, somewhat lyke vnto ours. The citie is walled and the houses buylded, and very fayre, of stone and lyme. The kyng hath a myghtie armie both of footemen and horsemen, and hath in his armie Pensionarie Christians, borne euen in the same region. Theyr wages, is euery moneth sixe of those peeces of golde which they cal Pardaios, and is payde them out of the Kynges treasury. They haue abundance of corne and flesh, as in Calecut. Here are but fewe

Idolaters.

White men.

Christians.

fewe Elephantes, yet other beastes and foules, as in Calecut. Here are also trees for buyldyng, and to make shyppes, the fayrest that euer I sawe: also exceedyng great Reedes, as byg as the bodie of a grosse man, or a tubbe. Here are likewyse siuit Cattes, or Muske Cattes, and of small pryce, as three for one peece of golde. There are fewe merchandyes in this citie, except precious stones, and specially Rubies: which neuerthelesse are brought thyther from an other citie named Capela, beyng towarde the East thirtie dayes iourney, where are also founde precious stones named Smaragdes or Emeraldes. When we arryued at Pego, the kyng was absent fyue and twentie dayes iourney, in a place where he kepte warre agaynst the Kyng of Aua. But shortly after, he returned with great tryumphe for the victorie which he had agaynst his enemie.

Great Reedes.

Muske Cattes.

Precious stones and spices.

Capela.

Smaragdes or Emeraldes.

Of the munificence, humilitie, and great richesse of the Kyng of Pego. Cap. 16.

THis kyng vseth not suche pompes and magnificence as doeth the kyng of Calecut: But is of suche humanitie and affabilitie, that a chylde may come to his presence and speake with him, being neuerthelesse very ryche. It is in maner incredible to speake of the ryche Iewelles, precious stones, pearles, and especially Rubies, which he weareth, surmounting in value any great citie. His fingers be full of Ringes, and his armes all full of brasclettes of golde, all beset and moste gloriously shinyng with suche precious stones. His leggos also and feete beyng garnyshed in lyke maner. His eares lykewyse are so laded with suche Iewelles, that they hang downe halfe a handfull. The splendour or shinyng of these Iewelles is so great, that if one see the king in the darke night, he shineth in maner as it were the beames of the sunne. At good opportunitie the Christian merchantes spake to the kyng, and certified him that my companion had brought sundry merchaundies of great estimation. The kyng answered, that they shoulde come to him the day folowyng, bycause that, that present day, he shoulde sacrifice to the deuyll. Therefore the nexte day he sent for vs, willyng that my companion should bryng with him suche merchandies as he had. The which the kyng toke great pleasure to behold, and not without good cause: for among other thinges, there were two great branches of corrall, of such bignesse and fayrenesse, as no man there had euer seene the lyke. The kyng astonished at these thinges, asked the Christians, what men we were. They answered that we were Persians. Then sayde the kyng to his interpretour, aske them if they will here make sale of theyr merchandies. To whom then my companion sayde thus, Most honorable Prince, all these are yours, take them, and vse them at your pleasure. Then sayde the kynge agayne, These two yeeres past I haue kepte continuall warre with the kyng of Aua, and therfore my treasure of money is consumed: But if you will bargaine by the way of exchaunge, for precious stones, and especially Rubies, I will so deale with you, that it shall not repent you. Then sayde my companion to the Christians: I pray you gyue the kyng to vnderstande, that I desire none other thyng then the beneuolence of his highnesse, and therefore that I desire him to take of my merchaundies what lyketh him best, and that without money, or permutation of any other thing. When the kyng hearde this, he answered, that he had hearde by reporte that the Persians were very curtuous and liberall men, and that he neuer knewe so liberall a man as this was, and swore by the head of the deuyll, that by this occasion he would proue which of them two should be most liberall, and therefore callyng vnto him a Page of his chamber, commaunded him to fetche a casket of precious stones. This casket was of the breadth of a spanne and a halfe, euery way square, and full of Rubies: hauyng also within it sundry receptacles or boxes, where the stones were sorted in order. When he had opened the casket, he commaunded it to be set before the Persian, willing him to take of those precious as many as he would. But my companion the Persian, yet more moued to liberalitie by this the Kinges munificence spake to the kyng these woordes, O most honourable Prince, I perceyue your beneuolence to be suche towarde me, that I sweare by the holy head of Mahumet, and all the mysteries of his religion, whereunto I am professed, that I freely and gladly gyue vnto you all my merchaundies: for I doe not trauayle about the worlde for gaynes of richesse, but rather of desyre to see the worlde. In the which thereto, I neuer founde any thyng wherein I so greatly reioyced, as in the beneuolence and fauour which your

Great riches of Iewelles and precious stones.

A kyng shinyng with earthly starres.

The kyng sacrifyeth to the deuyll.

Corall.

The kyng and the merchant contende of liberalitie.

Commendation of the Persians.

A casket full of Rubies.

your maiestie hath shewed me. The kyng answered, Wylt thou yet contende with mee in liberalitie? And with those woordes, tooke out of the casket, (of euery boxe some) as many Rubies as he coulde holde in his hande, and with this rewarde (whiche was two hundred Rubies) shewed his kyngly munificence and beneuolence towarde the Persian, saying vnto him, Take these, I pray thee, for thou shalt not refuse them. He gaue also to eche of the Christians two Rubies, which were woorth a thousand crownes to be solde: but those which he gaue the Persian, were esteemed woorth a hundred thousand crownes. This Kyng therefore doubtlesse in munificence passeth all the kynges of the worlde, and in maner no lesse in richesse: for he receyueth yeerely of his subiectes two hundred thousand peeces of golde. This region bryngeth foorth all sortes of colours, and great plentie of bombasine and silke: but these great riches, the kyng consumeth on his souldiers. Not long after, newes were brought that the kyng of Aua was commyng with a myghtie force, whom the kyng in maner with an innumerable army went to resist. Here also in certayne places we sawe women burned, after the maner of Tarnassari.

A Princely gyft.

Colours.

Of the citie of Melacha, and the great ryuer of Gaza. Cap. 17.

WIthin two dayes after, taking ship, we sailed westwarde towarde the citie of Melacha, and arryued there in eight dayes saylyng. Not farre from this citie, is a famous ryuer named Gaza, the largest that euer I sawe, conteyning 25 myles in breadth. On the other syde, is seene a very great Ilande, whiche they call Sumetra, and is of old writers named Taprobana. The inhabitauntes say that it conteyneth in circuite fyue hundred myles. When wee came to the citie of Melacha (which some call Melcha) we were incontinent commaunded to come to the Soltan, being a Mahumetan, and subiecte to the great Soltan of Chini, and payeth him tribute. Of whiche tribute, they say the cause is, that more then fourescore yeeres past, that citie was buylded by the kyng of Chini, for none other cause, then only for the commoditie of the hauen, being doubtlesse one of the fayrest in that Ocean, and therefore it is lykely that many shyppes should resorte thyther for merchandies. The region is not euery where fruitefull, yet hath it sufficient of wheate and flesh, and but little wood. They haue plentie of foules, as in Calecut: but the Popingays are much fayrer. There is also founde Sandalum, and Tynne. Lykewyse Elephantes, horses, sheepe, kyne, Pardalles, Buffles, Peacockes, and many other beastes, and foules. They haue but few fruites, and therefore there is no merchandies to be solde but spices and silke. The people are of blackyshe ashe colour. Theyr apparell is like to the Mahumetans of the citie Memphis, otherwise named Cayr, Alchayr, or Babylon of Nilus. They haue very large foreheades, rounde eyes, and flatte noses. It is dangerous there to goe abrode in the night, the inhabitantes are so giuen to murder and robbery, for they kill one another lyke dogges, and therefore the merchantes remayne in their shyppes all the nyght. The people are fierce, of euyll condition, and vnruly, for they will obey to no gouernour, being altogether giuen to sedition and rebellion, and therefore say vnto theyr gouernours, that they will forsake the countrey, if they stryue to bynde them to order, whiche they say the more boldly, bycause they are neare vnto the sea, and may easily departe into other places for these causes, we spent no long tyme here: but hyring a Brigantine, we sayled to the Ilande of Sumatra, where in fewe dayes sayling, we arryued at a citie of the Ilande named Pyder, distaunt about fourescore myles from the continent or firme lande.

A ryuer of 25 myles brode.

The Ilande of Sumetra or Taprobana.

Chini or China.

Popingayes.

Sandalum.

Tyn.

Spices and silke.

Vnruly People.

Anarchia.

Of the Ilande of Sumatra, or Taprobana. Cap. 18.

WE haue sayd here before that the Ilande of Sumatra, conteyneth in circuite fyue hundred myles. The citie where we fyrst arryued in the Iland, is named Pider, hauyng a very fayre port. I beleeue veryly this Ilande to be Taprobana, as also most autours do agree. It is gouerned by foure kynges, and all Idolaters, in fashions, apparell, and maner of lyuyng, not muche differyng from the kyng of Tarnassari. The women burne them selues after the death of theyr husbandes, as do they of whom we haue spoken before. They are of whitishe coloure, with large foreheades, rounde eyes, and of brasyll colour. They weare theyr heare long, and haue very brode and flatte noses and are of despicable stature. Iustice is there well

The Ilande of Sumatra or Somotra.

Foure kynges in one Iland.

Women burne them selues.

Iustice.

well obserued. Their mony is of golde, syluer, and tynne. The golde coyne, hath on the one syde, the grauen head of a deuyll: and on the other syde, a wagon or charrette drawen with Elephantes. The syluer mony hath the lyke coyne: tenne of these, are valued for one of golde. But of the tynne coyne 25 make the value of one of golde. Here are seene more Elephantes, bygger, and fayrer then in any other place that I haue been. This people hath no experience of warres, but are geuen altogeather to gaynes and merchandies. They are hospitable, and enterteyne strangers frendly. Coyned mony of golde, syluer, and tynne. Elephantes.

Of an other kynde of Pepper. Also of sylke, and the precious gumme called Laserpitium, or Belzoe. Cap. 19.

IN the sayde Iland is a kynde of long Pepper in great abundance. Pepper in theyr language, is called Molaga, and is much longer and whiter then that which is brought hither: yet lighter and hotter: it is sold there not by weight, but bi measure as wheat with vs. It is there in so great abundaunce, that there is caryed from hence yeerely twentie shyppes laden with Pepper. This is caryed to Cathay, and is there well solde, by reason of the coldnesse of the region. The tree that beareth this kynde of pepper, hath a greater body, and larger and flatter leaues, then the pepper tree of Calecut. This Ilande beareth also plentie of sylke, whiche for the most parte, is made after our maner. There is another sorte, which the trees bryng foorth of them selues in the wooddes and feeldes, without menage or dressyng: but this is woorse then the other. Here also groweth the Laser tree, whiche bryngeth forth the precious gumme named Laserpitium or Belzoe, as the inhabitantes and merchauntes tolde vs: but because I haue not seene it, I wyll speake no more of it. Long Pepper. Cathay or Catai a colde region. Sylke of the trees. Laserpitium or Belzoe.

Of three sortes of the tree of Aloes. Cap. 20.

FOrasmuch as varietie delighteth, and the wel disposed mind can neuer be satiate with contemplation of the marueylous and sundry woorkes of God in nature, therfore that the reader may take the more pleasure, or at the least feele lesse tediousnesse in the reading of these thyngs, I haue thought good to wryte somewhat more of suche thynges as I haue seene. You shall therefore vnderstande, that there is no great plentie of true Aloes or Laserpitium brought to vs, because it is brought hyther from the furthest partes of the worlde. Vnderstande furthermore, that there are three kyndes or sortes of Aloes, greatly differyng in goodnesse. The perfectest, they call Calampat, whiche the aforesaide Ilande bryngeth not forth: But it is brought from the citie of Sarnau, not farre from the place where the sayde Aloes Calampat is engendred, as the Christian merchauntes or companions tolde vs. There is an other kynde of Aloes, named Iuba (or Luba) brought hyther by this ryuer, I knowe not from whence. The thyrd kynd, is named Bochor. The saide Christian merchants tolde vs also, that none of the fyrst and best kynde of Aloes is brought vnto vs, because it commeth from the kyngdomes of Cathay, Chini, Macym, Sarnau, and Grauay, countreys muche rycher then ours, hauyng muche greater abundance of golde, and kynges of great power and rychesse then are ours: And also that the sayde kynges take great pleasure in such kynd of sweete sauoures, and vse them muche more then our princes do: So that by this meanes, the true kynde of Aloes is woorth euen in the citie of Sarnau, tenne crownes the pounde weyght. Litle true Aloes or Laserpitium. Sarnau. Cathay and other rych countreys.

How the gummes of Aloes and Laserpitium, are proued. Cap. 21.

WE came by certaine experience to the knowledge of the two sweete gummes of Aloes and Laserpitium, as we were taught by the sayd Christian merchants our companyons: for one of them had a certayne portion of them both, and had of that best sorte of Aloes, named Calampat, about the quantitie of two ounces: of the which, my companion takyng a peece in his hande, and holdyng it fast and close for the space that one may thryse saye the Psalme of Miserere mei Deus, the Aloes thereby beyng heat, at the openyng of his hande gaue a sauoure of incredible sweetnesse, and suche as I neuer felte of any other thyng. He tooke also of the common Laserpitium or Belzoe, the quantitie of a Walnutte, and agayne halfe a pounde of that whiche commeth from the citie of Sarnau, to compare the one to the other: And so puttyng them both in sundry chafyng dyshes, with burnyng coles in a close chamber, Aloes of very sweete sauour. The proofe of Laserpitium.

that

that whiche was of the byggnesse of a Walnute, in sweete sauour far exceeded the other which was halfe a pounde in weight, and woulde doubtlesse so haue done though it had ben of two pounde weight. In this region is also founde Lacca, or Lacta, wherewith is made a shynyng redde colour. It is the gumme of a tree, not muche vnlyke our Walnutte tree. There are also sundrye kindes of beastes, suche as we haue.

Lacca, merchantes ware.

Of diuers merchantes in the Ilande of Sumatra, or Taprobana. Cap. 22.

IN the sayde citie of Pyder, in the Ilande of Sumatra, I sawe many curious workes, very artificially wrought, as fyne Cophines or baskets, garnished with golde, solde for two crownes the peece: I sawe also there in one streate fyue hundred exchaungers: there are so many bankers. Hither, as to a famous mart, resort innumerable merchantes. The inhabitantes weare Mantels of sylke, and Syndone, made of Bombasine. The region hath plentie of wood, and trees, very commodious to make such shippes as they cal Gunchos, hauyng three mastes, two fore partes, and also two sternes or gouernals on both sydes. When they sayle in the Ocean, and haue nowe geuen wynde to the sayles, yf afterwarde it shal be needefull to haue more sayles, not changyng the fyrst, they go backward without turnyng the ship, and vsyng only one mast. They are most expert swymmers, and haue skyll to make fyre in an instant. Theyr houses are of stone, and very lowe. In the place of couerynges or tyles, they vse the skynnes or hydes of a fyshe, called Tartaruca, founde in that sea of India. I saw so hugious a hyde of this monster, that it wayed a hundred and three poundes. I sawe there also great teeth of Elephantes, as one waying three hundred and thirtie pounde weight. Lykewise serpentes of incredible bygnesse, and muche bygger then in Calecut. Here our companions, the Christian merchants, for affayres they had to do other wayes, woulde haue taken their leaue of vs. Then my companion the Persian spake vnto them in this maner: Although (my frendes) I am not your countreyman (yet beyng all brethren, and the chyldren of Adam) I take God to witnesse that I loue you as yf you were mine owne brethren, begotten of the same parentes: and therfore, consyderyng how frendly we haue kept company togeather so long tyme, I assure you I can not, without great greefe of mynde, beare your departyng from vs. And although you would departe from me, wyll you now forsake this my companion, a man of your fayth and religion? Then sayde the Christians, howe hath this man, beyng no Persian, receyued our fayth? Then sayde my companion, Truely he is now a Persian, and was once bought at Ierusalem. When the Christians hearde the holy name of Ierusalem, they lyfted vp theyr handes to heauen, and prostratyng them selues on the grounde, kyssed it thryse: then rysyng, they asked him of what age I was, when I was brought from Ierusalem. Of the age of fyfteene yeeres sayde my companion. Then sayde they agayne, he may then remember his countrey. Then aunswered my companion, *he dooth* remember it in deede, and I haue taken great pleasure of *suche thynges* as he hath tolde me of his countrye. Then *sayde the* merchauntes, Although of long time we haue desyred to returne to our countrey, beyng more then three hundred myles hence, neuerthelesse at your request we wil beare you company to the place whyther you desyre to go. Preparyng therefore all thynges parteyning to the voyage, we tooke shyppyng, and in 15 dayes saylyng, came to an Ilande named Bandan.

Shyppes of a strounge fashion.

Swymmers.

Great teeth of Elephantes.

Great Serpents.

The name of Hierusalem in reuerence.

Of the Ilande of Bandan, where Nuttemegs and Mace are founde. Cap. 23.

IN this voyage to the Ilande of Bandan we founde about 20 Ilandes, some inhabited, and some desarte. This Ilande is very saluage, barren, and very lowe, and conteyneth a hundred myles in circuite. It hath neyther kyng nor gouernour, but is inhabited with a rascall and beastly kynde of men, lyuyng without lawe, order, or gouerment. They haue lowe houses, or rather cotages of wood, rysyng but litle from the ground. Their apparell is onely a sherte. They go bareheadded and barefooted, with theyr heare hangyng downe, and haue brode and rounde foreheddes. They are of coloure inclynyng to whyte, and of despicable stature. They are Idolaters, and woorse then are the inhabitantes of Calecut, called Poliar, and Hyrana. They are also of dull wytte and litle strength, and in kynde of lyuyng altogeather beastly. The soyle beareth no fruites, excepte onely Nuttemegges: the bodye of the

Anarchia.

Lawlesse people.

Idolaters.

the Nuttemegge tree, is lyke to the bodye of a Peache tree, and hath lyke branches and leaves, but the leaues are somewhat narower. Before these Nuttes come to rypenesse, the Mace florysheth lyke vnto a redde rose: but when the Nutte waxeth rype, the Mace closeth it selfe and embraseth the Nutte and shel, and are so geathered togeather without order or distribution, by scamblyng, catche that catche may, for that al things are there common. The tree yeeldeth fruite of his owne fruitefulnesse, without graffyng or cuttyng, or any other art. These Nuttes are solde by weyght, and 26 pounde weyght, is solde for the value of three souses (that is) halfe a Carline, of such money as is vsed in Calecut. This people hath none other order of iustice, then by the lawe of nature, and therfore they lyue without such contentions as proceede of thyne and myne. When we had been heere three dayes, my companion asked the Christian merchantes, where was the region whiche brought foorth Cloues: They aunswered, that Cloues were founde in an Ilande named Monoch, sixe dayes saylyng from thence. Therfore proceedyng on our voyage, we came thyther in the space of seuen dayes.

The Nuttemegge tree.

Mace.

All thynges common.

Nuttemegges of small price.

The law of Nature.

Of the Ilande of Monoch, where Cloues growe. Cap. 24.

These Ilandes of spyces, are called Molucca, and in them is seene the rare byrde named Manucodiata, or paradisea.

THis Ilande is very narowe, yet in length exceedeth the Ilande of Bandan. The inhabitauntes are much worse then they of Bandan: for, were it not only for mans shape, they should in maner differ nothyng from beastes. Their colour is whyter, and the region colder. This Ilande bryngeth foorth Cloues, as do also many other litle and desolate Ilandes lying about it. The body of this tree, is not much vnlyke the Boxe tree, and hath leaues lyke vnto the Cinamome tree, but rounder, and almost lyke the Bay leafe. When they waxe rype, the inhabitauntes beate them downe with reedes, laying fyrst mattes vnder the trees. The grounde is sandie, and the region so low vnder the Horizon, that the North starre can not be seene there. They sell Cloues for the double price that Nutmegs are solde, and sel them by measure: for they are vtterly without knowledge of weyghtes.

The Clowe tree.

Cloues dearer then Nutmegs.

Of the Iland of Bornei. Cap. 25.

AS we were togeather talkyng of our voyages, the Christian merchantes spake vnto me in this maner. Our dearly beloued freende, forasmuch as by the grace of God, we are come thus farre in safetie, yf it please you, we wyl go see one of the fayrest Ilandes in the worlde, and very ryche, and suche as I beleeue you neuer sawe: but we must fyrst go to an other Iland named Bornei, for there shal we haue bygger vessels: for we must needes passe a deepe and rough sea. Then sayde my companion, do as shall please you, for we are contented to go with you. Therefore hyryng a greater foyst, we directed our iorney to that Ilande both by daye and nyght, sayling alway southwarde: By the way we passed foorth the tyme with pleasant talke. The merchaunt men asked me many thynges of the ceremonyes and solemnities of the Christian religion vsed among vs: And when I made mention of the Veronica (commonly called the Vernacle of the face of Chryst) and of the heads of Peter and Paule the chiefest of the Apostles, and also of many other saintes, they aduertysed me secretly, that if I woulde go with them, I shoulde become a great man for the knowledge of suche great thynges. But beyng deterred by the greatnesse of the iorney and fearyng that then I should neuer haue come home, I refused to go with them. At the length we came to the Iland of Bornei, distant from Monoch about two hundred myles, and is somewhat bygger, but much lower beneath the Horizon or Equinoctiall. The inhabitantes are Idolaters, of sharpe wyt, and maner of lyuyng not greatly to be discommended. Their colour inclyneth more to whytenesse. They weare not all one maner of apparell, for some weare shirtes of bombasine cloth, other mantells of chamlet, and other also sharpe cappes of red coloure. They obserue iustice and good order. This Ilande yeeldeth yeerely great abundaunce of Camphora, which they sayd to be the gumme of a tree: but I dare not affyrme it, because I haue not seene it. Here my companyon hyred a lyght shyppe or barke for a hundred peeces of golde.

The Ilande of Giaua. Bornei.

Veronica or Vernacle.

The heades of Peter and Paule.

The Ilande of Bornei.

Idolaters.

Camphora.

Of the obseruations vsed in the nauigation to the Iland of Giaua. Cap. 26.

AFter that we had made prouision of vittayles sufficient for the voyage, we directed our iorney

iorney to the Ilande of Gyaua, and came thyther in the space of fyue dayes, saylyng euer towarde the south. Our Pilot vsed the maryners boxe or compasse, with also the lode stone and sea carde, after the maner of ours. Therefore when my companyon sawe that the Septentrions or north starres coulde not be seene there, he asked the Christians howe they could sayle on that sea without the guide of the north star: and asked also, by what other star they were guided: The Pilote aunswered, that the inhabitantes of these regions obserue principally fyue starres, and also one other starre, opposite or directlye contrary to the Septentrions or North starres, whereby they gouerned their viages in these regions: and sayd that he also vsed the lode stone, because it euer mooueth to the North: and sayde furthermore, that on the other syde of that Ilande, is a certayne people, whiche in saylyng obserue certayne starres, contrary to the Septentrions, for that the sayde people are Antipodes to them of Europa Sarmatiæ, and that they inhabite as colde a region and climat, and as neare vnto the pole Antartike, as is manifest by the shortnesse of the day, beyng but foure houres long in their wynter: of whiche talke we tooke great pleasure.

The North star.

The starres about the pole Antartike.

The lode stone toreuth in the south regions beyonde the Equinoctiall line.

Antipodes.

Of the Ilande of Gyaua, and the maners of the people. Cap. 27.

THerfore proceedyng on our iourney fyue dayes saylyng we came to the sayde Ilande, beyng very great and large, and hauyng in it many kyngdomes, and kynges, beyng all Idolaters, and of diuers maners of lyuyng: for some of them honor Idolles, after the maner of Calecut: some also honor the Sonne, and some the Moone: other take kyne for their Idolles: and some, the fyrst thyng that they meete in the mornyng, take for the Idol of that day: other also honor the picture or similitude of the deuyll. This Ilande bryngeth foorth sylke, whiche groweth of it selfe in the wooddes, and also the fayrest Smaragdes or Emeraldes that are in the world: there is likewyse plentie of Golde, and Copper. The soyle is fruitefull of Corne, and all sortes of fruites, as in the citie of Calecut. There is great abundance of fleshe of all sortes, as with vs. The inhabitantes are faythfull, and true dealyng people: they are of the same colour and stature that we bee, but haue larger forheades, very great eyes, and of brasyll or redde colour, and flatte noses, wearyng theyr heare long. There is a great multitude of foules and birdes, but vnlyke vnto ours, except Peacockes, Turtle doue, and Crowes. They greatly obserue iustice, and good order. For theyr apparell they vse mantels, or clokes, of Bombasine cloth, or sylke, or Chamlet, euer wearyng out one arme. They vse no coates of fence, or armure because they haue no warres: but when they trauelye on the sea, they vse bowes, and impoysoned arrowes made of Reedes. They vse also certayne long and holowe staues (which we call Trunkes) through the which after our maner, they blowe little arrowes, so infected with poyson, that if they rayse neuer so little blood, death foloweth incontinent. They haue no Gunnes or other ingines. They eate all sortes of fleshe, fyshe, and fruites, yet some feede of one kynde of meate, and other of other, as them listeth.

Idolaters.

The image of the deuyll. Sylke of trees. Smaragdes. Golde. Copper.

Whyte men, good people.

Byrdes and foules.

Impoysoned arrowes. Trunkes.

Of theyr cruell maners in selling their parentes to the Anthropophagi to be eaten. Cap. 28.

THe inhabitantes of the sayd Ilande (they I meane which feede of fleshe) when they see theyr parentes so feeble by age, that they serue for no vse, but are tedious both to them selues and other, they bryng them to the market or fayre, and sell them to the Anthropophagi, which vse to eate mans fleshe. They that buye them, kyll them out of hand and eate them. Likewyse when any young person among them, falleth into any suche sickenesse, that by the iudgement of theyr wyse men he can not escape, to the ende that he should not vnprofitably lynger in paynes, his brethren and kynsfolkes sell hym to the Anthropophagi. When my companion, beyng detested with these cruell maners, shewed in countenance that he detested this horrible inhumanitie, a certayne merchaunte of the inhabitantes sayde thus vnto hym: O Persians, no sacrifice can redeeme your sinnes, in that you giue so fayre fleshe to the woormes to be eaten. Therfore abhorryng these beastly maners, we returned to our shyppe, not intendyng any longer to tarry there.

Anthropophagi eate mans fleshe. In the West Indis, they are called Canibalites.

A strange pitie.

Rather to butchers then woormes.

Of the strange course of the sunne in the Iland of Gyaua. Cap. 29.

WHyle we remayned here, the Christian merchantes euer desirous to shew vs new and strange

strange thinges, whiche we myght declare at our returne into our countreys, sayde thus vnto vs, My friendes, make reporte in your countrey of a straunge thyng whiche I will now shewe you. Beholde (sayde they) the place of the Sunne in the South at hygh noone, and thereby consider howe farre this region is from your countrey. We then beholde the Sunne to runne toward the ryght hand: and agayne, to shewe or marke a sphere, about two handfuls brode, towarde the lefte hande, which doubtlesse seemed to vs very straunge. And this (as they saye) is euer seene in the moneth of Iuly. But I nowe scarsely beare this in mynd, for I there forgot euen the names of our monethes. But this is certayne, that in this region, the tymes and seasons of the yeeres are lyke vnto ours, and of lyke temperature of heat and colde. Here my companion bought two fayre Emeraldes for a thousande peeces of golde, and also two gelded children for two hundred peeces of golde: for heere are certayne merchantes that buy none other ware, then such gelded children. Emeraldes of great price. Gelded children.

Of our returne from the Ilande of Gyaua. Cap. 30.

AFter that we had remayned here fyftiene dayes, wery of the maners of the inhabitantes, and of the coldnesse of the countrey that time of the yeere, we determyned to proceede no further: for this cause also, that there remayned in maner none other region woorthie to be seene, and therefore hyring a lyght shyp, we departed from thence, sayling Eastwarde for the space of fyftiene dayes, and came at the length to the citie of Melacha, where remayning three dayes, we tooke our leaue of our companions the Christian merchauntes, with friendly embrasinges, and sorowfull myndes. Which departure (I take God to witnesse) greeued me so sore, that if I had been a single man without wyfe and children, I would neuer haue forsaken suche friendly men. We therefore departed, and they remayned there, saying that they would shortly returne to the citie of Sana: and we takyng a foist, returned to the citie of Cyromandel. By the way, the gouernour of the shyp tolde vs, that about the Ilandes of Gyaua and Taprobana, there are aboue seuen thousande little Ilandes. When we arryued at Melacha, my companion bought as muche spices, sweete sauours, and silke, as cost hym fyue thousande peeces of golde: But we came not to the citie of Cyromandel in lesse space then fyftiene dayes saylyng. There we vnlayded our foist, and after we had remayned there twentie dayes, hyryng an other foist, we came at the length to the citie of Colon, where we founde 22 Christians, of the realme of Portugale. And fearyng that they would take me for some espion, I began to imagine howe I myght depart from thence: But seeyng that they were so fewe in number, I chaunged my purpose, especially for that there were many merchaunt Mahumetans whiche knewe that I had been at Mecha, to see the bodie of Mahumet. But within the space of twelue dayes, we came to Calecut by the ryuer. Sana. Seuen thousande Ilandes. Melacha, or Melachu. Colon. Portugale.

Agayne of the citie of Calecut after our returne thyther. Cap. 31.

AFter so many long and daungerous peregrinations and viages, in the whiche we haue been partly satisfied of our desyre, and partly weeryed by many suche occasions of inconueniences as chaunce in the way (as they can well consider that haue been vsed to suche long iourneyes) we determyned to proceede no further, but to thynke only of our safe returne into our natiue countrey, and therefore I will breefely declare what chaunced to me in the way: the rather that other men, takyng example by my trauelyes, may knowe the better howe to gouerne them selues in the lyke, if lyke ardent affection shal moue them to take suche viages in hande, as I am sure noble spirites of many valiant men will moue them thereto. Therefore enteryng into the citie of Calecut, we founde there two Christians, borne in the citie of Milan, the one named Iohn Maria, and the other Peter Antonie. These were lewellers, and came from Portugale with the kinges licence to buye precious stones. When I had founde these men, I reioyced more then I am able to expresse: for we went naked after the maner of the inhabitantes. At our fyrst meetyng, seeyng them to bee whyte men, I asked them if they were Christians, They sayde, yea. Then sayde I, that I was also a Christian, by the grace of God. Then takyng me by the hande, they brought me to theyr house, where for ioye of our meetyng, we could scarsely satisfie our selues with teares, embrasynges, and kyssyng: for it seemed nowe to mee a straunge thyng to heare men speake myne owne Two Christians of Milan in Calecut.

language, or to speake it my selfe. Shortly after, I asked them if they were in fauour with the kyng of Calecut. We are (sayde they) in great fauour with him, and very familier. Then againe I asked them what they were mynded to doe. We desyre (sayde they) to returne to our countrey, but we knowe not the meanes how. Then sayde I, returne the same way that you came. Naye (sayde they) that may not bee: for we are fledde from the Portugales, bycause we haue made many peeces of great ordinaunce, and other Gunnes for the Kyng of Calecut, and therefore we haue good cause to feare, and nowe especially, for that the nauie of Portugale will shortly be heere. I answered, that if I myght escape to the citie of Canonor, I doubted not but that I would geat theyr pardon of the gouernour of the Nauie. There is small hope thereof (sayde they) we are so famous and well knowen to many other kynges in the way whiche fauour the Portugales, and laye wayte to take vs, for wee haue made more then foure hundred Gunnes, little and great, and therefore wee are out of all hope to escape that way. In whiche theyr talke, I perceyued howe fearfull a thyng is a giltie conscience, and called to remembraunce the saying of the Poet,

The Nauie of Portugale.

" Multa malè timeo, qui feci multa protervè,"

That is, I feare much euyll, bycause I haue done muche euyll. For they had not only made many suche peeces of artillerie for the infidelles, to the great domage of Christians, and contempte of the holy name of Christ and his religion, but had also taught the Idolatours both the makyng and vse of them. And at my beyng there, I sawe them gyue a modell or moulde to certayne Idolatours, whereby they myght make brasen peeces, of suche bygnesse that one may receyue the charge of a hundred and fyue Tankardes (Cantaros) of pouder. At the same tyme also, there was a Iewe, which had made a verye fayre Brigantine, and foure great peeces of artillerie of Iron. But God shortly after gaue him his due reward: for when he went to washe him in the ryuer, he was drowned. But to returne to our sayde Christians. God is my witnesse howe earnestly I persuaded them, neuer thereafter to make any more artillerie or Gunnes, to the great contempt and indignation of God, and detriment of our holy fayth. When I had sayde these woordes, the teares fell from the eyes of Peter Antonie. But Iohn Maria (who perhappes had not so great desire to returne to his countrey) said that it was all one to him, to dye there, or in the citie of Rome: and that God knewe what he had decreed of him. Within two dayes after, I returned to my companion, who marueyled where I had been, fearing I had ben eyther sicke, or departed. I tolde him that I was all nyght in the Temple, lest he should suspecte my great familiaritie with the Christians.

A great peece of ordinaunce.

A Iewe that made Gunnes and shyppes, was drowned.

Repentaunce.

Predestination.

Of the commyng of the Portugale shippes, to the citie of Canonor. Cap. 32.

WHyle I remayned here in the lodging of my companion, there came to him two Persian merchants from the citie of Canonor, saying that they had som euyll newes to tell him: wherwith seemyng to be somewhat troubled, he asked *what was the matter:* There are come (sayde they) twelue shyppes of Portugale, which we haue seene with our eyes. Then sayde he, What maner of men are those? They are (sayd the Persian) Christians, armed with harnesse of shining Iron, and haue builded an inexpugnable fortresse in the citie of Canonor. My companion hearyng those woordes, turned to me, and sayde, Lodouicke, what maner of men are the Portugales? To whom I answered, that they were a nation of mischeeuous people, gyuen to none other thyng then piracie and robbyng on the sea. He was not so sorie to heare this, as I was glad of theyr commyng.

A fortresse of the Portugales in the citie of Canonor.

Howe I playde the Phisitian, and counterfect holinesse, lest by my colour I should be taken for a spye for the Portugales, before I could come to their ships. Cap. 33.

Hipocrisie.

AFter the rumor was spred of the Portugales arryuyng, I began to thinke what was best to be done, and thought nothyng more safe and easie among this people, then to geat some opinion of holinesse by hipocrisie, and therefore all the day tyme, I lurked in the Temple, liuyng without meate, as all the people thought: but in the nyght, I ate fleshe in the house of Peter Antonie, and Iohn Maria. And by this meanes, none had other opinion of me, but that I was a Sainct, and therfore might after a fewe dayes goe abrode in the citie without suspition:

A Saint by hipocrisie.

suspition: and to helpe the matter withall, it chaunced in the meane tyme, that a certaine rich Mahumetan of the citie of Calecut was very sicke, hauing his belly so bounde, that he could not doe the necessities of nature. And bycause he was a friende to my companion, and his disease increased, he asked me if I had any skyll in phisicke: I sayde, that my father was a Phisitian, and that I had learned many things of him by experience. Then I pray you (sayd he) do what you can to helpe this my friend. We went therefore togeather to the sicke man, whom my companion asked where he felt him selfe most greeued. In my head (sayd he) and my stomacke, hauyng also my belly so sore bounde, that I can not goe to the stoole. Then my companion agayne in his presence, desired me to consider his infirmitie, and take vpon me to minister vnto him some medicine. My companion had tolde me before, that he was a great eater and drinker. Therefore, takyng him by the hande and feelyng his pulse, I sayde that his stomacke and bowelles were full of choler, by reason of surfeytyng, and therefore that it shoulde be good for him to take a glister. Then sayde the sicke man, Do what you wil, I wil abyde your order. Then made I a glister of egges, salt and suger, A glister. adding also butter and certayne hearbes, such as came first to my memorie vpon the sodayne, and in the space of a day and nyght, I gaue him fyue glisters, but all in vayne: for besyde the paynes which he endured, he was rather woorse then better, insomuche that it repented me of my enterprise: But it was nowe best to set a good face on the matter and attempte an other way, but the last erroure was woorse then the first. Yet still putting him in good hope, I vsed him thus. I made him lye grouelyng on his belly, and then tying A straunge ministring of a glister. cordes on his feete, I raysed vp the hynder partes of his body, so that he rested only vppon his brest and handes, and as he laye, ministred a glyster vnto him, and let him so hang for the space of halfe an houre. My companion beholding this straunge kynde of practise, sayde vnto me, Lodouicke, is this the maner of mynistring to sicke folkes in your countrey? It is, sayde I, yet neuer but in case of extremitie. Then smylyng, he sayde, I beleeue it will heale him one way or an other. In the meane tyme the miserable man cryed, saying in his language, It is enough, it is enough, for my soule now departeth. We comforted him, disiryng him to haue patience yet a whyle. In maner immediately after, his belly was losed, and auoyded matter as if it had been out of a gutter. Then when wee had let downe his bodie, hee auoyded as much as myght almost fyll a pale, and shortly after, the payne of his head and stomake, and also the feuer ceased: whereof we were all very glad. And by this aduenturous cure, I began to bee in great credite among them, by the meanes also of my counterfect holinesse, and therefore whereas he would haue giuen me tenne peeces of golde, I would take but only two, and gaue them also incontinent to the poore. These sely soules Sely soules. beleeued so much in my hypocrisie (which I shewed no lesse in countenaunce and grauitie, *forbearyng* also openly to eate fleshe) that well was he that myght haue me in his house or kysse my handes and feete. The reporte also of my companion, affyrmyng that he mette with me fyrst at Mecha, where I was to see the bodie of the holy Prophet Mahumet, encreased greatly (and specially among the Mahumetans) the opinion they had conceiued of my holinesse. But in the meane tyme, secretly in the darke nyght, I resorted priuily to the aforesayde Christians, by whom beyng aduertised that twelue of the Portugale shyppes were nowe arriued at Canonor, I considered that nowe woulde bee good oportunitie to escape: and therefore remaynyng there yet seuen dayes, I learned all that I coulde of the preparations which the kyng of Calecut and his people made agaynst the Portugales, both touching his army, artillerie, and other thinges parteyning to the warres. But before I come to speake of my maner of departing, it wil here not be from the purpose, to declare howe the Mahumetans call the people to theyr churches, and of theyr maner of praying.

Howe the Mahumetan priestes call the people to theyr Churches. Cap. 34.

THeyr priestes and other ministers of the Temple (of the which there is a great number) obserue this maner to call the people to the church. Certayne of these ascende to the highest Tower of the Temple, where first blowing three or foure brasen Trumpets, in the Trumpettes in the steede of belles. steede of belles, they crye to the people with a loude voyce, to resorte to the Temple to prayers. Then stopping one eare with their finger, they say in their owne language these

Not all that say Lord, Lord, &c. Some of them say that he is ryses.

woordes: Alla u eccubar. That is to say, God is great, and againe, God is great: Come to the Temple of the great God, Come to pray to the great God: God is great, God is great, God was, God is, Mahumet the messenger of God shal ryse. They inuited me also to the Temple, and desired me to pray to God for the Mahumetans, whiche I dyd outwardly, but of much other meanyng then they dyd.

Of the maner of praying among the Mahumetans. Cap. 35.

God the father. The virgin Marie.

THey haue certaine dayly and vsuall prayers, as we haue, in the which they call God their father, and vouchsafe to name the virgin Marie full of grace. They pray not before they haue ben washed. Then standing in order, after the priest hath prayed, they pray also in their own language. Here to my companion, I fayned my selfe sicke, and founde diuers other occasions to depart from thence, and to go to Canonor. Well sayd he, It shall not be long ere I come thyther to you, and in the meane tyme, with my letters, I will commend you there to a friend and countrey man of myne, a riche merchant, who for my sake shall giue you good intertaynement.

What subtiltie I vsed to depart from Calecut, to go to the Portugales. Cap. 36.

Merchauntes of Calecut.

THe daye before I departed from thence, I made the sayd Christians priuie of my intente. In the meane tyme my companyon ioyned me in company with two other Persian merchauntes, whiche were mynded also to go to Canonor: for there was in the citie of Calecut many merchauntes of Persia, Syria, and Turchia. Therefore the fyrst day of December, I, with the other two Persians, hyryng a lyght shyppe, gaue wynde to our sayles to proceede on our voyage. But see what chaunced suddenly, we had scarsely sayled as farre as a man may shoote an arrowe, but foure of the inhabitantes of the order of them whiche they call Naeros (of whom we haue spoken before) cryed to the gouernour of the shyp to drawe neare the lande in the kynges name. When they vnderstode who we were, they asked why they caryed me away without makyng the kyng priuie thereto: Then sayde the Persians, This Mahumetan that is heere with vs, is a holy man, and goeth in our company to the citie of Canonor. They answeared, that they knewe me to be a man that had wrought myracles. Neuerthelesse, that because I could speake the language of the Portugalles, it was to be suspected least I should bewraye theyr secretes to them, and tell them of the nauie and armye which the kyng prepared agaynst the Portugales, and therefore commaunded the gouernour of the shyppe to cary vs no further. He obeyed theyr commaundement, and left vs on the shore. Then sayde one of the Persians, Let vs returne to Calecut. To whom I answeared, Take heede what you do, for so shall you be in danger to loose all your sylkes if it be knowen that you haue payde no custome to the kyng. Then sayde the *other Persian*, What then (by your aduise) is it best for vs to do: I answered, that it was best for vs to go *somewhat further by the shore*, vntyl we myght fynde some barke: whereunto they agreed. Therfore we, and our slaues laden with our fardells, went so twelue myles along by the shore. But what feare I was in, in the meane season, I commytte to wyse men to iudge. But as God would we founde there a poore fysher man with a boate, with whom we agreed to bryng vs to Canonor, where we arryued late in the euenyng. Incontinent we went to the merchaunt Persian, to whom I had letters of commendation from my companyon. The tenour of the letters was, that he shoulde receyue me into his house, and enterteyne me frendly, vntil his commyng: Also that whatsoeuer frendeshyp he shewed vnto me, he woulde ascribe it to, be done vnto hym selfe: furthermore, that I was a holy man, and ioyned with hym in neere amitie and frendeshyp. When the merchaunt had redde the letters, he layde his hand on his head, and sayde vnto me, By this head you are welcome to me, and shall be here in safetie, and caused a good supper to be prepared for vs. After supper, the Persians sayde vnto me, Lette vs go walke to the sea syde. I agreed: and in short tyme we came to the place where the Portugales shyps laye at anker. I am not able to expresse the secrete ioye which I felte in my selfe at the syght of these shyppes. In the way I marked well the place where the Portugales had buylded their fortresse, determynyng to come thyther the nexte daye.

Naeros are gentlemen of the kynges garde.

Howe

Howe I fledde to the Portugales from the citie of Canonor. Cap. 37.

THe daye folowyng, when I sawe best opportunitie, I went towarde the fortresse of the Portugales: and by the way meetyng with two Portugales, in the Spanyshe tongue I asked them where was the fortresse of the Portugales. Then sayde they to me, Art thou a Christian? I am (sayde I) by the grace of God. Then sayde they agayne, from whence commest thou? from the citie of Calecut sayde I. Then come with vs (sayde they) for we wyll bryng thee to the gouernour. This gouernour was one maister Laurentius, sonne to the Viceroye. So I went with them to the fortresse, whiche is not past foure furlongs from the citie. At the tyme of our commyng, the gouernour had not yet dined. When I came to his presence, I fel downe on my knees, and prayed hym with al humilitie for Christes sake, to whom I was consecrated by baptisme, to haue compassion vppon me, and to deliuer me from the hands of those infidell dogges. When it was nowe noysed in the citie that I was escaped to the Christians, there beganne a sturre and mutinie, in maner of a tumulte, Whiche when the gouernour vnderstode, commanded al his Captaines, souldiers, and other officers, to place their artillerie, and order all thynges in redynesse, least the people in sudden rage should attempte any thing agaynst the fortresse. But al thynges were pacified in short tyme. Then the gouernour, takyng me by the hande, brought me into a certayne hall, and there demaunded of me, what the kyng and inhabitantes of Calecut imagined or deuised to do agaynst the Christians: I enfourmed hym of all thynges, as farre as I knewe, hauyng diligently searched to vnderstand all theyr doynges. When the gouernour was thus by me aduertysed of theyr secretes, he appoynted a galley to bryng me to the Viceroye, who was then in the citie of Cucin. The Captayne of the gallie, was named Iohannes Seranus. When the Viceroye saw me, he receiued me very fauourably. I certified hym also of al thynges: Saying furthermore vnto hym, that if I myght by his fauoure obteyne pardon and assurance for the sayde two Italians, Peter Antonie and Iohn Maria, which before had made artillarie for the infidel princes, I woulde procure that they shoulde returne to the Christians, and do them ryght good seruice, and that I was well assured, that they dyd that by constraint: Also that they desyred none other thing then safe conduct and mony for theyr charges. He was glad of this, and graunted my request. Whereuppon within three dayes after, he sent me with letters to his sonne, the gouernour in the citie of Canonor, with commaundement to deliuer me as muche mony as shoulde suffice for the charges of the Christian exploratours or espions of the citie of Calecut. I went therefore incontinent to Canonor, where I agreed with one of the idolatours (who for pouertie had gaged his wife and children) to cary letters to Calecut to Iohn Maria and Peter Antonie. The content of which letters was, that the Viceroy had graunted them pardon and safe conducte and also money for their charges: Aduertysyng them to make none priuie to this thyng, and especially to beware least it shoulde be knowen to theyr slaues or concubines (for eche of them had a concubine, a child, and a slaue) furthermore to leaue al theyr goods behynd them, except thynges of great price, as mony and iewelles: for they had a very fayre Diamond of the weyght of 32 caractes esteemed to be woorth 35 thousande crownes. They had also a pearle of the weyght of 24 caractes, furthermore, two thousande rubies: of the whiche, some were of the weyght of one caracte, and some of one and a halfe. They had also 64 braslettes, garnyshed with many iewelles: lykewyse in redye coyne, a thousand and fyue hundred peeces of golde. But see what commeth of much couetousnesse. Whyle they thought to haue saued all, they lost all, and theyr liues therewith: for not contentyng them selues with the aforesayde ryches, they woulde needes also cary with them (notwithstandyng the aduertisement we had geuen them) foure Gunnes, three Munkeis, two Muskecattes, and two of those wheeles wherwith precious stones are polyshed. All whiche thynges, were the onely cause of theyr death: for whereas so many thynges coulde not be secretly conueyed, one of theyr slaues certified the kyng of Calecut heereof, who at the fyrst woulde scarsely beleeue it, for the good opinion he had conceyued of them: yet sent foure of his garde (of them whiche are called Naery) to knowe if it were true. But the slaue, perceyuyng that the kyng woulde deale fauourably with them, went to the hygh Priest or Bishop of the fayth of the Mahumetans (whom they call Cady) and tolde

The Gouernour of Portugales fortresse.

The Viceroye of the kyng of Portugall in India.

Concubines and slaues.

A Diamond of the price of 35 thousand crownes.

Beware of couetousnesse.

The Bishop of the Mahumetans.

tolde hym all that before he had tolde the kyng of Calecut: Addyng moreouer, that the sayde Christians had disclosed theyr secretes to the Portugales. When the Bishop vnderstode these thynges, he called a counsayle of all the Mahumetan merchauntes, wyllyng them, of the common treasurie, to geue a hundred peeces of golde to the kyng of Gioghi (who was then at Calecut) and to speake to hym in this maner. It is not vnknowen to you (most noble prince) howe a fewe yeeres past, when your maiestie came hither, we receiued you with more honorable entertenement then we are nowe able to do: The cause whereof, is no lacke of good wyl, or knowledge of our deuetie towarde your hyghnesse, but rather the great and manyfolde iniuries and oppressions whiche we haue susteyned, and do dayely susteyne by our mortal enimies the Christians, whereof we haue, at this present, example of two Christian traytors of this citie, whiche haue disclosed to the Portugales al our secretes, and therefore we make most humble petition vnto you to take of vs a hundred peeces of golde, to commaund them to be slayne. When the kyng of Gioghi hearde these woords, he consented to theyr petition, and fertwith appoynted two hundred men to commyt the murder: And that they might be the lesse suspected of the Christians, meanyng soddenly to kyll them in theyr house, came by tenne and tenne as though they came to demaunde theyr accustomed rewarde. But when the Christians sawe so great a company assembled about theyr house, they suspected that they sought somewhat elles then theyr rewarde or offeryng, and therefore incontinent takyng theyr weapons, they fought so manfully at the wyndowes and doores of theyr house, that they slue syxe men and woounded fourtie. But at the length, some of the Gioghi, shot at them certaine iron arrowes out of crosse bowes, with the which they were both slayne, the one beyng sore wounded in the head, and the other in the bodie. As soone as they sawe them fall downe, they cutte theyr throtes: and takyng the hotte blood in the palmes of theyr handes, drunke it vp, with contumelious woordes agaynst the Christians. After this murder, the concubine of Iohn Maria came to Canonor, with her young sonne, whom I bought of her for eyght peeces of golde: and causyng hym to be baptysed, named hym Laurence, because it was saint Laurence daye. But within a yeere after, he dyed of the Frenche poxe, whiche disease had then dispersed almost through all the worlde, for I haue seene many infected with it foure hundred myles beyonde Calecut. They call it Pua, And they affyrme that this disease was neuer seene there past 17 yeeres before. It is there more greeuous and outragious then with vs.

The Mahumetans complee the death of the Christians.

An Oration.

The death of Iohn Maria and Peter Antonye.

The Frenche poxe.

Of the Nauie of the citie of Calecut, and of the memorable conflicte betwene the Christians and Mahumetans. In the whiche the Portugales with incredible valiantnesse gaue theyr enimies the ouerthrowe. And howe the kyng of Canonor reioyced at their victorie. Cap. 38.

IN the yeere of our Lorde 1506. the fourth daye of March, woorde was brought vs of the death of the sayde Christians. The same daye, from the cities of Calecut, Pauan, Capagot, Pandaram, and Trompatam, departed a great nauie of two hundred and eyght shippes, of the whiche fourescore and foure were great shippes, or shippes of burden, and the rest were dryuen with Ores, after the maner of foystes, whiche they call Paras. The Nauie was manned with in maner innumerable Mahumetans, shewyng themselues very braue in apparel of purple sylke and Bombasine, with also theyr hygh and sharpe cappes, after theyr maner, of the same colour, lyned with sylke: wearyng also on theyr armes many braceletes, and on theyr handes hadde gloues, embrodered and garnyshed with diuers kyndes of workes: for weapons, they had Turky bowes, swoordes, launces, pelles, and all sortes of gunnes, after our maner. When we sawe theyr Nauie proceedyng in order, and well instructed, it seemed farre of lyke a wood, the mastes presentyng the similitude of trees: Whiche thyng seemed so litle to deterre vs, that we were in sure beleefe, that our God and Christe woulde geue vs the victorie agaynst the blasphemers of his holy name, the Idolatours and Sarasens, old enemies of our religion. And therefore the valiant knight and gouernour, the sonne of the honorable lord Don Francisco Dalmeda, viceroy of India, who had there the supreame gouernement of twelue shippes, with the assistaunce of the Admirall of the Nauie, when he sawe the great force of the enemie, myndfull of his accustomed vertue, with sounde of trumpet

The nauie of the kyng of Calecut agaynst the Portugals.

The Mahumetan soldiers.

trumpet assembled all the souldiers, and spake to them in this maner. My deare frendes, and brethren in one God, and one fayth of Iesus Christe, nowe is the tyme come when you ought to remember, that as Iesus Christe spared not, neyther feared to gyue his precious body to death for our sakes: euen so, except we wyl shewe our selues most vnkynde, and vnworthy so great grace of God, it shal be our dueties to spende our liues in the defence of his glorie, and our holy fayth, assuring our selues of the victorie against these dogges, hateful to God, and progenie of the deuyl. Now therfore fyghtyng in his name, and vnder the banner of his holy crosse, shew your selues manfull and valiant: for nowe is in you the power to great eternal fame, in mainteyning the quarel of our sauiour. Therefore with me, lyftyng up your hartes to God, and your armes with force and courage, let vs gyue the onset on these dogs. When the gouernour had sayd these wordes, the priest went vp to the hyghest part of the ship, and holdyng in his hand the picture of Christe nayled on the crosse, shewed it vnto the souldiers, exhortyng them to remember the commaundementes of God, and the holy fayth and baptisme whereby they were consecrated to God, puttyng no doubt in the forgeuenesse of theyr sinnes, dying in so godly a quarell: and then blessyng them, with inuocation of the name of God, he pronounced the sentence of absolution and forgeuenesse of theyr sinnes. The exhortation of the priest, so moued the hartes of all men, that the teares ranne from our eyes for ioy and great desire we had to die in the quarel. In the meane time the nauye of the Mahumetans made sayle towarde vs. The same daye our Admirall with two foystes made towarde them, and pasayng betweene two of theyr greatest shyps, discharged his ordinance on both sydes: whiche the Admyrall dyd, to proue the strength of those shyppes, which they chiefely esteeme, and trust most vnto: But this daye was nothyng done woorth the memorye. The day folowyng, the Mahumetans with full sayles drewe neare the citie of Canonor, and sent vs woorde by a messenger, that if we woulde permytte them to go whither they woulde, they woulde not haue to do with vs. Our Admirall answeared, that the Christians coulde not so forgette the periurie of the Mahumetans, in violatyng theyr faith and promyse made by common consent, when they woulde not suffer the Christians to passe that way, but contrary to theyr fayth and promyse slue 47 Christians, and robbed them of foure thousande peeces of golde: and therefore badde them passe further if they durst, and they shoulde well knowe of what reputation and spirite the Christians are. Then sayde the Mahumetans, Mahumet wyll defende vs, and confounde the Christians: and with those woordes, assaulted vs all at once with incredible furie, thynkyng to haue passed through, hauyng no further to sayle then 10 myles from the shore. But our Admiral of purpose suffered the enimies to come nearer vntyl they were ryght ouer against the citie of Canonor, meanyng there to set on them with all his force, that the kyng of Canonor beholdyng the conflicte, myght be witnesse of the valiantnesse of the Christians. Then when the trumpetter of the Admirals ship sounded the battayle, and gaue the signe, incontinent he assaulted two of theyr greatest shyppes. Heere I am not able to expresse the exceedyng noyse of theyr Drummes, Trumpets, Tambarels, and other such innumerable, which they vse in this case. The Admiral hym selfe, in maner contemnyng all theyr meane shippes, passed through theyr nauie, and inuaded one of theyr greatest shippes, castyng theron chaynes and grasples, to fyght with them at hande strokes: but they cast of the chaynes thryse, yet the fourth tyme the chaynes tooke such holde, that the Christians entred into the ship, where they made such hauocke and slaughter, that all the Mahumetans of that shippe (which were sixe hundred in number) were slayne, insomuche that there was not one left alyue to tell newes. The Admirall encouraged by this victorie, inuaded another of theyr great shippes, whiche had chayned it selfe with a foyst of the Christians, where was also a great conflict, in the whiche were slayne aboue fyue hundred Mahumetans, and theyr ship sunke. The Mahumetans discouraged by this defeate, assaulted our twelue foystes with al their force, and caryed them away. But heere the manhood and valiantnesse of Iohn Seranus, the captaine of the Galley, shewed itselfe, who only with one Gally made suche a slaughter among the Mahumetans, that it may seeme incredible: for he so fiercely inuaded them that had caryed away the foystes, that he recouered them all,

The oration of the gouernour to the Christian soldiers.

The nauie of the Mahumetans.

The Admirall of the Christians.

The quarel and occasion of the warre.

The Mahumetans gyue the onset.

The valyantnesse of the Admirall.

A great slaughter of the Mahumetans.

The valiantnesse of Iohn Seranus.

all, and sunke two other of the Mahumetan shippes. In these warres, God of his grace so prospered the Christians, that few of them were slayne, but many wounded. The conflict continued from mornyng, vntyl the darkenesse of the nyght made an ende of the battayle. I may not heere forgeat to speake of the marueylous aduenture and Godly zeale of Simon Martin, captayne of one of our shippes: for it so chaunced, that the Brigantine in the which I was, departyng somewhat from our naule, gaue occasion to our enemies to pursue vs, for incontinent foure of the Mahumetan shippes assayled vs, and put vs to much trouble, insomuch that 15 Mahumetans had nowe entred into our Brigantine, and we were constrayned to flee to the Poupe, as to the safest place: But the valiant captayne Simon Martin, seyng the daunger that we were in, and that the Mahumetans were entred into our Brigantine, leapt into it fiercely, and callyng vpon the name of Iesus Christ, fought so valiantly, that he slue sixe of the Mahumetans: wherby we, beyng incouraged, assisted hym in such sort, that the Mahumetans cast themselues into the sea, where some were drowned, and some escaped by swimmyng. Therfore when the Mahumetans knewe that the Christians had the victorie, they sent 4 other foistes to helpe the first. But when the captayne of our Brigantine sawe this, he tooke certayne emptie Tubbes, in the whiche gunne pouder had ben kepte before, and stoppyng them with flaxe, placed them in such sort, that they seemed for of, like peeces of great artillerie: then laying a little gun pouder by the flaxe, and holding a fyre sticke in his hand, as though he would fire to the Gunne, the Mahumetans thinking that it had ben a gunne indeede, were thereby put in such feare, that they departed. The Admirall yet further pursuing the enemyes, gaue them an other great ouerthrow, and tooke seuen of theyr foistes, laden with all sortes of merchandies, and soonke tenne other with the shotte of great artillerie, of the whiche one was laden with Elephantes. Therfore when the Mahumetans sawe the sea now almost couered with the bodies of their slaine men, and their chiefe shippes some taken, some soonke, and some spoiled, were out of all hope to recouer, and therfore saued themselues by fleeing. But the Christians, seeing yet hope of further victorie, and the Mahumetans so discouraged, thought it not best to leaue them so, but rather uppon such prosperous successe, to take opportunitie, and vtterly to destroy them: and therfore the Admiral, seeing his men ioyfull of the victorie, and desirous to pursue the enemie, followed the Mahumetans, and gaue them a new batayle, whiche lasted all day and all nyght, whilest the Christians in the nyght tyme slue them euen in theyr fleeing, and soonke almost all their shippes. In the meane tyme certayne of our foistes sawe a shyppe of burden of the enemie, wanderyng out of the way, and made sayle thyther with all hast. But the enemies in short space seeing themselues ouermatched, hurled all their cariages into the sea, and trusting to swimmyng (wherein they are most experte) caste themselues after. But our men folowed them euen to the shore, with launces, crosbowes, and stones, so killing them as they swamme, that the sea was coloured and polluted with their blood. Yet by swimming many escaped, by estimation about the nuimber of two hundred, for they are in youth so brought vp in swimming, that they swamme in the sea almost twentie myles, oftentimes so diuyng vnder the water, and remaynyng there so long, that they deceyued our syght: for sometymes we thought that they were soonke, and sometyme agayne seeyng them flote on the water, it so troubled our sense, that we thought we had seene some phantasie or vision: but they were in maner all destroyed by one mischaunce or an other, and especially a great number in the great shyppes which were soonke by shot of the great artillerie. The day folowyng, the Admirall sent great Brigantines and Gallies to the shore, to number the dead bodies, whiche the sea had caste vp: they were founde to be about three thousande, besyde them also which the sea had deuoured. The kyng of Canonor, beholdyng all these thynges, was greatly in loue with the Christians, and commended their valiauntnesse and vertue, and not vnworthily: for to speake that I haue seene, I haue ben in many sore warres, yet neuer sawe I more valiant men, then the Portugales here shewed themselues to be.

Fewe Christians slayne.

The valiauntnesse of Simon Martin.

A stratagem.

Tenne Mahumetan shyppes soonke with the shot of great artillerie.

The Christians had the victorie.

An other great conflicte.

The Mahumetans slayne in swimming.

The Mahumetans experte in swimmyng.

The kyng of Canonor.

The valiantnesse of the Portugales.

But when we thought that we had nowe made an ende of these Tragidies, we had in maner a woorse to begyn, for it so chaunced, that in fewe dayes after, the kyng of Canonor, who

fauoured

fauoured us, dyed: In whose place succeeded an other mortall enemie to the Christians, and friende to the kyng of Calecut, by whose helpe and rychesse hee was aduaunced to the kyngdome of Canonor. He therefore assembled his power to make newe warre agaynst the Christians, with great expedition and haste, bycause he supposed that a great parte of theyr munitions was newe wasted, and they also sore weeryed, and for the most parte wounded. And to further his attempte, the kyng of Calecut sent him 24 peeces of great artillerie. This warre beganne the seuenth day of Aprill, and continued vntyll the 20 of August, before all thinges were pacified. It were heere to long to declare howe in these warres also the Christians behaued them selues manfully agaynst the Mahumetans, which neuer encountred with them fewer then fyue or sixe and twentie thousande in number, hauyng also with them a hundred and fourtie peeces of artillerie, and were armed after the maner of the inhabitauntes of Calecut: but the Christians with harnesse after our maner.

The death of the kyng of Canonor.

A newe expedition against the Christians.

Long warres.

Great oddes. The Mahumetans artillerie.

These Infidelles vse this order in theyr warres. They diuide theyr army into many wynges, euery wyng conteynyng the number of two or three thousande men, and only one wyng proceedeth to the battayle, the reste attendyng what ende or successe they haue, before they attempt any further. But whilest these wynges are nowe marchyng to ioyne in battayle, it passeth all imagination to thynke, with howe great a noyse of innumerall musicall instrumentes, after theyr maner, they fill the eares of all the army, to encourage them to fyght, while in the meane season also, a great number runneth before the army with marueylous flames of artificiall fyres: and in fine, gyue the onsette with suche outragious furie and outcry that two thousande of them were able to feare tenne thousande that had no experience of these thynges. But see the goodnesse of God, who neuer forsaketh them that beleeue faythfully in his holy religion. Euen nowe in the extremitie of these troubles, our men beyng in maner ouercharged with the multitude of theyr enemyes, and long warres, sodayne newes was brought that a newe nauie of Portugales was arryued at Canonor by the conducte of the valiant knyght Don Tristan de Cugna: Whom we immediately aduertysed with howe greenous warres wee were oppressed. Who incontinent sent vs, in certayne Barkes, three hundred valiaunt Souldiours, well armed with harnesse, after the maner of the Christians. When wee sawe these, we recouered our spirites, in such sorte, that if our Admirall woulde haue permitted, we woulde haue burnte the citie of Canonor. But when the Mahumetans vnderstoode the newe succours that we had, all discouraged in mynde, they sought all meanes to make peace with the Christians, and assygned one named Mamalmaricar, a man of great ryches and wysedome among them, to bee intermediatour, and to make the conditions of peace. Hee therefore vnder safe conducte, came to vs to common of the matter. We tolde him, that we coulde make no peace without the consent of the Viceroye, who was then in the citie of Cucin. The Admirall thought it beste not to contempne the conditions of peace, for that duryng the tyme of the warres, they coulde not sende theyr shyppes laden with merchaundies into Portugale, and therefore by the consent of the Viceroye, the peace was concluded.

Instrumentes.

Outragious outcrye.

The arryuing of a newe Nauie of Portugales.

The Mahumetans seeke to make peace with the Christians.

The peace concluded.

But nowe, to myngle some delight with these sorowes, you shal heare a pleasant fable woorthie to be put in memorie. Therefore all thinges beyng pacified, as I walked in the citie of Canonor, I met with certayne merchantes Idolatours, with whom I was acquaynted before the warres, who in theyr language sayde thus vnto me, Are you our friende: yea sayde I. Then we pray you in the way of friendship, shewe vs that Christian which is muche hygher and stronger then any other of the Christians, and kylled in maner euery daye about twentie of the Mahumetans, and resisted the dartes of fiftie Nacros (these are of the garde) and escaped without hurte: I answered, that that Christian was not nowe in the citie, but was gone to Cucin to Viceroye. But when I better considered the matter, I sayde thus vnto them, are you my friendes? Yea, we are, sayde they. Then sayde I, That souldier that fought so valiauntly in the battayle, was no Portugale. Then sayde they: of what countrey was he then? I answered agayne, that he was the God of the Portugales, and the great God of all the world. Then sayde they, Verily you speake the trueth, for we heard the Mahumetans say, that it was not the Portugales, but the Portugales God, that gaue them the ouerthrowe, and therefore we thynke your God to bee better then theyrs, although we know

A pleasaunt fable.

Saint Christopher the Christian Giant.

The enemyes confesse that God gaue the victorie.

him not: And by this meanes it was bruited ouer all the countrey, that the Mahumetans were ouercome rather by the assistaunce of God, then by the strength of men, for these people are very simple and ignoraunt, and astonyshed in maner at euery thyng, for some when they sawe one of our company hauyng a little bell in his hande, and hearde the noyse of the bell when he moued his hand, and no noyse when he set it downe, they tooke it for a myracle, saying one to an other: doubtlesse theyr God is the greatest God, for when they touche the bell, it speaketh, and when they touche it not, it sayeth nothyng. They tooke pleasure and admiration to beholde the solemnities of the Masse.

Simple and ignorant people.

Messie multa, sed operarii pauci, etc. The Masse.

And when the priest lyfted vp the holy bread or host, I sayde vnto them, beholde here the God of the Portugales, and of all the worlde. Then sayde they, You say truly: but we can not perceyue it. This haue I sayde, that you may hereby knowe what simple and ignorant people these are: yet are they very great inchaunters, and can inchaunte Serpentes, whose poyson is so strong, that they kyll only with touchyng. They are also of incredible agilitie, and therefore excell in vaultyng, leapyng, runnyng, swymmyng, tumblyng, walkyng on ropes, and such other exercises of lyghtnesse and agilitie.

No more can wyser men then they. Inchaunters, and of great agilitie.

The seuenth booke, entreating of the viage or Nauigation of Ethiopia. Cap. 1.

THey that will take vppon them to wryte any hystorie had neede to beare well in memorie what they haue promysed and taken in hande, lest for theyr paynes and well meanyng, they be rewarde with shame and rebuke, and therfore whereas in the beginnyng of this booke, I promysed to wryte of the Nauigation of Ethiope, I will with the description of this viage, make an ende of my long traueyle, and speake of such thinges as I sawe there by the way, in my returne from India into my long desired countrey, in the company of the Portugales.

Of diuers and many Ilandes of Ethiope. Cap. 2.

THerefore the seuenth day of December, we directed our iourney towarde Ethiope, trauersing fyrst the great gulfe, and saylyng foure hundred myles, came to an Ilande named Monzambrich, vnder the dominion of the kyng of Portugale. But before we arryued there, we sawe by the way many townes parteining to the Portugales, and also many strong fortresses in the kyngdomes of Melinda and Mombaza. The kyng of Portugale, hath also certayne fortresses in Monzambrich and Zaphala.

The Ilande of Monzambrich.

Melinda. The kyng of Portugales dominion of Ethiopia.

But if I should here speake of the memorable factes of the valiant knyght Tristan de Cugna, at his returne from India, I should take in hande a thyng farre aboue my reache: beyng suche, as deserue rather the commendations of Homer and Virgil, for he inuaded and subdued the great cities of Gogia, Pati, and Craua, with also the goodly Ilande of Sacutara, where the kyng of Portugale hath erected certayne fortresses, and omit also to speake of many other Ilandes whiche we sawe in the way: as the Ilande of Cumeris, and sixe other which beare plentie of ginger, suger, and dyuers other goodly fruites, and abundance of fleshe: also the most fruitfull Iland of Pende, likewise subiect to the kyng of Portugale.

The conquestes of Tristan de Cugna. Sacutara.

Cumeris.

Pendè.

Of the Ilande of Monzambrich, and the inhabitantes thereof. Cap. 3.

THis Ilande (as we haue sayde) is subiecte to the kyng of Portugale, as is also Zaphala. From the Ilande of Monzambrich, is brought much golde and oyle, but is brought thyther from the firme lande. The Ilande is not byg, and is inhabited with blacke Mahumetans, lyuyng in maner in necessitie of all thinges, yet hath it a commodious porte. They haue no corne but that is brought from the continent, where also he went alande to see the countrey, where we sawe nothyng but a vagabunde and rascall kynde of blacke men, coueryng only theyr priuities with leaues of trees, and are besyde naked, and the women in lyke maner. Theyr lyppes are two fingers thicke, theyr foreheaddes very large, theyr teeth great, and as white as snow. They are fearefull at the sight of euery thyng, and especially when they see armed men. Therefore seeing theyr fearefulnesse, and knowing them to be without weapons that can doe any great hurte, only sixe of vs well armed, bearyng also with vs Hargabuses, and hauyng in our companie a blacke slaue that somewhat knewe the countrey, we began to enter further into the lande: and when we had gone forwarde one dayes iourney, we founde many

Zaphala. Golde. Blacke Mahumetans.

Trogloditæ. Ethiopes.

many heardes of Elephantes. Here the slaue that was our guyde, gaue vs counsayle to take fyrebrandes in our handes, bycause these beastes feare fyre aboue all thinges. But we once chaunced to fynde three female Elephants, which had very lately brought foorth theyr Calues, and therefore feared not the fyre: but without all feare, folowed vs so farre, that we were fayne to flee to a mountayne to saue vs from the beastes. When we had entred about tenne myles into the land, we found a certayne denne on the syde of a mountayne, where some of the blacke inhabitauntes lurked. These spake so confoundedly and chatteringly lyke Apes, that I am not able to expresse theyr maner of speeche: Yet to goe the neerest thereto that I can, theyr speach is lykest to the euyll fauored voyce which the muleters of Sicilia vse when they dryue theyr Mules: and suche maner of blabberyng vse these people in theyr speache. Heere the Pilot of the shyppe asked vs if wee woulde buye any kyne, saying, that here we should haue them good cheape. But we, thinking that eyther he had mocked vs, or that agreeing with the inhabitauntes (whom he knewe before) he woulde haue deceyued vs of our money and wares, sayde that we had no money. Then sayde he vnto vs, These people desire nothyng lesse then money, hauyng muche more plentie of golde then we haue, which is founde not farre hence. Then sayde we to him, What desyre they then? They loue (sayde he) despicable thynges, and of small value: as pynnes, knyues, sysers, lookyng Glasses, Haukes, belles, bagges, or boxes, to keepe theyr golde in, copper Rynges, iangelinges to hang at theyr Tymberelles, bosses, laces, broches, copper chaynes, caskenettes, braselettes, and suche other tryfles to trymme theyr wyues and children. We aunswered, that we were content to gyue them suche wares for theyr kyne, if they woulde bryng them to the next mountayne. Then sayde our Pilot agayne, They will bryng them with vs to the mountayne: but no further in any condition: Therefore speake what you will gyue? Then one of our companions sayde, that he had a bosse of grauen copper and also a little bell. But I, bycause I had no suche merchaundies, yet beyng desirous to eate fleshe, sayde that I woulde sell one of my shertes for Kyne. Then sayde the Pilot, Let mee alone with the matter. Then callyng vnto him fyue or sixe of the Inhabitauntes, he shewed them our goodly Iewelles, and demaunded for them three hundred Kyne. But the inhabitantes, not muche differyng from beastes, made signes that they would gyue only fyftiene. In fyne we agreed, yet suspectyng some deceite, neuerthelesse they kept theyr promyse, and sent vs fyftiene kyne by two of theyr companions. We were scarsely departed, but we hearde a noyse and tumulte in theyr dennes, and were partly afrayde lest these Troglodites woulde folowe vs, and therefore leauyng our kyne, we tooke vs to our weapons. But they made signes vnto vs to feare nothyng. Then our Pilot tolde vs, that their tumulte was only which of them should haue the bosse of Copper. Then recouering our kyne, we droue them forward to the toppe of the mountaine, and there dismissed the two blacke slaues that came with them. Whyle wee were thus dryuyng our kyne by the side of a little wood, we met agayne with the Elephantes, whereof beyng in great feare, we forsooke our kyne, and trusted to our feete. Therefore departyng from hence, we returned to the Ilande, where makyng prouision for our vyage, we sayled towarde the Cape, called Caput Bonæ Spei, passyng the Ilande of Saincte Laurence otherwyse named Madagascar) beyng fourescore leagues distant from the nearest continent or firme land. I suppose that in shorte tyme the kyng of Portugale will be Lorde of this Ilande: for hauyng nowe burned and destroyed many villages and townes of the Ilande, his name is fearefull among them. And, as farre as I can coniecture by my peregrinations of the worlde (especially of India and Ethiopia) I thynke that the kyng of Portugale, if hee continue as he hath begunne, is lyke to bee the rychest kyng in the worlde, and doubtlesse not vnwoorthily for the dignitie and godly zeale of so noble a prince, as by whose meanes the Christian fayth is dayly greatly increased, for it is certayne that in India, and especially in the citie of Cucin, where the Viceroye remayneth, euery holy day, tenne or twelue Idolaters or Mahumetans are professed to our religion, whereby we may conceyue good hope, that in tyme our fayth shall there bee greatly enlarged by the grace of God, who hath there gyuen suche supernaturall victories to the Christians, and therefore all professers of Christes holy name, ought to pray to almyghtie God to assyst hym in so godly an enterprise.

Heardes of Elephantes. Elephantes are afrayde of fyre.

An Apyche language.

Rich merchandies for golde.

Troglodites.

Cabo de Buena Speranza. The Ilande of Saincte Laurence or Madagascar.

The kyng of Portugale.

The Christian religion spreadeth in India.

Of

Of the Cape called Caput Bonæ Spei. That is, the Cape of good hope. Cap. 4.

Tempest.

DEpartyng from the Cape named Caput Bonæ Spei, when we had nowe sayled aboute two hundred myles, there rose suddenly a tempest with contrarye wynde. The cause whereof was, that we had on the lefte hande the Hande of Saint Laurence, and many other litle Ilandes, from whence bloweth for the most part a great gale of wynde. And therefore for the space of seuen dayes, beyng here daungerously tossed to and fro by the rages of the sea and wynde, at the length we escaped, by the grace of God. But proceedyng about two hundred leagues, a newe tempest rysyng so scattered our shyppes in the space of syxe dayes, that we mette not togeather agayne vntyll we arryued at Luxburne in Portugale. I was in the shyppe of Barthelmewe, a Florentine, citizen of Luxburne. The shyppe was named Saint Vincent, a vessel of exceedyng capacitie, and laden with seuen thousande tonnes of all sortes of spyces. In the way we passed also by an other Iland, named the Iland of saint Helen, where we sawe certayne fyshes of such enorme and monstrous byggenesse, that one of them was as bygge as a great house. When they ryse aboue the water, they yane or gape so wyde, that the vpper iawe coucreth al the forehead, as it were a souldier in shynyng harnesse. Agayne when they swymme on the brymme of the water, the forhead is seene the breadth of three great paces. And when they swymme in the sea, they so trouble the water, and come so neere the shyps, that we were fayne to discharge al our artillarye to dryue them away. Shortly after we founde an Ilande, named the Ilande of Ascention, where we sawe many fowles, about the byggnesse of our Duckes, so symple, without suspicion or feare, that we tooke them with our handes: but shortly after they were taken, they shewed an incredible fiercenesse. I thynke veryly that they neuer sawe any man before, they so behelde vs before they were taken, and were as styll as if they had ben astonyshed: for in that Ilande we sawe no lyuyng creature, saue only innumerable fyshes and the sayd byrdes. After we had passed this Ilande many dayes saylyng, as though we were nowe cõme to our owne worlde, the North starre, and guardions of our maryners, appeared vnto vs. And here oportunitie serueth well, to confute the opinion of them that thynke that men maye not sayle in regions subiect to the pole Antartike or south pole, by the guide of the north starre, for it is certayne, that the Portugales sayle by the guyde of the north starres, although they be vtterly out of syght by the eleuation of the pole Antartike. Yet do they sometymes refreshe the vertue of the needle, with the stone which euer naturally respecteth the north pole. A fewe dayes after, we arryued at the fayre region, where are seene many Ilandes, named the Ilandes of Astures, so named for the multitude of those Egles whiche we commonly call Astures. These Ilandes are diuersely named: for some are named Pici, Martii, some De Corno, also de Floribus, Sancti Georgii, Gratiosa, and Feial. Departyng from hence, we came to the Ilande of Tertiera, where we remayned two dayes. All these Ilandes are marueylous fruitefull, and haue plentie of all thynges necessary for mans lyfe. Departyng from hence, in seuen dayes saylyng, we came to the goodly citie of Luxburne, or Vlisbona in Portugale. At my commyng thyther, I was brought to the kynges presence, whose handes kissing with most humble reuerence, I thanked his maiestie for the great fauour I had found at the hands of his subiectes and officers in India. He entertayned me most gratiously in his courte, vntyll I had informed hym of all thynges whiche I had obserued in my voyage to India. A fewe dayes after, I shewed his hyghnesse the letters patentes whereby his Lieuetenante the Vicerove of India, gaue me the order of knyghthood, desyryng his maiestie to confyrme the same by his great seale: which my petition, he immediatly graunted. And thus departing from thence with the kynges pasporte and safe conducte, at the length after these my long and great trauayles and dangers, I came to my long desyred and natiue countrey, the ciue of Rome, by the grace of God, to whom be all honour and glory.

An exceedyng great shyppe and great ryches of spyces.

Great Whale fyshes.

The Ilande of Ascention.

Saylyng by the north starre in regions beneath the Equinoctiall lyne.

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